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# **HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA**

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS  
AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

BY

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**Vol. IV**

(PĀTAKA, PRĀYASCITTA, KARMAVIPĀKA,  
ANTYEṢṬI, ĀSAUCA, ŚUDDHI, ŚRĀDDHA  
AND TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ)

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface ... ..	i—iv
List of Abbreviations ... ..	v—viii
Chronological Table ... ..	ix—xii
Brief Synopsis of the contents ... ..	xiii—xvi
List of works consulted ... ..	xvii—xxiv
Index of Law cases ... ..	xxv
Additions and Corrections ... ..	xxvi—xxxii
History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. IV ... ..	1—827
Appendix containing long passages in Sanskrit ... ..	828—833
General Index ... ..	835—922
Index of technical or important Sanskrit words ... ..	923—926

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## PREFACE

The third volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra was published in October 1946. In the brief preface to that volume I intimated that the remaining topics of Dharmaśāstra would be dealt with in one volume. But as I proceeded with the task I found that that was a miscalculation. To present in one volume all the topics that remained in the manner and on the scale that I had adopted in the first three volumes was found to be impossible. Besides, as my age advanced, I could not maintain the same speed and finish the whole history in a few years as I intimated I would do in the preface to the third volume. Therefore, I had to decide, however reluctantly, to spread the remaining work over two volumes. Owing to the scarcity of paper and paucity of skilled workers, this volume has been in the press for more than three years. This volume deals with eight topics, viz. Pātaka, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka, Antyesti, Āśauca, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and Tirthayātrā. These subjects are of great interest to anthropologists. There was great temptation for me, when dealing with these topics, to indulge in dwelling upon similar beliefs, usages and rites described in such works as Frazer's 'Golden Bough.' For two reasons, however, I have rarely succumbed to this temptation. In the first place, there was the fear of increasing the bulk of the work which has already assumed enormous proportions. In the second place, dwelling on comparisons of ancient and medieval Indian usages and rites with similar usages and rites found elsewhere is liable to serious misunderstanding. Frazer's volumes are largely made up of materials concerning the beliefs, usages and rites of very primitive people. It appeared to me that readers of such comparisons might be led to think that people in ancient and medieval India were at a primitive stage of culture, while as a matter of fact they had a very high culture in most matters, although they retained certain beliefs and usages derived from remote antiquity. Many cultured societies retain some usages that belong to periods of antiquity. The queen in France was not to leave for a whole year the room in which the death of her consort was announced to her. Wretched old women deemed to be witches were prosecuted and sentenced to death in England up to the beginning



of the eighteenth century, while Manu (IX. 290) more than two thousand years ago prescribed the mild punishment of a fine of two hundred *panas* for all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites and for raising ghosts and goblins. My main aim has throughout been to discover, collect, classify and interpret the facts of the various departments of Dharmasāstra and my endeavour has been, as far as in me lies, to present the truth with detachment and intellectual integrity and without bias (except what might have been unconsciously engendered in my mind owing to my being born and brought up in a brāhmaṇa family) to show the continuity, the developments and transformations in Indian beliefs, rites and usages throughout the ages and, while bringing the past in its causal relations with the present, to indicate and suggest future trends and changes in these matters.†

The fifth and last volume will mainly deal with the following subjects: *vratas* and *utsavas*; *śānti* rites; *kāla* and *muhūrta*; *paurāṇa-dharma*; the influence of the *Purvamīmāṃsā* and other *śāstras* on *dharmasāstra*; the cosmological, religious and philosophical background of *dharmasāstra*; the fundamental aspects of our culture through the ages; the impact of modern social and other ideas and trends on the dogmas and ideals of *dharmasāstra* and the future of the latter. This by itself is rather an ambitious programme. Now that I am over seventy-three years of age and suffering from several ailments I have misgivings whether I would be able to write this last volume and publish it while all mental and physical faculties are sound. I am myself extremely anxious to write this last volume as early as possible and bring to a conclusion an undertaking to which I have devoted all my leisure for over thirty years regardless of monetary losses and bodily ailments. With that object in view I have given up either entirely or very largely most of my other activities and engagements and have thereby offended many of my friends.

This volume also is full of quotations, references to inscriptions and judicial decisions. The reasons for this have

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† Prof. J. B. Bury, a distinguished Professor of History in the Cambridge University, thought that freedom from bias was not possible and was not also desirable, since a man writing history completely free from bias would produce a colourless and dull work. Vide 'Selected Essays' (edited by Harold Temperley, 1930) p. 70.

been stated at length in the preface to the second volume and therefore they need not be repeated here. The list of additions to this volume is much larger than in the preceding volumes. I may be pardoned for frankly stating the reason. The first and second volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra were published so far back as 1930 and 1941 respectively. No second edition of these has yet been called. It seems to me quite possible that during my life-time no second edition of the volumes of the History, or at least of this volume, might appear. Therefore, I tried to incorporate by way of additions such information as had escaped me while the work was being written in order to make it as complete as possible.

I now discharge the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, and the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East have been very useful in preparing this volume as in the case of its predecessors. Paramahansa Swāmi Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai has been a tower of strength in all matters of doubt and difficulty and has helped me by offering prompt guidance in solving some intricate problems. I am highly obliged to Mr. S. N. Savadi of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, for help in the correction of proofs and to Mr. P. M. Purandare, Advocate (O. S.), Bombay High Court, and Tarkatīrtha Raghunath Shāstri Kokje of Lonavla for reading the printed sheets as they came and making valuable suggestions.

It is difficult to name all those who in various ways, during the progress of this volume for over six years, kindly rendered assistance, but I should like to make special mention of Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Dr. G. S. Gai, Prof. P. K. Gode, Tarka-tīrtha Lakṣmapāshāstri Joshi, Mr. G. H. Khare, Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar, Dr. Umesha Mishra, Dr. V. Raghavan, Prof. L. Renou, Prof. H. D. Velankar. Thanks are due to these scholars and many others for help and interest in this volume. I am conscious that in spite of so much help and generous encouragement from friends there are in this volume several mistakes, the sole responsibility for which rests on my shoulders. In a work replete with thousands of quotations and references

it is quite likely that many slips have escaped my attention. § For these and for the elision of a few diacritical marks and the displacement of parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing the indulgence and forgiveness of all readers are sought. I sincerely thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, for carrying out the work of printing this volume with care in spite of difficulties caused by paper and labour shortage.

BOMBAY, }  
10-10-1953 }

P. V. KANE

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§ I take this opportunity of correcting two mistakes that I regret I committed in the third volume of the History of Dharmatāstra. In note 1886 on p. 968 (of vol. III) I refer to a work of Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharya that contains a full treatment of *Kalivarjya*. I suggested in that note that Mr. Bhattacharya probably retouched his thesis after 1937 though it was written in 1933, in view of the fact that he referred to the *Smṛtimuktāphala* (which was published in 1937 by Mr. Gharpure). Through oversight I forgot that Mr. Bhattacharya had expressly stated that he used the transcript of a ms. of the *Smṛtimuktāphala* specially made for him. Therefore, I was wrong in my surmise that he probably retouched his thesis and I must say that the thesis as published in 1943 is the same as that written in 1933 for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize. The second mistake refers to Dr. U. N. Ghosal on p. 32 (of vol. III). I stated 'it is not possible to hold as Jayaswal, U. Ghosal and others do that the theory of social contract was the earlier one and the theory of divine right of kings was later on propounded by the Manusmṛti to support the brāhmaṇa empire of Puryamitra'. In writing this sentence my memory was at fault. I find that Dr. Ghosal does not hold the view that I attributed to him. In the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' (vol. 23, pp. 68-70) Dr. Ghosal justly protests against my bracketing him with Jayaswal, but I cannot help observing that the last sentence in the paper shows unexpected acerbity. In his whole career as a writer Dr. Ghosal was not probably guilty of a single slip and could not therefore bring himself to believe that my mistake might have been *bona fide*.

## ABBREVIATIONS

( Most of the abbreviations on pp. 728-29  
are not included in this list )

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>A. G. = Ancient Geography of India<br/>           Ain. A. = Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal<br/>           Ait. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<br/>           A. I. R. = All India Reporter<br/>           A. K. D. = Antyakarmadipaka<br/>           All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad series<br/>           Anu. = Anusāsanaparva<br/>           Āp. = Āpastamba<br/>           Āp. Dh. or Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra<br/>           Āp. Gr. = Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra<br/>           Āp. M. P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha<br/>           Āp. Śr. or Āp. Śr. S. or Āp. S. S. = Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra<br/>           A. S. R. = Archaeological Survey Reports<br/>           Āśv. gr. or Āśv. gr. S. = Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra<br/>           Āśv. Śr. S. or Āśv. Śr. = Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra<br/>           A. V. = Atharvaveda<br/>           Baud. = Baudhāyana<br/>           Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra<br/>           Baud. Gr. = Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra<br/>           Baud. P. S. = Baudhāyana-pitr-medha-sūtra<br/>           Baud. Śr. = Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra<br/>           Beng. L. R. = Bengal Law Reports<br/>           Bom. G. = Bombay Gazetteer Volumes</p> | <p>B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series<br/>           Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay series<br/>           Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter<br/>           Br. Up. = Brhadāranyakopaniṣad<br/>           B. R. W. W. = Buddhist Records of the Western World by Beal<br/>           Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta series<br/>           C. I. I. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum<br/>           Chān. Up. = Chāndogyopaniṣad<br/>           C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal<br/>           C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes<br/>           Dh. or Dh. S. = Dharma-sūtra<br/>           ed. = edited<br/>           E. I. = Epigraphia Indica<br/>           Gaut. or Gaut. Dh. S. = Gautama-dharma-sūtra<br/>           Gobhila Gr. = Gobhila-grhya-sūtra<br/>           G. O. S. = Gaikwad Oriental series<br/>           G. P. S. = Gautama-pitr-medha-sūtra<br/>           Gr. R. = Gr̥hastharatnākara<br/>           H. of D. or H. of Dh. = History of Dharmaśāstra<br/>           Hir. Gr. or Hir. gr. = Hiranyakeśi-grhya-sūtra<br/>           Hir. P. S. = Hiranyakeśi-pitr-medha-sūtra<br/>           I. A. = Indian Antiquary or Law Reports, Indian Appeals (according to context)<br/>           I. L. R. = Indian Law Reports series</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly  
 J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal  
 Jai. = Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra  
 Jaimini Gr. = Jaimini-grhya-sūtra  
 JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society  
 Jiv. = Jivananda Vidyāsagara's edition  
 J. O. R. = Journal of Oriental Research (Madras)  
 J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain  
 Kāt. = Kātyāyana  
 Kāt. Śr. or Kāt. Śr. S. = Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra  
 Kāthaka Gr. = Kāthaka-grhya-sūtra  
 Kātyāyana = Kātyāyana-smṛtisāroddhāra (ed. by me)  
 Kauś. or Kauśika = Kauśikasūtra  
 Kaus. Up. = Kauśitaki Upaniṣad  
 Khādira Gr. = Khādira-grhya-sūtra  
 m. = mentioned  
 Märk. = Märkanḍeyapurāṇa  
 Mit. = Mitākṣarā, commentary on Yājñavalkya  
 M. S. = Maitrāyaṇī-samhitā  
 Nir. = Nirukta  
 Nirn. = Nirṇayasāgara Press ed.  
 Pāṇ. = Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī  
 Pār. gr. = Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra  
 Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhaviya  
 Pr. M. = Prāyāścitta-mayūkha  
 Pr. Pr. or Pr. Prakāśa = Prāyāścitta-prakāśa  
 Pr. Prakaraṇa = Prāyāścitta-prakaraṇa  
 Pr. S. or Pr. sāra = Prāyāścittasāra  
 Pr. T. or Pr. Tattva = Prāyāścittatattva  
 Pr. V. or Pr. Vi. = Prāyāścittaviveka  
 q = quoted  
 Q. B. D. = Queen's Bench Division  
 Rg. = Rgveda  
 Sāma. Br. = Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa  
 Śān. Br. = Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa  
 Śān. gr. = Śāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra  
 Śān. Śr. or Śān. Śr. S. = Śāṅkhāyanaśrauta-sūtra  
 Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa  
 Sat. Śr. = Satyāśadhaśrauta-sūtra  
 S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Maxmüller)  
 S. K. = Śuddhikaumudī  
 S. K. L. = Śrāddhakalpalatā  
 Sm. C. or Smr. C. = Smṛticandrikā  
 Smṛ. M. = Smṛtimuktāphala  
 Śr. P. or Śr. Pr. = Śrāddhaprakāśa  
 Śr. K. K. = Śrāddhakriyakaumudī  
 S. V. = Sāmaveda  
 Tai. Ā. or Tai. Ār. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka  
 Tai. Br. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa  
 Tai. S. = Taittirīya Samhitā  
 Tai. Up. = Taittirīya-upaniṣad  
 Tāndya Br. = Tāndyamahābrāhmaṇa  
 Tir. C. = Tirthacintāmaṇi  
 Tir. K. = Tirthakalpataru  
 Tirthapr. or Tir. Pr. = Tirtha-prakāśa  
 Tri. S. = Tristhalisetu  
 T. S. = Tirthasāra  
 Up. = Upaniṣad  
 Vaik. Smārta or Vaik. Sm. S. = Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra  
 Vaik. Śr. or Vaik. Śr. S. = Vaikhāṇasaśrauta-sūtra  
 Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyi-samhitā  
 Vas. = Vasistha-dharma-sūtra

Viṣṇu Dh. or Viṣṇu Dh. S. =  
Viṣṇudharmasūtra  
Vy. M. = Vyavahāramayūkha  
Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti  
अ. क. दी. = अन्यकर्मदीपक  
अमि. or अमिपु. = अमिपुराण  
अथर्व. = अथर्ववेद  
अनु. = अनुशासनपर्व  
अन्योष्टिप. = अन्योष्टिपद्धति of नारायण  
आ. गृ. परि. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यपरिशिष्ट  
आप. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र  
आप. गृ. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र  
आप. ध. or आप. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र  
आप. म. पा. = आपस्तम्बमन्त्रपाठ  
आप. श्रौ. or आ. श्रौ. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र  
आश्व. गृ. परि. = आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट  
आश्व. गृ. or आश्व. गृ. सू. = आश्वलायनगृह्य-  
सूत्र  
आश्व. श्रौ. or आश्व. श्रौ. सू. = आश्वलायन-  
श्रौतसूत्र  
ऋ. = ऋग्वेद  
ऐ. आ. = ऐतरेय-आरण्यक  
ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण  
क. उप. or कठ. or कठोप. = कठोपनिषद्  
कल्प. = कृत्यकल्पतरु or कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर  
कात्या. = कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार  
का. श्रौ. सू. or कात्या. श्रौ. or कात्या. श्रौ. सू.  
= कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र  
कौ. ब्रा. उप. or कौषीतकि-ब्रा. उप. =  
कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद्  
गङ्गाभक्ति. or गङ्गाभ. = गङ्गाभक्तिरत्नकिणी  
गङ्गावाक्या. or गङ्गावा. = गङ्गावाक्यावलि  
गरुड or गरुडपु. = गरुडपुराण  
गृह. र. = गृह्यसंस्कार  
गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र  
गौ. पि. सू. = गौतमपितृमेघसूत्र  
चतुर्विंशति. or चतुर्विंश. or चतु. सं. = चतु-  
विंशतिमतसंग्रह  
चतुर्वर्ग. = चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि of हेमाद्रि  
छा. उप. or छां. उप. or छान्दोग्योप. =  
छान्दोग्योपनिषद्  
ताण्ड्य. = ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण

तीर्थकल्प. = कल्पतरु on तीर्थ (G. O. S.)  
ती. प्र. or तीर्थप्र. = तीर्थप्रकाश  
ती. वि. or तीर्थवि. = तीर्थचिन्तामणि of  
वाचस्पति  
तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक  
तै. उप. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्  
तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण  
तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता  
त्रि. से. सा. स. = त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसङ्ग्रह of  
भट्टोजि  
त्रिस्थली = त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट  
निर्णय. or नि. सि. = निर्णयसिन्धु  
पद्म. or पद्मपु. = पद्मपुराण  
परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवाय  
पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी  
पार. गृ. = पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र  
पृथ्वी. or पृथ्वीच. or पृथ्वीचन्द्र. = पृथ्वी-  
चन्द्रोदय  
प्राय. तत्त्व = प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व  
प्राय. प्रकरण or प्राय. प्रक. = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण  
प्रा. प्रकाश = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश  
प्राय. वि. or प्रा. वि. or प्राय. वि. = प्राय-  
श्चित्तविवेक  
प्राय. म. = प्रायश्चित्तमयूख  
प्राय. सा. or प्राय. सार = प्रायश्चित्तसार  
बृह. उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्  
बृ. सं. = बृहत्संहिता of बराहमिहिर्  
बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र  
बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र  
बौ. श्रौ. = बौधायनश्रौतसूत्र  
ब्रह्मपु. = ब्रह्मपुराण  
भवि. पु. or भविष्यपु. = भविष्यपुराण  
मत्स्य. = मत्स्यपुराण  
मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात  
मनु = मनुस्मृति  
महार्णव = महार्णवकर्मविपाक (ms.)  
मानवगृ. = मानवगृह्यसूत्र  
मिता. = मिताक्षरा  
मेधा. = मेधातिथि, commentator of मनु  
मै. सं. = मैत्रायणीसंहिता  
या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति  
राजत. = राजतरङ्गिणी of कल्हण

वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता

वायु. or वायुपु. = वायुपुराण

विष्णुपु. = विष्णुपुराण

वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर

विष्णु. or विष्णुध. सू. = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र

वृद्धया. = वृद्धयज्ञवल्क्य

वे. सू. = वेदान्तसूत्र

व्यव. नि. = व्यवहारनिर्णय

व्य. म. = व्यवहारमयूख

शत. ब्रा. or शतपथ or शतपथब्रा. = शतपथ-

ब्राह्मण

शातातप = शातातपरस्मृति

शाङ्खायनब्रा. or शा. ब्रा. = शाङ्खायनब्राह्मण

शां. श्रौ. or शां. श्रौ. सू. = शाङ्खायनश्रौतसूत्र

शान्ति. = शान्तिपर्व

शु. कौ. or शुद्धिकौ. = शुद्धिकौमुदी

शुद्धिकल्प. = कल्पतरु or शुद्धि

शुद्धिप्र. or शु. प्र. = शुद्धिप्रकाश

श्रा. क. ल. = श्राद्धकल्पलता

श्रा. क्रि. कौ. = श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी

श्राद्धप्र. or श्रा. प्र. = श्राद्धप्रकाश

सत्या. श्रौ. = सत्यापाठश्रौतसूत्र

साम. ब्रा. = सामविधानब्राह्मण

स्कन्द. or स्कन्दपु. = स्कन्दपुराण

स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका

स्मृतिमु. or स्मृ. मु. = स्मृतिमुक्ताफल

श्रा. वि. = श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर

हिर. गृ. or हिरण्य. गृ. = हिरण्यकेशिगृह्यसूत्र

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

some important Sanskrit works and authors referred  
to in volume IV

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and disputed by several scholars. Most of the dates about authors from the 8th or 9th century refer to the probable periods of their literary activity except in the case of a few authors such as Śaṅkarācārya and Vidyāpati.

4000 B. C.—1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmanas and Upaniṣads. Some hymns of the R̥gveda, of the Atharvaveda, and in the Taittiriya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa may possibly go back to a period earlier than 4000 B. C. and some of the Upaniṣads (even from among those that are regarded by most scholars as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C. Some scholars have criticized me for ascribing the vedic samhitās to such an early date as 4000 B. C. Time and health permitting, I may have to deal with this question in a separate work after I finish the 5th and last volume on which I am now engaged.

800 B. C.—500 B. C.—The Nirukta of Yāska

800 B. C.—400 B. C.—The principal śrautasūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Satyaśulba and others) and some of the gr̥hyasūtras (such as those of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana)

600—300 B. C.—The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and the Gr̥hyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pāṇini

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—The Bhagavadgītā

300 B. C.—Vararuci Kātyāyana, author of Vārtikas on Pāṇini's sūtras

300 B. C.—100 A. D.—Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (rather nearer the former date than the latter)

150 B. C.—100 A. D. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (probably nearer the former date than the latter)

200 B. C.—100 A. D.—Manusmṛti



- 100 A. D.-300 A. D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti  
 100 A. D.-300 A. D.—Viṣṇudharmasūtra  
 100 A. D.-400 A. D.—Nārada-smṛti  
 200 A. D.-400 A. D.—Śabara's bhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra (rather nearer the former date)  
 300 A. D.-500 A. D.—Bṛhaspati-smṛti on Vyavahāra and other topics (not yet found). Extracts on Vyavahāra were translated in S. B. E. vol. 33 and extracts on many topics of Dharma were collected by Prof. Rangasvami Aiyangar and published in Gaikwad Oriental series  
 300 A. D.-600 A. D.—Some of the extant Purāṇas such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Matsya, Kūrma  
 500 A. D.-550 A. D.—Varāhamihira, author of Pañca-siddhāntikā, Brhatsamhitā, Brhat-Jātaka and other works.  
 600 A. D.-650 A. D.—Bāṇa, author of the Kadambarī and Harṣa-carita  
 650-665 A. D.—Kaśikā, commentary by Vamana and Jayaditya on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī  
 650-700 A. D.—Kumārīlabhaṭṭa, author of Tantravārtika and other works.  
 600 A. D.-900 A. D.—Most of the smṛtis such as those of Parāśara, Śaṅkha, Devaḷa and some of the Purāṇas such as Agni, Garuda.  
 788 A. D.-820 A. D.—Śaṅkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher  
 800 A. D.-850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, the commentator of Yājñavalkya-smṛti  
 825 A. D.-900 A. D.—Medhātithi, a commentator of Manusmṛti  
 966 A. D.—Utpala composed his commentary on the Brhājñataka of Varāhamihira  
 1000 A. D.-1050 A. D.—Dharmasvara Bhoja, author of numerous works  
 1080 A. D.-1100 A. D.—Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitākṣarā commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti  
 1080 A. D.-1110 A. D. Govindarāja, a commentator of Manusmṛti  
 1100-1130 A. D.—Lakṣmīdhara, the author of a vast digest on Dharmasāstra called Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru  
 1100-1150 A. D.—Jimūtavahana, author of the Dayabhāga, Kalāviveka and Vyavahāramātṛkā.  
 1100-1150 A. D. Bhavadēvabhaṭṭa, author of Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa and other works  
 1110 A. D.-1130—A. D. Aparārka, Śilāhara king, composed a commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti  
 1127 A. D.-1138 A. D.—Mānasollasa or Abhilāṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi of Somēśvaradeva

- 1150 A.D.-1160 A.D.—*Rājataranginī* of Kalhana
- 1150 A.D.-1180 A.D.—Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, author of *Hāralatā* and *Pitrdayitā*
- 1150 A.D.-1200 A.D.—*Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara
- 1150 A.D.-1300 A.D.—Haradatta, commentator of the *Dharmasūtras* of Gautama and Āpastamba and some *gṛhyasūtras*
- 1200 A.D.-1225 A.D.—*Smṛticandrikā* of Devanabhaṭṭa
- 1150 A.D.-1300 A.D.—Kullūka, a commentator on *Manusmṛti*
- 1175 A.D.-1200 A.D.—Halāyudha, son of Dhanañjaya and author of *Brāhmanasarvasva*
- 1260 A.D.-1270 A.D.—*Caturvargacintāmaṇi* of Hemādri
- 1275 A.D.-1310 A.D.—Śrīdatta, author of *Pitrbhakti*, *Samaya-pradīpa* and other works
- 1300 A.D.-1370 A.D.—Candēśvara, author of *Gṛhastharatnakara*, *Vivadaratnakara*, *Kṛtyaratnakara* and other works
- 1300 A.D.-1380 A.D.—Sāyana, compiler of *bhāṣyas* on Vedic *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*
- 1300 A.D.-1380 A.D.—Mādhavācārya, commentator of *Parāśara-smṛti* and other works and brother of Sāyana
- 1360 A.D.-1390 A.D.—Madanapārijāta and *Mahāmavaprakāśa* compiled under king Madanapāla and his son
- 1360 A.D.-1448 A.D.—These are the dates of the birth and death of Vidyāpati, author of *Gāṅgāvākyāvalī* and other works. Vide *Indian Antiquary* vol. 14 pp 190-191 for an inscription which records in four eras the grant of the village Bisapī to Vidyāpati by king Śivasimha, son of Devasimha (śaka 1321, samvat 1455, La. Sam. 283 and *san* 807)
- 1375 A.D.-1440 A.D.—Sulapaṇi, author of *Dīpakalikā*, commentary on *Yājñavalkya*, *Prāyścitta-viveka*, *Durgotsavaviveka* and other works.
- 1375-1500 A.D.—Prithvicandra, son of Nāgamalla, author of a vast digest called *Dharmatattvakalānidhi*, divided into *Prakāśas* on *śrāddha*, *vyavahāra* and other topics.
- 1425-1450 A.D.—Madanaratna, an extensive digest compiled by king Madanasimhadeva
- 1425 A.D.-1460 A.D.—Rudradhara, author of *Suddhiviveka*, *Śrāddhaviveka* and other works
- 1425-1490 A.D.—Vācaspati, author of *Suddhicintāmaṇi*, *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* and numerous other works.
- 1450-1500 A.D.—Vardhamāna, author of *Dandaviveka*, *Gāṅgākṛtyaviveka* and other works
- 1490 A.D.-1515 A.D.—Nṛsiṃhaprasāda of Dalapati, of which *Śrāddhasāra*, *Tīrthasāra*, *Prāyścittasāra* and several more are parts.

- 1500 A.D.-1540 A. D.—Govindānanda, author of Śuddhikaumudī, Śrāddhakriyākaumudī and other works
- 1513-1580—Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, author of Prayogaratna, Antyeṣṭipaddhati, Tristhalisetu
- 1520-1575—Raghunandana, author of numerous works called Tattvas on Śrāddha, Tīrtha, Śuddhi, Prāyaścitta and other topics
- 1520-1589—Ṭoḍarānanda compiled under the patronage of Ṭoḍarmal and divided into Saukhyas on Śuddhi, Śrāddha, Tīrtha, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipakā and about 15 more topics
- 1590-1630 A.D.—Nandapaṇḍita, author of several works such as Vaijayantī (com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra), Śrāddha-kalpalatā, Śuddhicandrikā, Dattakamimāṃsā
- 1610-1640—Kamalākaraḥṭṭa, author of Nirṇayasindhu and over 20 works besides
- 1610-1640—Vīramitrodaya of Mitraniśra, of which Tīrthapraṇāsa, Prāyaścittapraṇāsa, Śrāddhapraṇāsa are parts
- 1610-1645—Nīlakaṇṭha, author of Bhagavantabbāskara in 12 Mayūkhas on Prāyaścitta, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and other topics
- 1700-1740—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyaṇātha
- 1700-1750 A. D.—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhaṭṭa, author of about 30 works among which Tīrthendusekhara, Prāyaścittendusekhara, Śrāddhendusekhara were used in this volume
- 1790—Kāśinātha Upādhyāya, author of Dharmasindhu, composed it in 1712
- 1730-1820—Bālabhaṭṭa, author of a commentary on the Mitākṣarā, called Bālabhaṭṭi

**BRIEF SYNOPSIS**  
OF THE  
**CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV**

	PAGES
<b>Section I :—Pātaḥ. Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka</b>	
Chapter I Sin in Rgveda, conception of ṛta, enumeration and classification of sins, grave sins and lesser lapses, doctrine of <i>karma</i> ...	1—40
Chapter II Means of reducing the consequences of sins, viz. confession, repentance, <i>prāṇāyāma</i> , <i>tapas</i> , <i>homa</i> , <i>japa</i> (muttering sacred texts), gifts, fasting, pilgrimages. ...	41—56
Chapter III Prāyaścitta (expiation), derivation of the word, origin and meaning; expiations and secular punishments; circumstances to be considered in prescribing expiations; <i>pariṣad</i> (assembly of learned men) and its duties. ...	57—86
Chapter IV Expiations for grave sins such as brahmana murder and for lesser sins; procedure followed; tonsure; substitutes for expiations ...	87—129
Chapter V Names and descriptions of all individual expiations. ...	130—152
Chapter VI Consequences of not undergoing expiations; historical account of the ideas of Heaven, Hells and torments; doctrine of <i>karmavipāka</i> . ...	153—178
<b>Section II :—Antyeṣṭi (rites after death), āśauca (impurity on birth and death), Śuddhi (purification).</b>	
Chapter VII Eschatology; Rgveda X. 14—18 translated; rites on death of <i>āhitāgni</i> in Śat. Br. and śrauta and gṛhya sūtras; cremation; burial; offering	

of water to deceased ; collecting charred bones and casting them into sacred waters ; *śānti* rites : graves ; persons competent to perform rites after death. ... 179-266

Chapter VIII *Śuddhi* includes purification after *āśauca* (impurity on birth and death), purification of the body, of substances (pots, wells, food), of images and temples ; derivation of the word *āśauca*, its meaning and two varieties (on birth and on death); circumstances on which periods of *āśauca* depended : exception to rules about observance of *āśauca* ; *Nārāyaṇabali* for those who commit suicide ; emphasis on mental purity. ... 267-333

### Section III :—*Śrāddha*

Chapter IX Derivation and definition of '*śrāddha*'; *śrāddha* and the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma*; pits; panegyrics of *śrāddha*; only three rites for the departed in ancient times viz. *pīṇḍapitryajña*, *mahāpitryajña* and *aṣṭakās*; the *adhikārin* (person entitled to perform) for *śrāddha*; meaning of the word '*putra*'; proper times and places for *śrāddha*; classification of *śrāddhas*; qualifications of *brāhmaṇas* to be invited; persons unfit to be invited; food recommended and condemned in *śrāddha*; *pīṇḍapitryajña* as described in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa*; *pārvaṇaśrāddha* as described in *Āśvalāyanagrhya*, in *Yājñavalkya*, and in *Padmapurāṇa*; *Viśve-devas*; *agnau-karaṇa*; number of *āhutis*; number of ancestors to whom *pīṇḍas* are offered (3, 6, 9 or 12); description of modern *pārvaṇaśrāddha*; meaning of *sapīṇḍa*; *āmaśrāddha*. ... 334-515

Chapter X *Ekoddiṣṭa* and other *śrāddhas*; *hemaśrāddha*; procedure of *sapīṇḍikarāṇa* or *sapīṇḍana*; occasions for and description of *ābhyudayikaśrāddha*; *pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha* and *mahālayaśrāddha*;

PAGES

mātāmahasrāddha; letting loose of a bull; gift of  
cow ... 516-551

Section IV :—Tīrthayātrā ( pilgrimages to holy places )

Chapter XI Holy places ( mountains, rivers, forests )  
play important part in the culture and unity of  
India; meaning of tīrtha in Ṛgveda and later  
texts; grounds on which places become tīrthas;  
number of tīrthas very large; four classes of tīrthas,  
viz. daiva, āsura, āra and mānuṣa; who should go  
on a pilgrimage; rites on starting; tonsure and fast. ... 552-584

Chapter XII Ganges eulogised in Ṛgveda, Mahā-  
bhārata and purāṇas; Tristhalī i. e. Prayāga, Kāśī  
and Gaya; eulogy of Prayāga; tonsure at Prayāga;  
suicide at Prayāga; sub-tīrthas of Prayāga such as  
Akṣayaṇḍī. ... 585-617

Chapter XIII Kāśī; ancient history and eulogy of  
Kāśī; Banaras known under five different names;  
derivation of the words Kāśī and Vārāṇasī;  
Viśveśvara and Manikarnikā; five essential tīrthas at  
Banaras; Pañcakrośī pilgrimage; sub-tīrthas, such  
as Jñānavāpi; numerous līṅgas at Banaras ... 618-642

Chapter XIV Gayā; Gayāmāhātmya in Vāyupurāṇa  
(chapt. 105-112); views about its date; Viṣṇupada  
and Gayāśīras in Nirukta; brief summary of  
Gayāmāhātmya; most important spots in Gayā  
are the Phalgu river, Viṣṇupada and Akṣayaṇḍī; the  
five tīrthas of Gayā; offering of śrāddha and pinḍas  
at Gayā; the seven holy cities, twelve Jyotir-līṅgas,  
and four Dhāmas ... 643-679

Chapter XV Kurukṣetra and some other famous  
tīrthas. History of Kurukṣetra and its other names  
viz. northern Vēdi of Prajāpati and Samanta-  
pañcaka; tīrthas of Kurukṣetra such as Sarasvatī,

Prthūdaka, seven forests; Mathurā, its history, twelve forests, Vṛndāvana, Govardhana, Gokula or Vraja; Puruṣottama tīrtha or Jagannātha; peculiar features of Jagannātha, viz. car festival, army of attendants; five important tīrthas; obscene sculptures on walls of Jagannātha temple. Narmadā, eulogy of and sub-tīrthas on Narmadā; Godāvarī and 100 tīrthas thereon described in Brahmapurāṇa such as Tryambaka, Janasthāna, Nāsik, Govardhana, Pañcaviṭī, Kāñcī, Pandharpur, its chief temple of Viṭhobā; large staff of priests; temple of devotee Fundalika, Varkarīs.	... 680-722
Chapter XVI Comprehensive list of tīrthas and concluding remarks on tīrthas	... 723-827

## IMPORTANT WORKS CONSULTED

(N. B.—Works referred to only once or twice have generally been omitted)

Ānan. stands for Ānandāśrama Press edition; B. I. for Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta; Ghar. for Mr. J. R. Gharpure's Publications; G. O. S. for Gaikwad Oriental series; Nirn. for Nirṇaya-sāgara Press editions; Jiv. for Jivānanda Vidyāsagar's Publications and Venk. for Venkatesvara Press Publications.

Aitareya Āraṇyaka (ed. by Prof. Keith in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*)  
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with Sāyaṇa's *bhāṣya* (Ānan.)

Atharvaveda-saṁhitā (ed. by S. P. Pandit and sometimes the edition of Pandit Sātavalekar)

Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad

Chāndogyaopaniṣad

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (B. I. series)

Jābālopaniṣad

Jaiminīya Saṁhitā, ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira.

Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar's ed.)

Kāthopaniṣad

Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (ed. by Lindner, Jena, 1887)

Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad

Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar's ed.)

Ṛgveda Saṁhitā with Sāyaṇa's *bhāṣya* (ed. by the Poona Vaidika-saṁsodhana-maṇḍala)

Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (ed. by A. C. Burnell, 1873)

Śaṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa (Ānan.)

Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (ed. by A. Weber)

Taittirīya-āraṇyaka (Ānan.)

Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa (Ānan.)

Taittirīya-saṁhitā (Ānan.; sometimes Pandit Sātavalekar's edition has been used)

Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa (also called Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa)—B. I. series  
Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā (ed. by Pandit Sātavalekar).

Śrauta, grhya and dharma sūtras, Vedāṅgas

Āpastamba-dharmasūtra with the commentary of Haradatta published at Kumbhakonam by Halasyanatha Sastri



Āpastamba-gr̥hya-sūtra with the com. of Sudarśanācārya ( Mysore Govt. Oriental Library series )

Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha ( ed. by Dr. Winternitz, 1897 ).

Āśvalāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra with Nārāyaṇa's commentary ( Nirṇ. )

Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra with the com. of Nārāyaṇa ( B. I. series ).

Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra ( Ānan. )

Baudhāyana-gr̥hyasūtra with gr̥hya-śeṣa-sūtra, gr̥hyaparibhāṣā and Baudhāyana-pitrmedhasūtra ( ed. by Dr. Sham Sastri in Mysore University Oriental Library Publications, 1920 ).

Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra ( ed. by Dr. Caland in B. I. series )

Bhāradvāja-gr̥hya-sūtra ( ed. by Dr. Salomons, Leyden, 1913 )

Brahmasūtra—see Vedāntasūtra

Bṛhad-devatā ( ed. by Prof. A. A. Macdonell )

Gautamadharmasūtra ( Ānan. )

Gobhila-gr̥hya-sūtra ( B. I. series )

Gobhilasmiti or Karmaṇyadīpikā ( Ānan. )

Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyasūtra ( ed. by Dr. J. Kirste, 1889 )

Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra with the bhāṣya of Śabara and the Tantravartika of Kumārila ( Ānan. )

Kāṭhaka-gr̥hya with the commentaries of Ādityadarśana, Devapāla and Brāhmaṇabala ( ed. by Dr. Caland, 1925 )

Katyāyana-śrauta-sūtra ( ed. by A. Weber )

Kauśikasūtra ( ed. by Prof. Bloomfield )

Kauṣītaki-gr̥hya-sūtra ( Benares Sanskrit series ) or Madras University Sanskrit series

Khādiragr̥hyasūtra with the com. of Rudraskanda ( Mysore Govt. Oriental Library series )

Mānavagr̥hyasūtra with the com. of Aṣṭāvakra ( G. O. S. )

Nirukta of Yāska, ed. by Roth: sometimes the edition of Prof. V. K. Rajwade with a translation and notes in Marathi has been relied upon

Pāraskara-gr̥hyasūtra—edited by M. M. Shridharshastri Pāthak with a Marathi translation

R̥gvidhāna of Śaunaka ( ed. by Prof. Jagadish Shastri ), 1940

Sāṅkhāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra ( same as Kauṣītaki-gr̥hya-sūtra )—published in the Benares Sanskrit series

Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra ( ed. by Dr. Hillebrandt )—B. I. Series

Satyāśadha-śrauta-sūtra ( Ānan. )

Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (edited with English translation by Dr. Caland)

Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra ed. by Dr. Caland (B. I. series, 1941)

Vārāhagṛhyasūtra (G. O. S.)

Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (Bombay S. series)

Vedāntasūtra with the bhāṣya of Śāṅkara (Nirn.)

Viṣṇudharmasūtra (ed. by Dr. Jolly)

*Smṛtis*

Āpastambasmṛti in verse (Ānan.)

Atri-smṛti (Ānan.)

Aśvānasa-smṛti (Jiv.)

Bhagavad-gītā

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## INDEX OF CASES CITED

<i>Akshayacandra v Haridas</i>	511
<i>Chandrachoor Das v Bibhuti Bhushan</i>	218, 220
<i>Darbarilal v Govindlal</i>	569
<i>Digambar v Motilal</i>	510
<i>Dinanath v Hrishikesh</i>	569, 573n
<i>Dwarkanath Misser v Rampertab</i>	581
<i>Ganpat v Tulsiram</i>	569
<i>Gangaram Babaji Badve v Baji Shankar</i>	713n
<i>Gangaram Babaji v Narayan Annaji</i>	714n
<i>Gooroo Gobinda Saha v Anandlal</i>	510
<i>Gopala Muppanar v Dharmakarta Subramania</i>	318
<i>Hari v Bajrand</i>	569n
<i>Lachman Lal v Baldeo Lal</i>	581
<i>Lachman Lal v Kanhaya Lal</i>	581
<i>Maharani Hemanta Kumari v Gaurishankar</i>	633n
<i>Mutteram v Gopal</i>	569
<i>Nalinaksha v Rajanikanto</i>	510
<i>Narayan Lal v Chulhan Lal</i>	581
<i>Narhari v Bhimrao</i>	323
<i>Reg. v Price</i>	233
<i>Sardar Singh v Kunj Behari</i>	
<i>S. K. Wodeyar v Ganapati</i>	318
<i>Sakharam Bhimaji Benare v Gangaram Babaji</i>	713n
<i>Saklat v Bella</i>	320
54 All.	698
6 Cal.	27n
22 Cal.	609
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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

N. B.—Some cases where the correction can be easily made [as in the elision of an anusvāra or mātṛā or a diacritical mark] have not been noted.]

Page Line or Note

- |    |                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|----|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 8  | note 17         | Read न स स्वो दक्षो वरुण धृतिः                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 9  | note 19         | Add at end 'Vide also विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33.1'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 15 | last line       | Put a full stop after the word 'Viṣṇu'.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 17 | note 36         | Read 'व्यापारे रुढः'.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 18 | line 25         | Read 'selling of flesh'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 19 | note 43 l. 8    | Read 'अग्निपुराण 173.5'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 24 | note 58         | Read न तु गुरोरङ्गना गुर्वङ्गना                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 28 | note 68 line 7  | Read दोषो न संसर्गः                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 36 | line 34         | Read 'they pray'.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 37 | note 88         | Read यत्किंचिद् वरुण दैव्ये                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 42 | line 24         | Read 'to be spread over from one'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 43 | line 23         | Read 'yadadivyan' (Tai. Ā. II. 4.1, and Baud. Dh. S. III. 7. 10)'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 44 | line 29         | Read 'by offering either'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 46 | note 107 line 4 | Read अथर्वाक्षिरस्.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 47 | line 7          | Read 'four pakayajñas or mahāyajñas'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 47 | note 109        | Read 'the five mahāyajñas or pakayajñas as they are called in Manu II. 86'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 54 | note 133a       | Add—'The verse 'उपावृत्तस्य...वर्जितः' is अग्निपु. 175. 5-6 and is cited as from भविष्यपुराण by कल्पतरु on व्रत p. 3. Hemādri on vrata, vol. I. p. 1009 quotes विष्णुधर्मोत्तर on the meaning of गुण as 'तज्जाप्यजायी तद्ध्यान-तत्कथाश्रवणादिकम्। तदर्चनं च तन्नामकीर्तनश्रवणादयः॥ उपवासकृतो ह्येते गुणाः प्रोक्ता मनोषिभिः।'. The verse उपावृत्तस्य* is ascribed to Vasistha by Hemādri on vrata. vol. I. p. 1004 |
| 58 | note 139 line 6 | Read प्रायश्चित्तं विध्यपराधे                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 94 | lines 19        | Add at end 'It may be noted that the digests on Dharma forbid bathing in the sea at any                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

Page Line or Note

- time one pleases and allow it only on Full Moon, on Amāvasyā and on *parvan* days and prescribe that at Setubandha one may bathe in the sea on any day. Compare: अश्वत्थसागरी सेव्यो न स्पृष्टव्यो कदाचन । अश्वत्थं मन्दवारे च सागरं पर्वणि स्पृशेत् । न कालनियमः सेतौ समुद्रज्ञान-कर्मणि ॥ धर्मसिन्धु I. 1 p. 36
- 106 note 242 line 3 Read प्राय. वि.
- 108 note 247 Add at end 'Verses from गावः सुरभयो नित्यं to हविरन्यत्र तिष्ठति are अग्निपुराण 292. 14-20'
- 113 note 257 At the end add 'The Mit. on Yāj. III. 280 remarks: यदा गार्हस्थ्यपरिग्रहेण संन्यासास्रच्युतो भवति तदा संवर्तौकं दृष्टव्यम्—संन्यस्य दुर्मतिः कश्चित्प्रत्यापन्ति प्रजेद्यदि । स कुर्यात्कृच्छ्रमश्रान्तः षष्मासात्प्रत्यनन्तरम् ॥' This is संवर्त 171-72
- 114 line 2 Add 'Vide the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis-tūbhayathāpi)'.
- 116 line 23 Add after the words 'for a month'—'It appears that simply officiating as a priest or accepting a gift entailed a prāyaścitta; vide Tai. A. II. 16. 17 'याजयित्वा प्रतिगृह्य वानभनन् त्रिः स्वाध्यायं वेदमधीयीत'. Manu X. 109-111 appear to endorse this view.
- 140 line 7 Read 'and as marking'
- 149 line 23 Add at end 'Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III 248 states that in the Āngirasa-smṛti an expiation called Vajra is described and it is provided therein that those who are guilty of a mahāpātaka are purified after three years. The Mit. on Yāj. III 254 quotes the same half-verse as of Angiras'.
- 164 n 395 line 2 Read अष्टाविंशतिकोऽयः
- 169 n 406 Add 'This verse is quoted by नीलकण्ठ in his commentary on उद्योगपर्व 33. 72 and in the सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति Chowkhamba S. series p. 45.'
- 185 line 11 Add after 'namo Vāsudevāya.'—Vide भगवद्गीता 8. 5-6 and पद्मपुराण V. 47. 262 'मरणे या मतिः पुंसां गतिर्भवति तादृशी', for the belief about the thoughts of a dying man.'

## Page Line or Note

- 185 n 432 Read 'शान्तिपर्व, 285. 74 ff. for शिवसहस्रनाम '
- 192 n 443  
last line Read ' Fargard '
- 200 n 476 Read in 2nd line ' recital ' and ' bones ' in line 3.
- 212 line 12 Add a new paragraph after this line viz ' A peculiar rite called Sampratti ( transmission ) is described in Br. Up. I. 5. 17 and Kauṣītaki-brāhmanopaniṣad II. 15, wherein a father when about to die calls his son and transmits to him his own finished and unfinished work such as yajñas.
- 212 Add footnote 500a ' Though in modern times Nārāyanabhaṭṭa's Antyeṣṭipaddhati is generally followed, it must be stated here in order to avoid misunderstanding that now no one spreads kusas and antelope skin on the funeral pile nor is the wife made to sit down near the deceased nor is she then raised up by anybody'.
- 216 n503 l. 1 Read ' मित्ता. on या. III. 2, मद. पा p. 395 '
- 239 line 29 Read ' text of Samivarta that a '
- 244 line 6 Put the figure 555 above Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9
- 265 n. 594a Read in last line but one तद्रूपं देहमन्यं
- 269 n 603 l. 2 Read तन्तुं तन्वन्नरजसो भानुमन्विषक्षानहो
- 271 l. 35 Add after the word ' death. ' ' It should be noted that in almost all parts of India except in Bengal members of all varṇas including śūdras observe by usage only ten days' impurity on death '
- 277 l. 13 Read ' preferably '
- 300 n 677, l. 3 Read ' पतितानां च '
- 308 l. 17 Omit the words ' with Sanskrit explanation '
- 310 note 695 Read ' संमार्ष्टव्या उत '
- 312 n 700 Add at end " Though Manu V. 130 says generally ' नित्यमास्यं शुचि स्त्रीणाम् ' the words must be narrowed down to the occasions of dalliance in view of what Baud. Dh. S. I. 4. 57 ( स्त्रियश्च रतिसंसर्गे ), Vas. 28.8, S'ankha 16.16, Atri V. 14 and most of the commentators of Manu say."

Page Line or Note

- 321 lines 11-15 I should have mentioned here the four verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarṇāḥ' of the Tai. S. V. 6. 1.1
- 345 top Read 'Pañcajanāḥ'
- „ n. 776 l. 4 Read 'षड् ऋतवस्तान् पितॄन् परिचक्षते'
- 355 n. 807 l. 1 Read 'मेघमजं बालमते'
- 368 n. 838 l. 2 Read शकुना इव
- 377 n. 851 l. 2 Read तीर्थेषु स्वप्नमौ च प्रयत्नतः.
- 382-383 note 861 Add at end "In several works the 96 śrāddhas are enumerated somewhat differently. For example the धर्मेसिन्धु II. 2. p. 39 says: 'अमा १२ युग ४ मनु १४ कान्ति १२ वृत्ति १२ पात १२ महालयाः १५ ॥ अष्टका ५ अन्वष्टका ५ पूर्वयुः ५ श्राद्धेर्नवतिश्च षट् ॥ इति ज्ञेयानि ॥' For 12 Aṣṭakās there is very ancient authority; vide note 861 quoting शतपथब्राह्मण. It is very rare to find 15 Aṣṭakās mentioned; vide p. 361 and note 828 above."
- 388 note 870 In last line but one read प्रदास्यति
- 389 note 873 Read अनर्हान् हव्यकव्येषु
- 410 note 921 Read स याति नरकं घोरं
- 427 n959l.5 from end Read यमायाङ्गिरस्वते
- 441 note 985 Read अर्हणीयानां पुरतः
- 442 l. 17 Read 'then turn it'
- 457 note 1018 Add at end of note 'The विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण (III. 176. 1-5) reads the names of the ten विश्वेदेवाः somewhat differently'.
- 532 note 1195 Read 'विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनाऽसम्भवे (separate as विधिना and असम्भवे)'
- 534 note 1200 Add at end—"Vide 'अन्नं ह प्राणः' ऐ. ब्रा. 33.1"
- 546 l. 17 Add after 'in an intercalary month' the following:-  
According to the Nirmayasindhu (p. 12) the first year anniversary śrāddha has to be performed in the intercalary month and subsequent anniversary śrāddhas are to be performed in the pure month and not in the intercalary month, if the deceased died in an ordinary month, while at the time of the first anniversary or subsequent anniversary śrāddha

## Page Line or Note

- the year has the same month as an intercalary as well as an ordinary month. The Dharmasindhu also (p. 5) holds the same view 'अदमासे सृतानां तु प्रथमादिकं मलमास एव कार्यं न शुद्धे द्वितीयादिकं तु शुद्धे एव ।'
- 560 note 1260 After line 13 in note add 'The विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण III, chap. 174 mentions *nine* mountains 'हिमवान्हेम-कूटश्च निषधो नील एव च । श्वेतश्च शृङ्गवान् मेरुर्माल्यवान्नान्ध-मादनः । नवैतान् शैलान्पत्नीश्रवभ्यां पश्येन्नरः ॥' (in पर्वताष्टमीव्रत)'
- 561 l. 7 Read 'a work like that of Dr. Alexis Carrel.'
- 577 n. 1308 l. 5 Read 'लभेत् सः and attributes it to गरुडपुराण.'
- 588 note 1333 Read 'दिवि भुव्यन्तरिक्षे च'
- 592 n. 1340 l. 21 Read 'Another rule is that one makes'
- 595 n. 1347 l. 2 Read 'जलं स मे प्रीत इति'.
- 599 note 1360 Read 'पादमोक्तः'
- 605 n. 1372 l. 6 Read 'the Aphsad stone Inscription'.
- 609-613 The figures of the notes and the notes themselves have been wrongly arranged in these pages. On p. 609 l. 5 put the figure 1385 above the word 'Gangāvākyaṅvalī' and note (as printed) 1387 should be 1385 and brought under p. 609. On the same page (both in the text and notes) the figures 1384a, 1385 should be changed to 1386 and 1387. On the same page the note 1386 should really be 1393a, which figure should be placed on p. 613 in line 24 on the word 'moksa' and the footnote so numbered should be placed after footnote 1393
- 615 note 1397 last line but one—Read 'occur in नारदीय'
- 633 note 1448 line 4 Read 'तावतैव'.
- 648 n. 1473 l. 3 Read 'तर्पयेत्'
- 664 note 1500 Read 'गङ्गा पादोदके'
- 667 line 36 After 'difficult to say.' add 'Recently the Bihar State Legislature passed 'The Bodh Gaya Temple Act' (Act XVII of 1949) for the better management of the Bodh Gaya Temple and the properties appertaining thereto. It is provided by this Act that the Government of Bihar Province shall constitute a committee for the management and control of the temple and its properties, consisting of a chairman and

Page Line or Note

- eight members, of whom four shall be Buddhists and four shall be Hindus including the Mahanth i.e. the presiding priest for the time being of the Śaivite monastery of Bodh Gaya, that the District Magistrate of Gayā shall be the ex-officio chairman, but that, if the District Magistrate happens to be a non-Hindu, the Provincial Government may nominate a Hindu as chairman and that Hindus and Buddhists of every sect shall have access to the temple and temple land for the purpose of worship and *pinda-dāna* '.
- 670 l. 6 Read 'śrāddhas at Gayā '.
- 673 note 1524 l. 4 Read 'तीर्थचि.'.
- 689 n. 1565 l. 2 Add: It may be noted that in the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. chapters 201-202, it is stated that Gandharvas, sons of Śailūsa, devastated the country on both banks of the Sindhu and Rāma sent his brother भरत to chastise them; 'जहि शैल्युतनयान् गन्धवान् पापनिक्षयान्' विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 202. 10''.
- 691 n. 1568 l. 2 Read 'सुषुम्ना '.
- 695 line 9 Add at end: 'Vide, for example, the statement that Puruṣottama is situated on Nīlaparvata (chap. 1), that a dialogue between Śabara (a *bhilla*) and Vidyāpati the brother of Indradymna's purohita took place (chap. 7), that three *rathas* were manufactured for the three images (chap. 27) for being worshipped.'
- 696 n. 1577 l. 3 Read 'चक्रं दृष्ट्वा '.
- 799 l. 13 Add after this line 'Millions of devotees visit Jagannātha every year and the endowments of the principal temple and the shrines and sacred places within its premises are worth millions of rupees. Great dissatisfaction is felt about the management of the funds and about the due performance of religious rites at Pūrī. The State of Orissa passed the Puri Shri Jagannath Temple Administration Act (No. XIV of 1952) providing for the consolidation of the rights and duties of the *Sevaks Pujaris* and such other persons as are connected with the *Seva, Puja* and management of the *devasthan*. But this Act does not, in the opinion of many devotees, go far enough. It only provides for some supervision.'

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- 699 n. 1582 Add at the end 'The mantra occurs in the मैत्रायणी-संहिता II. 9. 10 and तै. आ. X. 45.1'.
- 709 l. 20 Read 'in Pañcavaṭi and on the left bank' &c.
- 721 l. 14 Add at end " Vide a paper on 'Identification of the idol of Viṭhala in the Viṭhala temple at Hampi' by Dr. C. Narayanrao in the Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference held at Mysore pp. 715-728 and a very informative and exhaustive thesis for Ph. D. Degree on 'the cult of Viṭhobā' by Rev. G. A. Deleury accepted by the Poona University in 1952."
- 732 Add under Āmardaka 'Vide E. I. vol. I pp. 354 ff. for Āmardakatīrtha in Rāṇod in Gwalior State.'
- 758 Under 'Irāvati' add—' Vide Viṣṇudharmottara I. 149 (twenty-five verses) for a fine poetic description of this river and I. 162. 61-65 for the confluence of Irāvati with Sindhu and of ten more confluences of several rivers of northern India.'
- 769 Column 2 under Koṇārka add " Vide Proceedings of the 8th Indian Historical Congress pp. 153 ff. for an article 'Sungod of Koṇārka—where is he', which criticizes the article in the Modern Review. "
- 796 Add under Rohitaka—' In the Madanpur plate of Ś'ricandra in E. I. vol. 28 at p. 53 the place of origin of the Chandra dynasty is said to be Rohitagiri (acc. to some Rohtasgadh in Bihar and Lalmai Hill, West of Comilla, acc. to others ).'
- 806 Column one under Śoṇa add—'The Nīrnayasindhu p. 110 quotes a verse of Devaḷa enumerating seven *nadas* : शोणसिन्धुहिरण्यह्रयाः कोकलोहितवर्धराः। शतद्रश्च नदाः सप्त पावनाः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ It is difficult to say what rivers are meant by हिरण्य and कोक. Lohita is Brahmaputra
- 832 line 5 Read 'अञ्जयश्च'
- 832 lines 8 and 10 Read मृत्यो and मृतै
- 832 line 18 Read वयं
- 832 n. 693a l. 3 Read स्नानं

# SECTION I

## PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA AND KARMAVIPĀKA

(Sins, expiations and the residual consequences of sins).

### CHAPTER I

The Article on sin in Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (vol. 11) will clearly show how the idea of sin varies from religion to religion, from age to age and from country to country. We are concerned here with the growth and development of the doctrine of sin in India from Vedic times to the medieval digests and commentaries on Dharmaśāstra.

Sin (*pātaka*) is a word that belongs to the terminology of religion rather than to that of Ethics.<sup>1</sup> It is very difficult to define sin. In a general way it may be said that it is an act which is regarded as a wilful rebellion against or disobedience of some law supposed to be laid down by God or Revelation; it is opposition to the will of God manifested in an authoritative work or at least failure to abide by the regulations contained therein.

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1. In these days many people, both in the East and the West, question the very existence of sin. As Barbour puts it in his 'Sin and the new Psychology' (p. 19) "The feeling is gaining wide acceptance that there is no such thing as sin in the Christian sense. Evil may encompass a man's life and bring disaster to his personality, but it is not sin. It is psychic evil that can be explained by psychic causes and perhaps cured by psychological therapy. ... Many say 'nothing is right and nothing is wrong. Every thing is the result of complexes'. It has resulted in an easy tolerance of sin". Sir Oliver Lodge in his article on 'Christian Doctrine' in the Hibbert Journal for 1903-4 at p. 466 says 'The higher man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, still less about their punishments. His mission, if he is good for anything, is to be up and doing and in so far as he acts wrongly or unwisely he expects to suffer'. The followers of Cārvāka who was the prince of Atheists in ancient India used to say 'man should live among pleasures as long as life lasts; he should feed himself sumptuously (lit. should drink *ghṛa*) even by borrowing money from others. There is no coming again into the world after the body is reduced to ashes by cremation'.



The Rgveda is full of fervent and heart-felt expressions of the sense of sin and betrays intense desire on the part of the sages of old to be free from it. The idea of sin in the Rgveda is bound up with the conception of *ṛta*. The conception of *ṛta* cannot be discussed here in detail. But a brief statement is absolutely necessary in order to be able to convey what the Vedic doctrine of sin was.<sup>2</sup>

*Ṛta* had a threefold aspect. It means 'the course of nature' or 'the regular and general order in the cosmos'; with reference to sacrifice it means 'the correct and ordered way of the cult of the Gods'; and thirdly, it also means the 'moral conduct of man'. A few passages to illustrate these three aspects of *ṛta* may be cited here. Rg. IV. 23. 8-10 are<sup>3</sup> three verses in which the word *ṛta* occurs no less than twelve times and which breathe the all-pervading influence of *ṛta* throughout the universe. 'Plentiful waters (or riches or gifts) belong to *ṛta*; the thought (or laudation) of *ṛta* destroys crooked acts (sins), the brilliant and rousing hymn of praise to *ṛta* pierces the benumbed ears of man. The props of *ṛta* are firm, its (physical) manifestations are many and lovely for the sake of the body (i. e. man). Through *ṛta* they (people) desire food. The cows (sun's rays) entered *ṛta* by *ṛta*. He who wins over *ṛta* acquires it. For the sake of *ṛta* (heaven) and earth are wide and deep; the two highest cows (i. e. Heaven and Earth) yield milk (desires or rewards) for the sake of *ṛta*.' Some other passages are: 'The Sindhus (rivers) follow the *ṛta* of Varuna' (*ṛtam sindhavo Varunasya yanti*, Rg. II. 28. 4); similarly Rg. I. 105. 12 (*ṛtamarṣanti sindhavaḥ*); The wheel of *ṛta* (i. e. the year) revolves round the

2. For the conception of *ṛta* and the idea of sin in the Rgveda the following works may be consulted: 'The religion of the Veda' by M. Bloomfield (pp. 12, 125 ff); 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads' by Prof. A. B. Keith (pp. 35, 83-85 &c.); 'The Vedic idea of sin' by Dr. Henry LeFebvre (1935). One regrets to observe that Bloomfield's work is marred here and there by a certain levity of thought and expression out of keeping with the seriousness of the subject.

3. ऋतस्य हि ह्युक्थः सन्ति पूर्वाङ्कितस्य धीतिर्ह्यजिमानि हन्ति । ऋतस्य श्लोको बधिरा ततर्ह्य कर्णो बुध्वाः सुखमान आयोः ॥ ऋतस्य ब्रह्मा धवणानि सन्ति पुष्पाणि चन्द्रा वपुषे वपुषि । ऋतेन दीर्घमवणन्त पुष्प ऋतेन नाव ऋतमाविशेः ॥ ऋतं येमान ऋतमिह्नोत्पुलस्य सुष्मस्तुरवा उ गन्धुः । ऋताव पुष्प्यो बहुले गर्भेरे ऋताय सेतुं परमे दुद्रते ॥ ऋ. IV. 23. 8-10. These are rather obscure verses. The Nirukta X. 41 understands *ṛta* to mean 'water' and explains X. 23-8 as 'ऋतस्य यज्ञा वर्जनीयानि हन्ति ऋतस्य श्लोको बधिरस्यापि कर्णो आतृणति । बधिरः ब्रह्मज्ञानः । कर्णो बोधयन् दीर्घमानश्च आयोः अयमस्य ब्रह्मवपस्य उपोतिनो वा ब्रह्मकरय वा ।'

sky with twelve spokes (*dvādaśāram ..... varvartī cakram pari dyām-ṛtasya*, Rg. I. 164. 11); 'the dawn, the daughter of heaven, correctly follows the path of *ṛta* ..... ' (*'ṛtasya panthānam-anveti sādhu*', Rg. I. 124. 3); the young woman (*Uṣas*) does not destroy (or come in the way of) the light of *ṛta* (Rg. I. 123. 9.); the sun is the bright and lovely face of *ṛta* (Rg. VI. 51. 1. *'ṛtasya śuci darśatam-anikam*); 'the path of *ṛta* became united with the rays' (Rg. I. 136. 2); 'when exhilarated by drinking this (Soma) Indra released for the sake of *ṛta* the concealed host of cows' (Rg. I. 121. 4, probably a reference to drought and subsequent rainfall).

Many of the principal gods of the Vedic pantheon are described as the guardians, promoters or charioteers of *ṛta*. Mitra and Varuṇa rule over all the world by *ṛta* (Rg V. 63.7, *ṛtena viśvam bhuvanam vi rājatha*); Mitra and Varuṇa, the protectors of *ṛta*, occupy a chariot (Rg. V. 63.1); Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to be charioteers of *ṛta* (*yūyamṛtasya rathyaḥ*, VII. 66.12); they and Aditi and Bhaga are protectors of *ṛta* (Rg. VI. 51.3). Agni is called 'the charioteer of *ṛta*' (*rathī ṛtasya*, Rg. III. 2.8), the protector of *ṛta*, in Rg. I. 1.8, III. 10.2, X. 8.5, X. 118.7 and *ṛtāvān* (in Rg. IV. 2.1). Soma is styled the protector of *ṛta* (in Rg. IX. 48.4, IX. 73.8) and is said to support *ṛta* (IX. 97.24 *ṛtam bharat subhṛtam cārvinduḥ*). In Rg. VII. 66.13 the *Ādityas*<sup>4</sup> are said to be *ṛtūvan* (acting according to the fixed order of nature), *ṛtūjāta* (sprung from *ṛta*) and *ṛtāvṛdh* (augmenting or rejoicing in *ṛta*) and further they are said to be fierce haters of *anṛta* (what is opposed to *ṛta*).

*Ṛta* is distinguished from sacrifice (*yajña*). It is not any particular sacrificial rite itself nor the institution of sacrifice. It stands for the ordered course of sacrifice in general. In Rg. IV. 3.4. Agni is styled *ṛtacī* (conversant with or observing *ṛta*) and is invoked to know the *ṛta* (of the sacrifice); in several verses we meet with the words '*ṛtena ṛtam*' (e. g. in Rg. IV. 3.9 *ṛtena ṛtam niyatam-ila ā goḥ*, V. 15.2 '*ṛtena ṛtam dharuṇam dhārayanta yajñasya śāke*, V. 68.4 *ṛtam-ṛtena sapantā* 'conforming to or joining *ṛta* with *ṛta*', where '*ṛtena*' appears to mean the correct course of sacrificial rites and '*ṛtam*' the settled order in the universe. Soma is said to be the thread of *ṛta* spread on the *daśāpavitra* (Rg. IX. 73.9 '*ṛtasya tantur-vitataḥ pavitra ā*). In

4. अतापाना अतजाना अताहो बोरातो अहृत्तृषः । तेषां षः सुप्ते सज्जद्विद्धने नरः  
इयामं ये च सूरयः ॥ अ. VII, 66.13

Rg. I. 84.4 it is said 'O Indra, drink this (soma) that is extracted ...the streams of the bright (soma) flow towards thee in the seat of *ṛta*' (i. e. in the soma sacrifice). Vide also Rg. IV. 1.13—(asmākam-atra pitaro manuṣyā abhi pra sedur-ṛtam-ā susāṇāḥ) 'in this world former men, our ancestors, approached *ṛta* etc.'; Rg. I. 71.3 (dadhannṛtam dhanayannasya dhitim-ādidaryo) Rg. X. 67.2 (ṛtam śamsanta ṛju didhyānā...yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta) 'the Ṇgirasas,, declaring the *ṛta* and reflecting straightforwardly first thought of the abode of Yajña'; Rg. X. 37.1 (maho devāya tad-ṛtam saparyata, 'offer this *ṛta* to the great God').

The conception of *ṛta* as a moral imperative occurs in several passages. Rg. I. 90.6 (madhu vātā rṭāyato madhu kṣaranti sindhavaḥ) 'the winds carry sweets, the rivers do the same to him who keeps *ṛta*'; Rg. V. 12.2 'O Agni, that knowest *ṛta*, know *ṛta* alone (in me).....I shall not resort to magic either by force or by duplicity, I shall conform to *ṛta* of the reddish bull (i. e. of Agni)<sup>5</sup>; Rg. X. 87.11 'O Agni! may the evil spirit who injures *ṛta* by anṛta be thrice bound in thy fetters'. Yama in rejecting Yami's advances says (Rg. X. 10.4) 'What indeed we never did before (shall we do it now?); shall we who have spoken *ṛta* (so far) now speak anṛta?' (ṛtā vadanto anṛtam rapema).

In two or three instances *ṛta* appears to be almost personified and invoked as a divinity. 'O Agni! for us offer sacrifice to Mitra and Varuna, to the gods and to the great (bṛhat) *ṛta*' (Rg. I. 75. 5). Similarly, in Rg. X. 66.4 the great (*mahat*) *ṛta* is mentioned alongside of Aditi, Heaven and Earth, Indra, Viṣṇu, the Maruts &c.

*Rta* and *satya* were distinguished in several passages of the Rgveda. For example, Rg. V. 51.2 speaks of the Viśve Devas as 'ṛtadhitayaḥ' (whose thoughts were fixed on *ṛta*) and 'satyadharmāṇaḥ' (whose characteristic is truth or whose dharma are true). In Rg. IX. 113.4 *ṛta* and *satya* both occur and appear to mean almost the same thing. In Rg. X. 190.1 *ṛta* and *satya* are distinguished as having sprung from '*tapas*'. *Rta* involves a wider conception and *satya* had originally a restricted meaning (viz. truth or static order). The word anṛta, however, is the

5. कर्तृत्विकित्वं कर्तृत्विकित्वस्युत्पत्त्यै चारा अहं त्वग्निं इमीः । नाहं यातुं सहसा न ह्येवमर्तं सपार्ययत्वरथं वृणोमि । अ. V. 12.2.

opposite of both *rta* and *satya* as may be seen from Rg. X. 10.4, Rg. VII. 49.3 (Varuṇa who marks the *satya* and *anṛta* of people), Rg. X. 124.5 (Varuṇa who separates *anṛta* by means of *rta*). Gradually, however, the word *rta* receded into the back-ground and *satya* took its place even in Vedic literature, though here and there (as in Tai. Up. II. 1 and I.9.1) both *rta* and *satya* are found in juxtaposition.

The sages of the Rgveda were acutely conscious of sin or guilt and pray to the gods, particularly to Varuṇa and the Ādityas, for forgiveness and for being freed from the consequences of sin. In this connection they employ numerous words such as *āgas*, *enas*, *agha*, *durita*, *duṣkṛta*, *drugdha*, *ainhas*. A few examples of the employment of these words may be cited here. The most frequent words are *āgas* and *enas*, both of which appear to import sin in its deepest and most ethical sense. Rg. VII. 86 is a hymn to Varuṇa in which there are several verses that breathe a deep and heart-felt consciousness of guilt. The sage begins in verse 3 by saying that all wise men of whom he inquired told him the same thing viz. 'Varuṇa is angry with you'. Then the sage proceeds 'O Varuṇa! what is that great guilt (*āgas*) (of mine) whereby you desire to injure your worshipper and a friend? Declare that to me, then I shall quickly approach thee with an obeisance and be free from sin (*enas*). Cast away from us the transgressions (*drugdha*) of our father and those that we committed in our own person;...free Vasiṣṭha (from guilt) like a calf from the rope (that binds it)'. In Rg. VII. 89.5 (almost equal to Atharva-veda VI. 51.3) the sage says 'whatever transgressions (*abhidroha*) we who are mere men have practised as against the divine hosts and whatever *dharma*s laid down by you we may have confounded through our ignorance (or heedlessness) do not destroy us on account of that guilt (*enas*). It will be noticed that in these verses the words *āgas*, *abhidroha* and *enas* are employed in the same verses and therefore practically mean the same thing. In Rg. II. 27.14 the sage prays 'O Aditi! O Mitra! O Varuṇa! take pity on us though we may have committed some sin against you'. In Rg. II. 28.5 Varuṇa is implored to loosen sin (*āgas*) from the devotee just like a girdle. Rg. VIII. 45.34 states: 'O Indra! do not kill us for one sin, for two sins or three sins or for many (*āgas*). In Rg. II. 29.1 the Ādityas are implored<sup>6</sup> 'cast away from me sin (*āgas*) as a woman who gives birth to a child in secret'. For some other passages

6. धृतराजा आदित्या इन्द्रिया आरे सत्कारे दृष्टुमिच्छति । अ. II. 29.1.

in which *āgas* or its opposite *anāgas* occurs, vide Rg. I. 162.22, I. 185. 8, II.29.5, IV. 12.4, IV. 54.3, VII. 51.1, VII. 57.4, V. 85.7, VII. 87.7, VII. 93.7, X. 36.12, X. 37.7 and 9. *Āgas* and *enas* are employed in the same verse, Rg. IV.12.4 'O Agni! Whatever sin (*āgas*) we may have committed through heedlessness make us free from it before Aditi and loosen from us our sins (*enas*) from all sides'.

Some more passages about *enas* are: Rg. VI. 51-7 'May we not have to enjoy (i. e. suffer for) the *enas* committed by another' and Rg. VI. 51-8 'Whatever sin be committed by me I shall remove it by obeisance'; Rg. VI. 74-3 'O Soma and Rudra! Loosen from us and cast away from us whatever sin attaches to our person'; Rg. VII. 20-1 'Indra is our saviour even from a great sin'; vide also Rg. I. 189. 1, II. 28. 7, VII. 52. 2. The word '*āgha*', also seems to mean sin. '*Apa naḥ śośucad-āgham*' (may our sins perish) is the refrain of Rg. I.97. 1-8. 'O gods! May your fetters and may sins (*aghāni*) be far away from us' (II. 29. 5, in which verse in the first half '*āgaḥ*' occurs); X. 117. 6 (*kevalāgho bhavati kevalādi*) 'one who simply eats food alone (without offering to others) reaps only sin'.

Another word is *amhas*. The following passages may be cited. In Rg. II. 28. 6 Varuṇa is implored 'remove *amhas* (sin) as one removes the rope from the (neck) of the calf; one has not the power even to wink without you (your favour)' <sup>7</sup>. It should be noted that in the preceding verse (II. 28.5) already quoted the simile of the girdle is employed with regard to *āgas*. 'May Indra take us away from *amhas* as persons on both sides (of a river) call one who is going in a boat' (Rg. III. 32. 14.); 'No evil caused by the gods or by men reaches him from any side who worships Agni with fuel, oblation or sacrifice' <sup>8</sup>. Rg. VIII. 19. 6; 'May Aditi, the mother of the affluent Mitra and Varuṇa, save us from all sin' (Rg. X. 36. 3).<sup>9</sup> Rg. X. 36. 2 also prays Heaven and Earth, the upholders of *ṛta*, to protect the sage from '*amhas*'. Vide also Rg. X. 126. 2.

Another important word is *vrjina* which is often placed in opposition to *sādhu* or *ṛju*. The Adityas are said to 'see inside

7. इमेव वत्सादिमुक्त्यर्थो नहि त्वदारे निमिषन्नेने। अ. II. 28-6; compare II. 28-5 'वि मन्त्र्याव रक्षामिवाग आश्वान ते वचन आशुतस्य ।'.

8. न तमहो देवकृतं कुतश्च न मर्त्यकृतं ज्ञात् । अ. VIII. 19-6

9. निश्चिन्मात्रो अदितिः पार्त्विहसो माता मित्रस्य वचनस्य रेवतः । अ. X. 36-3.

(the hearts of men) sins as well as good (thoughts and actions)<sup>10</sup> and it is added that everything though far-off is near to them who are kings. In Rg. II. 27. 2 the Ādityas are called 'avrjinaḥ' (free from *vṛjina*). The Sun is said to mark among men their right and sinful deeds (Rg. IV. 1. 17). The same words (*ṛju marteṣu vṛjinā ca paśyan*) occur in Rg. VI. 51. 2 and VII. 60.2 about the Sun.

The word '*anṛta*' is often used in the Rgveda. It has already been shown how Varuṇa is said to mark the *satya* and *anṛta* of men. In Rg. VII. 60. 5 it is said 'these gods, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuṇa mark (or know) many sins; they flourish in the abode of *ṛta*'. Rg. VII. 66. 13 calling Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman haters of *anṛta* has already been quoted (in n. 4).

The word '*durita*' is sometimes used in the sense of sin. In Rg. I. 23. 22 the waters are invoked as follows:<sup>11</sup> 'O waters! carry away from me whatever sin may exist in me, whatever transgressions I may have been guilty of as regards my sensual appetite or whatever falsehood I may have uttered'. Here all three words '*durita*, *droha* and *anṛta*' are brought together and convey almost the same idea, viz. sin or guilt against the law of the Gods. In Rg. I. 185. 10 Heaven and Earth are called father and mother and are invoked to save the worshipper from *durita* (sin) which involves blame (*pātām-avadyād-duritād*). '*Avadya*' means '*garhya*' acc. to Pāṇ. III. 1. 101. Rg. VII. 82. 7 states 'Him neither *amhas* (sin) nor *durita* nor worry reaches from anywhere to whose sacrifice you go, O Mitra and Varuṇa!'. In Rg. X. 126. 1 '*amhas*' and '*durita*' are brought together (*na tam-amho na duritam devāso aṣṭa martyam*). In Rg. VIII. 67. 21 the words *amhati* and *rapas*<sup>12</sup> seem to be employed in the sense of sin. '*Duṣkṛta*' (evil deed) is used in the sense of sin in Rg. VIII. 47. 13 and in Rg. X. 164. 3 Agni is implored to keep far away from the worshipper all sins<sup>13</sup>. The word '*pāpa*' generally<sup>14</sup>

10. अन्तः पश्यन्ति इजिनोऽस्तु साधु सर्वं राजन्वः परमा चिद्वन्ति । ऋ. II. 27-3 ; आ धूर्वां वृहत्तस्तितृवर्जां काशु मर्तेषु इजिना च पश्यन् ॥ ऋ. IV. 1-17.

11. इदमपः मरुतं पत्तिं च दुरितं मयि । यद्वाहमभिदुद्रोहं यद्वा शेष उताहृतम् ॥ ऋ. I. 23-22. शेष (or-क) means मेह.

12. पि बु द्वेषो र्यहतिमादित्यास्तो वि संहतिम् । निष्पति वृहता रपः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 67-21 ; 'रपः रिशमिति पापनामनी भवताः' निरुक्त IV. 21.

13. यद्वारिर्वप्यीर्यं देवास्तो अस्ति दुष्कृतम् । जिते तद्विन्ध्वाप्यव आरे अस्मद्वधातम् ... ॥ ऋ. VIII. 47-13 ; अग्निर्विन्ध्वाप्य दुष्कृतान्यशुद्धाग्न्यारे अस्मद्वधातु ॥ ऋ. X. 164.3

14. पापमाधुर्यः स्वसारं निगच्छत् ॥ ऋ. X. 10-12 ; पापास्तः सन्तो अदृता असत्य इव पद्मजजना गमीरम् ॥ ऋ. IV. 5-5.

occurs in the Rg. in the sense of 'sinner' (Rg. VIII. 61. 11, X. 10. 12, IV. 5. 5) or 'sinful' or 'evil' (Rg. X. 108. 6, X. 164. 5, I. 129. 11). In Rg. VII. 32. 18, VII. 94. 3, VIII. 19. 26 'pāpatva' occurs and appears to mean 'sinfulness'. In the Brāhmaṇas 'pāpam' (neuter) occurs in the sense of 'sin' as in Śat. Br. XI. 2. 7. 19; vide also<sup>15</sup> Ait. Br. 33. 5. In the Upaniṣads 'pāpam' means 'sin' (e. g. in Tai. Up. II. 9, Chāndogya IV. 14. 3). Certain important modifications of the doctrine about sin and *Karma* were introduced in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, which will be discussed later on.

In spite of the voluminous references to the consciousness of guilt and sin in the Rgveda and to the transgression of divine laws briefly indicated above, European scholars were not wanting who boldly affirmed that the idea of sin was altogether unknown to the Rgvedic sages. Vide S. B. E. vol. I, p. XXII where Max-Müller replies 'the gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most interesting lessons which certain passages of these ancient hymns can teach us.'

How sin arises in the individual mind has been a difficult problem at all times<sup>16</sup>. Men are conscious of the sins they commit, though they may have no definite conclusions or theories about the origin of sin. In the Rg. VII. 86. 6 a sage<sup>17</sup> pleads with Varuṇa that sin is not due to a man's own power, but it is rather due to fate, to *surā* (intoxicants), to anger, dice or heedlessness and even dream state leads one to commit what is not right. In the Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad (III. 9) it is stated: 'the Lord of all makes that man perform good works whom He desires to raise to higher worlds

15. बहोनावाजीमर्तः सोयवतिस्त्वहे मा तात तपति पापं कर्म मया कृतम् । दे. ब्रा. 33.5 (=VII.17.)

16. Christianity seems to have solved it by stating that the source of actual sin is the Devil (Matthew 13. 39) and by the legend of Adam's Fall (vide Romans 5. 12 'as by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin') it affirmed that there was a dose of original sin in all men. In modern times many people don't accept the idea of 'original sin'; for example, Sir Oliver Lodge says (in his article on 'Christian Doctrine') in Hibbert Journal for 1903-4 at p. 466 "As for 'original sin' or 'birth sin' or other notion of that kind ... that sits absolutely lightly on him (the man of to-day). As a matter of fact it is non-existent, and none but a monk could have invented it'.

17. न त्वो वक्रो वरुण प्रातिः सा हरा मयुर्विमीवको अजिषिः । अस्ति उपायात्कनीयस उपाये स्वमन्त्रेणैव कृतस्य प्रयोता ॥ ब्रा. VII. 86.6.

than these and He makes that man commit bad deeds whom He wishes to drag down'.<sup>18</sup> Here it appears to be suggested that some men are chosen by God for being saved and some are chosen for being damned. This sounds like the Calvinistic doctrine of pre-destination. In the Bhagavadgītā (III, 36) Arjuna questions Śrīkṛṣṇa as follows: 'impelled by whom does a man commit sin as if constrained thereto by force, even though he does not desire to do so'? The answer given is (III, 37) 'it is lust and anger springing from the element (*guṇa*) of *rajas* (passion) that are the enemies of man in this world. In another place the Bhagavadgītā (XVI, 21) says 'this'<sup>19</sup> is the three-fold door or entrance to Hell that is ruinous to the self viz. lust, anger and greed; therefore a man must shun these three.' But it must be said that this does not go to the real root of the matter. The question is why should carnal lust, anger or greed themselves arise in the mind of man. The only answer that is indicated is in accordance with the tenets of the Sāṃkhya philosophy viz. that there are three *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* which combine in various proportions in different men and that it is *rajo-guṇa* that is the cause of man's sinfulness. In the Śānti-parva, chap. 163, it is stated that there are thirteen very powerful enemies of men beginning with anger (*krodha*) and *kāma* (lust) and it is said that *krodha* springs from *lobha* (covetousness), which latter arises from ignorance (verses 7 and 11). But there is no satisfactory discussion of the origin of ignorance in that chapter. Gautama 19.2 observes<sup>20</sup> that 'man in this world is polluted by a vile action such as sacrificing for a man unworthy to offer a sacrifice, eating forbidden food, speaking what ought not to be spoken, neglecting what is prescribed and practising what is forbidden'. Yājñavalkya III, 219 prescribes: 'by

18. एष श्रेष्ठ साधु कर्म कारयति तं वनेभ्यो लोकेभ्यो उत्तिनीयते एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति तं वनेभ्यो निनीयते । कौषीतकिना. उप. III. 9. This is the basis of Brahmasūtra II. 1.34 and II. 3.41.

19. त्रिविधं नरकस्येह द्वारं नास्तिनात्मनः । कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥ भगवद्गीता XVI. 21 = विश्वधर्मसूत्र 33.6.

20. विहितस्याननुष्ठानादिभित्तस्य च सेवनात् । अनिष्टाद्वाञ्छेन्द्रियाणां नरः पतन-मुच्यते ॥ वा. III. 219; अनुर्वरं विहितं कर्म प्रतिविद्धानि चाचरन् ॥ यापयिषीयते श्रेष्ठं नरो मिथ्या तु वर्तयन् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 34.2. Goutama appears to mention the two causes of the rise of sin stated by Yāj. In the first half of III. 219 'अथ कस्यचनं दुष्टयो वापयेन कर्मणा लिप्यते यथैतद्व्याज्ययाजनमद्वयमक्षयमवधुर्बलं सिद्धस्याकिंया प्रतिविद्ध्यसेवनामिति । यो. 19.2. कश्चर on यो. XII. 3.16 echoes the very words of यो. viz. सिद्धस्याकिंया प्रतिविद्ध्यसेवनामिति'.



omitting to do what is ordained, by resorting to what is condemned (prohibited) and by not controlling the senses, man incurs fall (i. e. sin)'. Manu XI. 44 and Śāntiparva 34.2 are similar verses. The *Mitākṣarā* explains that matters ordained are such as performing *Sandhyā* (morning and evening adorations) and *Agnihotra* and what are condemned are such actions as drinking liquor. *Viśvarūpa* explains that *patana* (fall or sinfulness) in *Yaj.* III. 219 is not used in the technical sense attached to that word by *Gautama* 21.4 viz. 'to be a *patita* means to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men,' but it is used only in the sense that the man so acting (as mentioned in *Yaj.* III. 219) becomes liable to undergo *prāyaścitta* and that the words of *Gautama* (21.4) are restricted only to what are called *mahāpātakas*. The word *pātaka* is derived from the causal of the root '*pat*.' Vide *Medhātithi* on Manu XI.54 '*pātakasabdah pātayatīti vyutpatīyā sarva-vyatikramesu vartate*' and *Madanapārijāta* p. 786. In ancient works the word *pataniya* (meaning the cause of *patana*) has been employed as in *Āp. Dh.* S. I. 7.21.7. The *Pr.* V. (p. 35) paraphrases *pataniyāni* by '*pātakāni*' and derives it from the root '*pat*' (*patatīyāmena iti pataniyam*) with the addition of the termination '*aniya*' according to *Pāṇ.* III. 3.113. The word occurs also in *Yaj.* II. 210, III. 297, *Śāṅkha* quoted by *Viśvarūpa* on *Yaj.* III. 237 (in prose) and other *smṛtis*.

The enumeration of sinful acts and the classifications of sins into several degrees or grades has gone on from very ancient times. In the *Rg.* X. 5. 6 it is said<sup>21</sup> 'the wise made (lit. chiselled) seven limits; the man who goes against even one of them becomes sinful'. The *Nirukta* (VI. 27) explains that the seven sins indicated in this verse are 'theft, violating the bed (of the *guru*), murder of a *brāhmaṇa*, murder of a *bhrūpa*, drinking of liquor, continual performance of the same sinful act, telling a lie as to a sinful matter'. *Rg.* VII. 86. 6 quoted above (in n. 17) makes it clear that drinking *surā* and playing with dice were regarded as sinful. From the *Tai.* S. II. 5. 1. 2, V. 3. 12. 1-2, *Sat. Br.* XIII. 3. 1. 1. and other *Brāhmaṇa* texts it appears that the murder of a *brāhmaṇa* was generally regarded in early vedic times as the gravest of all sins, though in the *Kāthaka saṁhitā* (31. 7) it is stated that there is no sin as

21. सप्त मर्षादाः कषयस्ततस्तुस्तासामेकानिद्वयं द्वयो जातम् । ऋ. X. 5.6, सप्त एव मर्षादाः कषयश्चक्षुः । तासामेकामपि अधिगच्छन् हस्वान् भवति । त्वेवं तत्पारोह्यं ब्रह्महत्यां ब्रजहत्यां दुराणान् पुण्यकृतस्य कर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेनां पालके अदुतोद्यति । निबन्ध VI. 27.

heinous as killing a bhrūṇa which is even worse than brāhmaṇa murder)<sup>22</sup>. The Tai. Br. in detailing the story of Ekata, Dvita and Trita who was made a scapegoat for keeping off sins, enumerates the following sinners, viz. sūryābhyudita (one who sleeps on when the sun rises), sūryābhiniṣruṅkta (one who slept when the sun set), one who has black nails or teeth, *agradidhuṣu* (one who married a younger sister while the elder sister was yet unmarried), the elder brother remaining unmarried even though a younger brother has married, one who allows his sacred sacrificial fires to be extinguished, the killer of a brāhmaṇa.<sup>23</sup> It may be noticed that most of these occur almost in the same order in Āp. Dh. S. II 5. 12. 22 where it is<sup>24</sup> said that though

22. Bhrūṇahan is either a killer of a learned brāhmaṇa or the killer of a foetus when its sex is not known. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 148n and vol. III, p. 612n for quotations and explanations. It may be noted that the four main prohibitions contained in the Decalogue (Exodus, chap. 20, 13-16 and Deut. 5, 17-20) against killing human beings, theft, adultery and bearing false witness are to be found in all well-known religious or moral codes.

23. ते देशा आप्येवहृतः। आप्या अहृतः। सूर्याग्न्यदिते। सूर्याग्न्यदिते। सूर्याभिनिब्रुकः। सूर्याभिनिब्रुकः। कुनाक्षिनि। कुनक्षी हयावदति। हयावदकथाविधिषौ। अग्रविधिषुः परिविते। परिवितो धीरहनि। धीरहा ब्रह्महनि। तद् ब्रह्महणं नात्येव्यवत्। तै. ब्रा. III. 2. 8.11. In the corresponding story in the काठकसंहिता (31.7) we read हयावदह्न्यपरिविते परिवितः परिविदिहाने परिविदिहानोऽग्निविधिषा अग्निविधिषुः परिविदिहयते विधिषुः परिविदिहयते... ब्रह्महानि ब्रह्महा भ्रूणहनि भ्रूणहमनेनो नात्येति। The story of Trita is briefly referred to in the Atharvaveda (VI. 113). The germ of it is found in Rg. VIII. 47.13 quoted above in p. 13.

24. अभिनिवृत्ताभ्युदित-कुमारस्त्रियावाद्यादिष्व-दिष्विषुपतिपर्याहितपरीक्ष-परिविश-परिविद्वानेभ्यु चोत्तोत्तस्मिन्नाधिकारविज्ञो मर्यादा मर्यादा. आप. II. 5. 12 22. It may be noted that both brothers (elder and younger) and sisters (elder and younger) were held guilty of sin in case of supercession in marriage. परिविश and परिविद्वान् often mean the same thing (viz. an elder brother before whom a younger brother marries or consecrates sacrificial fires). Vide Manus III. 171-172. Acc. to Manus III. 173 a didhīpati is one who feels love for his brother's widow and has intercourse with her under the system of *nyoga*. परिविविद्वान् is the same as परिविद्वान्. अश्वेद्विषु or-श् is explained by Devala and by Aparārka p. 451, by Haradatta on Gaut. 15.15 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 26 as 'a younger sister who marries before her elder sister' and दिष्विषु or दिष्वि is the elder sister who is thus superceded by a younger one. In Āp. the word पति is to be connected with both अश्वेद्विष्व and दिष्वि. The Amarakośa explains दिष्वि differently. **सहोदरसुतौ** (17. 43-44) makes even the father or other guardian for marriage getting a younger son or daughter married before an elder one and the priest officiating at such a marriage equally guilty. 'पतिपतिः परिविद्वान् यथा च परिविष्यते । इतः संवत्सरं कर्तव्यापराजकपञ्चमम् ॥'.

these actions are not to be styled *pataniyas* according to Āp. yet they cause impurity which being greater and greater in each succeeding one requires higher and higher penances. Āp. adds a few more sinners to those in the Tai. Br. viz. *didhiṣupati* (husband of an elder sister whose younger sister was married before her), *paryāhita* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother kindled fires), *parivividāna* (a younger brother who takes his share of the ancestral property before his elder brother), *parivinna* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother takes away his share of the ancestral property). The Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>25</sup> (V. 10. 9.) quotes a verse that declares that the five great sinners are the thief of gold, the drinker of *surā*, the violator of the *guru's* bed, the murderer of a brāhmaṇa, and one who associates with any of the preceding four. The Br. Up. (IV. 3. 22) mentions as great sinners the thief and the murderer of a *bhrūṇa*.

Coming to the sūtras there is great divergence as to the classification of sins and the enumeration of sins in each class. The Āp. Dh. S. divides sins into two classes viz. *pataniya* (those that cause loss of caste), *atucakara* (those that cause impurity, though no loss of caste is caused). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.7-11) states that *pataniya* sins are theft (of gold), crimes whereby one becomes an *abhiśasta*, complete loss (by neglect) of the Vedic learning that one secured by study, destruction of a foetus, incestuous connection with relations born of the same womb as one's father or mother and with the children of such persons, drinking of *surā*, intercourse with persons with whom intercourse is forbidden, intercourse with the female friend of one's female guru (mother &c.) or with the female friend of one's guru (father &c.) and with the wife of any stranger, constant commission of immoral acts (*adharma*) other than those already mentioned. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7.21.10 notes that, according to some, intercourse with a woman who is not the wife of a *guru* is not a *pataniya* sin. Among acts which render a man impure are (Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 12-18) the cohabitation of an Ārya woman with *sūdras*, eating the flesh of forbidden animals such as that of a dog or a human being or village cock or pig or other carnivorous animals, eating the excrement of human beings, partaking of food left by a *sūdra*, and cohabitation by Ārya men with *apapātra*

25. तदेव श्लोकः । स्तेनो विरप्यस्य सुरां पिबन्श्च युवोत्सल्पमापन्नश्च ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति  
अन्तरः पञ्चमश्वत्थरेस्ते ॥ इति । ज्ञ. उप. V. 10.9.

women.<sup>26</sup> According to some, those acts that are declared to be *atucikara* are also *patanīyas*. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.19) states that acts other than those enumerated are also *atucikara*. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24.6-9) enumerates those who are *abhitasta*, viz. one who slays a person belonging to the first two varṇas (viz. brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya) who had studied the Veda or who had been initiated for the performance of a soma sacrifice, one who kills a mere brāhmaṇa (though he may not have studied the Veda or be not initiated for a soma sacrifice), also one who destroys the embryo of a brāhmaṇa even though its sex be undistinguishable, or slays a woman who is an *ātreṣī* (in her monthly course). The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra divides<sup>27</sup> sinners into three classes, viz. those who are *enasvins*, those guilty of *mahāpātakas* and those guilty of *upapātakas* (I. 19-23). Among those who are styled *enasvinaḥ* are those mentioned in Āp. Dh. S. II. 5.12.22, with this difference that the 'brahmojija', who is included among 'patanīyas' by Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 9 is put among 'enasvins' by Vasiṣṭha. In Vas. 20. 4-12 special *prāyaścittas* for each of these 'enasvinaḥ' (ordinary sinners) are prescribed. The *Mahāpātakas* (mortal sins) according to Vasiṣṭha are five, viz (violating) a *guru's* bed, drinking of spirituous liquor, murder of a *bhrūṇa* (a learned brāhmaṇa), stealing gold from a brāhmaṇa and associating with a *putila*. Those guilty of *upapātakas* (minor sins) are: He who forsakes sacred Vedic fires, he who offends a *guru*, an atheist, he who earns his livelihood from atheists, and he who sells the soma plant. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra<sup>28</sup> (II. 1) divides sins into *patanīya*, *upapātaka* and *atucikara*. Among the first it cites making voyages by sea, stealing the property of a brāhmaṇa or misappropriating a deposit, giving false evidence

26. For the meaning of *apapātra* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 309n and 785a. For the meaning of *ātreṣī*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 527 note 970.

27. सूर्याभिवृद्धिः सूर्याभिनिवृत्तिः कुनकी इषावदन्तः परित्यक्तिः परित्यक्त्यदिधिद्विद्विधे-  
पूततिर्गिरिः ब्रह्मोज्ज्वल इत्येवमित्येति । पञ्च महापातकाऽप्यत्र उच्यन्ते । सुतत्त्वं सुरापानं भ्रणहत्या  
ब्राह्मणसुवर्णपहरणं पतितसंयोगश्च ब्राह्मणेन वा यौनेन वा । ... योगमीनपरिधेयद्वयं च यः प्रति-  
बुध्ययात्तास्तिको नास्तिक इति । सोमं च विक्रीणीयादित्युपपातकानि । वसिष्ठ I. 19-23.

28. अथ पतनीयानि । सद्यस्संयामय । ब्रह्मस्वयसापहरणम् । भूम्यवृत्तम् । सर्व-  
पपयैर्यवहरणम् । सुद्वसेवणम् । सुद्राभिजननम् । तदुपस्यत्वं च । ... अपोपपातकानि ।  
अव्ययागमनं क्षणीतर्की सुवसन्तीनययात्रां पतितां गत्वा भेषजकरणं ग्रामयाजनं रङ्गोपजीवनं  
नाट्याचार्यता गोमहिषीरक्षणं पञ्चाङ्गद्वयेन युक्तं कन्यादूषणमिति । ... अपाङ्गाविक्रानि ।  
पतमभिचारोऽनादितान्मेवञ्छुतिर्ते समावृत्तस्य भैक्षवर्षा तस्य चैव सुकुले वास ऊर्ध्व  
चतुर्थो मासेऽयस्सत्यं चाप्यापनं नक्षत्रनिर्देशयेति । बी. ध. व. II. 1.50-56, 60-61, 63-64.

regarding land (dispute), trading with merchandise of all descriptions, serving śūdras, begetting a son on a female of the śūdra caste and begetting a child (either male or female) from her<sup>29</sup>. The upapātakas, acc. to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1. 60-61), are: intercourse with females who must not be approached, cohabitation with the female friend of a female *guru* or with the female friend of a male *guru* or with an *apapātra* woman or with a female outcast, following the profession of medicine, officiating as a priest for a village, living by dramatic performances, following the profession of a teacher of dancing or singing or acting, tending cows and buffaloes<sup>30</sup> and similar (low occupations) and fornication. Among *asucikara* (causing impurity), Baud. Dh. S. mentions gambling, black magic, subsisting by gleanings fallen in the field by one who has not consecrated sacred fires, subsisting by begging on the part of one who has returned to his home after finishing Vedic study, staying for more than four months at his teacher's seminary on the part of him who has finished his studies, teaching one who has finished his studies, gaining livelihood by astrology. Gautama (21. 1-3) appears to include among *patanīyas* the usual five mortal sins and also some of those that are mentioned by Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7, 21. 9-11) and Vasiṣṭha I. 23 (such as *nāstiku*) and adds a few more (such as not casting off persons guilty of *patanīyas*, forsaking blameless relatives and instigating others to commit acts causing loss<sup>31</sup> of caste).

29. That this is the correct translation of Baud., and not the one in S. B. E. vol. XIV p. 218 'becoming thereby her son' is clear from Manu III. 16 'ज्ञानकरं सुतेत्यस्या तदपत्यतया भूयोः'. Saunaka condemned the begetting of a son from a śūdra female (and not the begetting of a daughter), while Bhṛgu condemned the begetting of a child (whether male or female did not matter).

30. It must be supposed that these lists relate to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas alone. Trading with merchandise or tending cows could not have been regarded as *patanīya* for Vaiśyas since trade and tending cows have been always prescribed as their special avocations. Vide Āp. Dh. S. II, 5. 10. 7, Gaut. X. 50, Manu X. 79, Yāj. I. 119. Following the profession of medicine or living by teaching dancing or by going on the stage made brāhmaṇas unfit to be invited at a śrāddha. Vide Gaut. 15. 15-16 for long lists of those brāhmaṇas who were not to be invited at Śrāddha dinners &c.

31. ब्रह्महृत्पापमुदतस्यमातृपितृयोनिस्तन्मन्वागस्तेनयास्तिकानिश्चितकर्माभ्यासि-पतिता-  
स्याग्नयपतितस्याग्निः पतिताः । पातकसंयोजकाश्च । तेभ्यस्त्वं समाचरस्व । ... कौटिल्यस्य राज्याग्नि  
पेक्षुर्न ह्यश्वरुताभिर्हंसनं महापातकसमानम् । अपंश्रत्यानां प्राहृत्पूर्वालाह गोहन्तुमद्यन-  
तन्मन्त्रकृद्भक्तोऽपि पतितसावित्रीके रूपपातकम् । गौतम 21.1-3, 10-11.

The above statement about the classification of sins and their inclusion among the several classes or 'grades' of sins will show that among the early sūtra works there was no general agreement about the nature and number of mahāpātakas, upapātakas and other classes of sins, even though as early as the Chāndogya Upaniṣad the mortal sins had been declared to be five. It must be supposed that that Upaniṣad represented only one school of thought in the times of Āp., Baud. and Gaut., who did not entirely accept the tradition of that Upaniṣad, but followed other divergent ideas. It is impossible to suppose that the verse quoted in that Upaniṣad is later than the Dharma-sūtras of Āp., Gaut., Baud., and Vas.

It appears that Kātyāyana<sup>32</sup> divided sinful acts into five classes viz. *mahāpāpa* (mortal sins), *atipāpa* (the highest sins than which there is nothing worse), *pāta* (sins similar to mahāpātakas), *prāsaṅgika* (due to association or contact) and *upapātaka* (minor sins). The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa also says that those sins that are declared to be equal to mahāpātakas (by Manu and others) are called pātakas. Vṛddha-Hārta also (IX. 215-216) speaks of five kinds viz. *mahāpāpa*, *pāta*, *anupātaka*, *upapāpa* and *prakīrṇaka* (miscellaneous) and states (IX. 216-218) that those sins which are said to be like mahāpāta are pātakas, that anupātakas are sins lesser than pātakas, that upapātakas are lesser than pātakas and *prakīrṇaka* sins are the least sinful of all. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (33.3-5) speaks of nine kinds of lapses viz. *atipātaka*, *mahāpātaka*, *anupātaka*, *upapātaka*, *jātibhramśakara* (effecting loss of caste), *saṅkarikarāṇa*, (rendering one as degraded as a man of a mixed caste), *apātrikarāṇa* (rendering the perpetrator unworthy of receiving a gift), *malāvaha* (causing defilement) and *prakīrṇaka* (miscellaneous). Atipātakas, acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 34.1, are sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law and the only expiation for them is entering fire. Manu omits the separate mention of atipātaka and anupātaka and includes most of them under those that he designates as equal to one of the four well-known mahāpātakas. Kātyāyana quoted in the Prāyaścittamuktāvali of Divākara (folio 3 a) adds sexual intercourse with one's sister as atipātaka to the three mentioned by Viṣṇu

32. कात्यायनेन तु महापातकसंज्ञानां विष्णुनाह्वयपातकोत्प्रेनोक्तानां पातकसंज्ञा दर्शिता ।  
नित्य. ०० वा. III. 242. ; महापातकाह्वयानि वापान्मुक्तानि यानि तु । तानि पातकसंज्ञानि  
ब्रह्मे चोपपातकम् । भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्मण 190.9.)

Hārīta Dh. S. (it appears) quoted by the Mit. knew<sup>33</sup> of a variety of pātakas called anupātaka, but from the way in which the several pātakas are arranged it looks as if *atipātaka* in Hārīta was a lesser sin than mahāpātaka. Manu (in chap. XI) refers to all the kinds of pātakas found in the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra except atipātakas. Usually five mahāpātakas have been enumerated from the days of the Chāndogya Up. (quoted on p. 12) viz. brāhmaṇa murder, drinking spirituous liquor, theft (generally understood as theft of brāhmaṇa's gold), sexual intercourse with the wife of a *guru* and association with the perpetrators of any of these four (for a year<sup>34</sup>). Vide Vas. I. 19-20, Manu XI. 55, 180, Yaj. III. 227, 261, Viṣṇudharmasūtra 35.1-5, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 174. Manu mentions certain sins as equal to Mahāpātakas which are styled anupātakas by the Viṣṇudharmasūtra chap. 36. The most elaborate treatment of all kinds of sins in the smṛtis is found in Manu, Yaj and Viṣṇu. There is difference of opinion even among these three on certain points. For example, Manu<sup>35</sup> XI. 56 says that forgetting the Veda, reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, slaying a friend, eating forbidden food and food that is unfit for eating or should not be eaten, are lapses similar to drinking *surū*; while Yaj. III. 228 states that three out of these (viz. reviling the Vedas, slaying a friend and forgetting the Veda studied by a person) along with the reviling of a *guru* by attributing false faults are similar to the murder of a brāhmaṇa. The result is that there is an option as to the expiation to be prescribed for these sins.

33. दत्तु हारितेनोक्तं—महापातकानिपातकाधुपातकोपपातकानामेकतमेव संनिपाते ऋग-धर्मर्षणेनैव त्रिजपेत्—इति तन्निमित्तकर्तुं विचर्यम् । मिता. on वा. III. 301, in मा. प्रकाश (folio 69a) हारित is quoted as follows: 'एषाविधमनुभवं भवति माताङ्गिकोपपातकापातक-महापातकात्यन्तपातकानि' and it is remarked (folio 69 b) 'माताङ्गिकपदेन जातिप्रका-कराणि परिशेषाद् गृह्यन्ते.'

34. In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali mentions at least three of these five: 'यो हि अज्ञानेनैवाङ्गणं हन्यात्सुरा वा पिबेत्सोऽपि मये पतितः स्यात् । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 2; ध्वंसते सुकृतस्पगः । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 103; इषलक्षणेयम् । अद्वयं पलाण्डुना सुरा पिबेत् । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 419 on वार्तिक 4 on वा. V. 3.66. In the Khoh copperplate of the Gupta year 214 (533-34 A. D.) it was stated that whoever interfered with the gift would incur the five mahāpātakas and the upapātakas (Gupta Inscriptions p. 135).

35. ब्रह्मोक्तता वेदान्त्वा कौटसादयं सुदृढयः । गर्हितानाद्ययोर्जग्धिः सुरापानसमानि बद्धं ॥ मनु XI. 56.; ब्रह्मणामध्याधिक्यो वेदान्त्वा सुदृढयः । ब्रह्महरपातनं जेयमधीत्येव च नाशानम् ॥ वा. III. 228. मेधातिथि explains: 'गर्हितं शास्त्रमतिचिद्वत् लक्षणादि । अनाद्यम-मनस्तद्विकरं न मोक्ष इति कल्प्य (सङ्कल्प्य) वस्तु ज्यते' ; compare नीतम 21.10 कौटसादयं राजगामि पैष्ठुनं सुरोरुत्तमानिर्वासनानेति महापातकसमानि ।

It would be desirable to give some details as regards each of the mahāpātakaś and then to describe the other varieties of sins and then to set out the expiations prescribed for all of them. It should be noted that both the secular law of penalties and the ecclesiastical rules about expiations made a difference between a sinful act intentionally committed (*kāmataḥ*) and one committed through ignorance or heedlessness and between an act done only once (*sakṛt*) or done repeatedly (*asakṛt*)

*Brahmahatyā*. *Hatyā* or *vadha* (killing) is applied to an act which immediately or after some time results in causing loss of life directly without the intervention of any other cause.<sup>36</sup> The *Agnipurāṇa* (173. 1), the *Mit.*, the *Prāyaścittaviveka* (p. 47) and other works define what is meant by *vadha*. A man may be the cause of the death of a brāhmaṇa in five ways, viz. he may himself kill (i. e. he becomes the *kartā*), he may incite another to kill (*prayojaka*) by ordering that other to do so (as a king or noble by ordering his servant) or by imploring another to kill and giving advice about the killing, he may encourage another to kill by his own approval (*anumanta*), or by helping the killer when he wavers or by offering protection to the killer against others (*anugrahaka*) and by becoming a *nimitta*.<sup>37</sup>

The *Mit.* on *Yaj.* III. 227 and 243 (quoting verses from *Paithinasi*) explains all these at length. For the definition of *anugrahaka* it relies on a verse of Manu 'Where many persons are armed and have a common purpose in view, if even one of them kills a person, all of them are guilty of murder', which is very much like sec. 34 of the Indian Penal Code. This distinction into several degrees of killers is an ancient one and is based on *Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 1-2* 'He who<sup>38</sup> instigates, he who approves, and he who commits an act—these share its results in heaven and hell; but he amongst these who contributes most to

36. हन्तिर्ब्रह्मण्यवियोगकरणे व्यापारे कृत्तः । बह्व्यापारसमन्तरं कालान्तरे वा कारणा-  
न्तरनिरपेक्षः प्राणवियोगो भवति स ब्राह्मणं हतवानिति ब्रह्महत्या । *मिता.* on *पा.* III. 227 ;  
हत्याप्राणवियोगकरो व्यापारो हननं स्पृष्टम् । *अग्निपु.* 173.1; quoted by *याय.* p. 519.

37. बहिर्ब्रह्मण्यवियोगं कर्ता प्रयोजकोऽनुमन्ताऽनुग्राहको निमित्ती चेति । *याय.* p. 47 ;  
अनुग्राहकश्च यः पलायमानमभिप्रेतुपबन्धय परेभ्यश्च हन्तारं परिरक्ष्य हन्तामहिमानमुपजनयन्  
पकरोति स उपयते । अत एव मनुना ब्राह्मणस्य हितफलसम्बन्धो दृष्टितः । बह्वानेककार्याणां  
सर्वेषां ब्रह्महत्यादिनाम् । पक्षेको वातयेद्यत्र सर्वे ते वातकाः स्मृताः ॥ इति । *मिता.* on *पा.* III. 227.  
The verse बह्वानेकः occurs in *अग्निपु.* 173.3.

38. प्रयोजकविता मन्ता कर्तोऽपि स्वर्गनरकाकलेषु कर्तृषु भगिनः । यो भूय आरभते तस्मिन्  
फलविशेषः ॥ *आप. ध. सू.* II. 11. 29. 1-2.



the accomplishment of the act obtains a greater share of the results'. A *mittin*<sup>39</sup> is defined by Mit. as one that angers another (who is a *brāhmaṇa*) by rebuking or beating or depriving him of wealth and the like and in whose presence and on account of whom the *brāhmaṇa* that is angered kills himself. The Mit. quotes a verse of Viṣṇu and also another verse (without name) on this point. If a person kills a *brāhmaṇa* boy whose *upanayana* had not been performed he was yet regarded as guilty of *brāhmaṇa* murder.<sup>40</sup> The *Sāmavidhāna* Br. I. 7. 5, Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24. 6-9), Vas. 20. 34, Manu XI. 87, Yāj. III. 251 held that killing even a *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* who had studied the Veda or had been initiated for a *soma* sacrifice rendered the killer guilty of *brahmahatyā*, as also the killing of the foetus (of *brāhmaṇa* parents) whose sex was unknown and of a woman who was an *ātreya*.<sup>41</sup> Killing a *brāhmaṇa* woman other than an *ātreya* or other than the wife of a sacrificer engaged in a *soma* sacrifice was only an *upapātaka*, as Manu (XI. 66) and Yāj. (III. 236) lay down. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 264 says that no *prāyaścitta* can expiate the sin of killing a woman intentionally. In the case of the three *varṇas* other than that of *brāhmaṇa* some *smṛtis* like that of Cyavana<sup>42</sup> laid down other *mahāpātakas* in addition to the five, viz. punishing one who should not be punished and fleeing from the battle-field are additional *mahāpātakas* for *kṣatriyas*, employing false balances and weights for *vaiśyas*, the selling of flesh, injuring a *brāhmaṇa*, sexual intercourse with a *brāhmaṇa* woman, the drinking of the

39. तथा योषि भर्त्सनतश्चनयनापहारादिना परान्कोपयति सोऽपि मरणहेतुमृतमप्युत्पादनद्वारेण हितार्हेतुर्भवत्येव। अत एव विष्णुनोक्तम्। आकुटस्तान्त्रितो वापि धर्मो विमोक्षितः। बहुविधं त्यजेत् प्राणांस्तमाहुर्महापातकम् ॥ तथा। ज्ञातिभिश्चकलत्रार्थं ब्रह्मलोभार्थमेव च। बहुविधं त्यजेत् प्राणांस्तमाहुर्महापातकम् ॥ इति। The प्राय. वि. p. 57 ascribes the first verse to बहुविधमृतम् and the 2nd to ब्रह्मलोभम् and cites two more verses of similar import from Brhaspati. The स्मृतिः (याव.) p. 862 ascribes both verses to विष्णु and quotes similar verses from सुमन्तु. The verse आकुटः is almost the same as अग्निः. 173.4.

40. अत्र ब्राह्मणवधे संकृतवाचिद्विजयहरं केनाप्ययुक्तत्वात् सर्वैर्द्विभिर्ब्राह्मणवध-इत्येव प्रयोगात्तत्र च जातिवचनत्वात् अनुपनीतब्राह्मणवधेऽपि महापातकम्। प्राय. वि. p. 86.

41. पूर्वयोर्वैर्णयोर्वैर्णाद्यां हत्या सवर्गगतं वामिजस्तः। ब्राह्मणवर्गं च। गर्भं च तद्वच-विज्ञातम्। आचर्यो च क्षियम्। आप. ध. दृ. I. 9.24 6-9; राजसूयवेष्टौ सवर्गमती हत्या ब्राह्मणवधकत्वेन कुत्रोक्तुर्नानुसृतम्। सत्यविधानम्. I. 7.5.

42. क्षत्रियादीनामपरमये महापातकमाह चवचनः। ब्रह्महत्या पुरापातं सुवर्तस्य ब्राह्मणद्वयहरणं विज्ञानां महापातकानि। अहण्डवद्वचनं पुत्रि पत्न्याचनं क्षत्रियवधः। मानमुत्साहस्तवं वैधव्यं। मंसविहक्यं ब्रह्महत्या ब्राह्मणीकर्म कपिताहुम्वचनं ब्रह्मवधः। क्षीपकालिका on वा. III. 227.

milk of a kapilā (dark-brown) cow in the case of śūdras. If a brāhmaṇa or any other human being or a cow died while a competent doctor was administering treatment to them by means of drugs, oils or food, or cauterization by cutting or by opening a vein the medical man incurred no sin.<sup>43</sup> But if a quack pretending to know medicine administered such treatment and death followed, Yaj. II. 242 prescribed various punishments. If a brāhmaṇa administers moderate corporal punishment to his son, pupil or wife for some fault and the son or pupil or wife suddenly dies he incurs no sin, according to the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and the Agnipurāṇa.<sup>44</sup> Gautama (II. 48-50), Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 29-30, Manu VIII. 299-300 (= Mātayapurāṇa 227. 152-154), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 81-82, Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣa 13-14) lay down that the punishment should be administered with a rope or bamboo slip on the back (but never on the head or chest) and Manu (VIII. 300) provides that if these restrictions were violated the punisher would incur the same guilt or punishment as a thief. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 362-363 for this topic.

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Dharmasāstra writers is whether a man can kill a brāhmaṇa ātatāyin in self-defence without incurring any sin or punishment by the king. There is great divergence of views on this point, which has been dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 148-151 and vol. III pp. 517-518. The conclusion of the Mitākṣarā appears to voice the views of most writers that, if a brāhmaṇa comes as an ātatāyin (as an incendiary, as a poisoner, as a kidnapper of women or with the intention of killing or wresting a field), then in self-defence one may oppose him without incurring any sin, but that if the brāhmaṇa offender meets death though the defender did not desire to kill him (but only to stop him by causing injury short of death), the

43. क्रियमाणोपकारे तु मृते विधे न पातकम् । वा. III. 284; औषधं स्नेहमाहारं द्रवहो-  
माहणादिषु । दीयमाने विपत्तिः स्वाद्य स पापेन लिप्यते ॥ संवत् 138 (The Ānan. ed. reads  
last pāda as पुण्यमेव न पातकम् ) q. by विश्वकर्म on वा. III. 262, by the मित्ता. on वा.  
III. 227 (with two more verses), by श्रव. वि. p 56 (reads second half as प्राणिनां  
प्राणवृत्तपर्यं यावद्विदं न विद्यते). The same verse occurs in यम 50, लघुश्रुत 61, लघु-  
हरित 28. The मित्ता. and श्रव. वि. quote another verse as संवत्'s which is 'वाह्येष्ट-  
सिराभेदयस्तेषूपकुर्वताम् । प्राणसंवाप्तासिद्धयर्थं यावद्विदं न विद्यते' ॥ The अग्निपुराण  
173.5 has 'औषधाद्युपकारे तु न पापं स्यात् कृते मृते । पुत्रं शिष्यं तथा भार्यं ज्ञासतो न मृते  
ह्यप्यम् ॥'

44. पुत्रः शिष्यस्तथा भार्यं ज्ञातितथेहि नश्यति । न ज्ञास्ता तत्र होषेण लिप्यते देव-  
सत्तमम् ॥ अश्विष्यपु. q. by श्रव. वि. p. 58; आश्वपु. 173.5 is similar.

defender is not liable to be punished by the king and he has to undergo a light expiation (i. e. he is not guilty of brāhmaṇa's murder).<sup>45</sup>

*Surāpāna* (drinking of *surā*) has been held to be a mahā-pātaṭaka. The word *surā* occurs several times in the Rgveda (e. g. Rg. I. 116.7, I. 191.10, VII. 86.6, VIII. 2.12, X. 107.9). Rg. VII. 86.6 quoted above (in note 17) clearly indicates that *surā* was looked upon by the Rgvedic singers as a cause of sin just as much as gambling. Rg. I. 116.7 (*śatam kumbhān asiñcatam surāyāḥ*) read with Rg. I. 117.6 (*śatam...madhūnām*) implies that madhu (honey or some sweet substance) might have been used in preparing *surā*. Soma was a beverage to be offered to the gods and to be drunk by the brāhmaṇa priests and was sharply distinguished from *surā* (e. g. in Tai. S. II.5. 1.1, Vāj. S. 19.7, Śat. Br. V. 1. 5.28). The last furnishes the striking antithesis 'soma is truth, prosperity, light; and *surā* is untruth, misery, darkness'. It appears that long before the Kāthaka Samhita brāhmaṇas had come to regard the drinking of *surā* as very sinful [XII. 12 'therefore the brāhmaṇa does not drink *surā* (with the idea) that (by drinking it) he may become affected by sin'].<sup>46</sup> The Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.9) speaks of the drinker of *surā* as a *patita*, while in V. 11.5 king<sup>47</sup> Aśvapati Kaikeya makes the boast before the five learned brāhmaṇas that had come to him for the knowledge of *Ātman Vaitvānara* that in his kingdom there was no thief and no drinker of *madya*. Though Manu XI. 54 enumerates the drinking of *surā* among the five mahāpātaṭakas, Yāj. III. 227 speaks of the *madyapa* (drinker of *madya*) as one of the five great sinners. Therefore we must explain what is meant by *surā* and when *surāpāna* becomes a mahāpātaṭaka. By Manu XI. 93 *surā* is said to be the refuse of food and Manu XI. 94 states that *surā* is of three kinds, viz. that prepared from molasses, that from flour and that from madhūka flowers (or from honey). There is a great deal of discussion about *surā* in many of the digests and the propositions

45. अतश्च ब्राह्मणाश्च आततायिनश्चः आत्मादित्राण्यर्थं हिंसायमित्यान्धिना निवार्यमाणाः प्रमादाद्यदि विषयेरेतत्तत्र लज्जामाश्रितं राजदण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चयः । मिता. on II. 21.

46. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्संबुद्ध्या इति । काठक XII. 12 q. by the तन्त्रशास्त्रिक on जे. I. 3.7 p. 210 and by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4.31.

47. स इ प्रतः सज्जिहान उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कश्चिर्न न मयपो नामाहिताग्नि-  
नापिहान स्तेरि स्तेरिणी कुतः ... । छा. उ. V. 11.5.



would become in this world a bitch or a sow<sup>50</sup>. The Mit. remarks<sup>51</sup> on this verse that though a śūdra is not forbidden to drink surā, even the śūdra wife of a brāhmaṇa should not drink surā.

Drinking *surū* means taking it down the throat. Therefore if a man's lips only touch surā or if surā enters his mouth but he spits it out, then there is no *drinking* of surā (i. e. no mahāpātaka) and he would have had to undergo in such a case a light expiation for the touch of surā<sup>52</sup>.

*Steaya* (theft). In order to constitute theft as a grave sin according to the commentaries the theft must be of a brāhmaṇa's gold of a certain quantity. *Steaya* is defined by Āp. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 1 as<sup>53</sup> 'a man becomes a thief by coveting another's property (and taking it) in whatever situation he may be (without the owner's consent)'. Kātyāyana (810) defines<sup>54</sup> it as 'depriving a man of his property, whether clandestinely or openly and, whether by night or by day, is known to be theft'. Vyāsa defines it similarly. Vācaspati in his bhāṣya on Yogasūtra II, 30 defines steaya as taking property from another in a manner that is not allowed by the śāstras (steयाम-  
śāstra-pūrvakam dravyānām parataḥ śvikaraṇam). Though Manu (XI 54) and Yāj. (III, 227) simply employ the word 'steaya' (theft) or 'stena' (thief) yet in speaking of the prāyaścitta

50. वा ब्राह्मणी च सुरापी न तं देवः पतिलोकं नयन्तीति सा चरति क्षीणपुष्पाच्छु-  
ल्लभयति क्षुत्किं वा । वसिष्ठ 21.11. This is cited as क्षुति in ग्राय. वि. p. 92 and  
these very words occur in the महाभाष्य on पालिक 1-2 on पाणिनि III. 2.8 'वा  
ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैनां देवः पतिलोकं नयन्ति' vol. II p. 99 (the पालिकs are सुरा-  
सीधोः पिबते । बहुलं तानि ।)

51. ब्राह्मणविग्रहो चात्र 'तिस्रो वर्णास्तु पूर्वमेव' इति स्वायेन यस्य द्विजातेर्योऽन्त्यो  
भार्यास्तास्तानुपलक्षणम् । अत एव मनुः । पतरर्च्यं शरीरस्य यस्य भार्या सुरां पिबेत् । पतिनाश-  
शरीरस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते । इति ।... द्विजातिभार्यायाः शुद्धाया अपि सुरापानविधेयान्न्यर्थम् ।  
मिता. on वा. III, 256. The verse एतत्पद्यं is not found in मनु, but is वसिष्ठ  
21.15 and पराशर X.27.

52. धानं च द्व्यर्धशतस्याभ्यवहारः स च कण्ठदेशादधोऽनयनं न तु वक्त्रमात्रप्रवेशः ।  
मिर्द्धितमाद्यधौ कपोलधारणे पानज्ञान्नाययोगात् ।...अत एवोष्ठमात्रे लेपे न पाननिषेधः । अतस्त-  
पोलमाह्वयार्थमावशिष्यम् । ग्राय. वि. p. 93.

53. यथा कथा च परपरिग्रहमभिमुख्यते स्तेनो ह भवतीति कौत्सहारीतो तथा काण्व-  
दुष्करसाक्षी ।...सर्वेषां दुष्कृतानि पूर्वमिति हारीतः । आप. ध. सू. I, 10.28.1 and 5.

54. प्रच्छन्नं वा प्रकाशं वा मिज्ञायामन्था विहा । उत्तरद्वयवचनं स्तेर्यं सत्यरिक्तीति तिव् ।  
कात्या. 810, q. by कायभाष्य p. 224 and ग्राय. वि. p. 112; समक्षं वा परोक्षं वा बलाञ्छो-  
र्जेन वा द्रुमः । परस्वानादुपादानं स्तेरमित्युच्यते द्रुमेः । इत्यतः q. by स्मृतिह. (या.) p. 883;  
स्तेनो विमर्शमिच्छकोऽसमावयुरिति तद्वद् देव्यन्तुलबलचौर्यान्वयतरेरपहर्ता । या. प्रकाश folia.  
70 b.

for *steaya* Manu (XI. 99 'suvarṇasteyakṛt') and Yaj. III. 257 (brāhmaṇasvarṇahārī) add the qualification that he should be a thief guilty of stealing gold (from a brāhmaṇa, acc. to Yaj.). Vas. 20. 41 and Cyavana (q. by Pr. V. p. 117) mention 'brāhmaṇasvarṇa-harāṇa' as a mahāpātaka and the Samavidhāna Br. (I. 6. 1) also employs the words 'brāhmaṇasvarṇa hrtvā'. Vide Samvarta 122 and Viśvāmitra (q. by Pr. V. p. 108). A further qualification was added by Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. III. 252 'anakhyaṇa &c.), the Mit. (on Yaj. III. 257), the Madanapārijāta (pp. 827-28), Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa (p. 72), the Prāyaścittaviveka (p. 111) and other commentators that the gold stolen must be at least sixteen māṣas in weight, otherwise there is no mahāpātaka<sup>55</sup>. So, if a man steals gold belonging to a brāhmaṇa which is less than 16 māṣas or steals gold of any weight (even more than 16 māṣas) from a non-brāhmaṇa (i. e. from a kṣatriya or the like) he would be guilty only of a minor sin (*upapātaka*). The Mit. relies on the verses of Yaj. I. 362-363 for the technical meaning of *suvarṇa* (as 16 māṣas). There was no guilt of theft acc. to Vātsyāyana if (Āp. Dh. 8, I. 10. 28.2) a person took only a small quantity of cereals ripening in pods (such as *mudga*, *mūṣa* and gram) or took grass for his oxen while he was going (in a cart.<sup>56</sup>) According to Gautama 12.25 a man may take (without permission and without incurring the guilt of theft) for the sake of cows and for the sake of *śrūta* or *smṛta* fires grass, fuel and flowers of trees and plants as if they were his own property and the fruits (of trees and plants) that are not fenced around. Manu VIII. 339 (= Matsya 227. 112-113) is almost like Gaut. 12.25 and Manu VIII. 341 adds that a traveller of the three higher castes may, if his provisions have run short, take (without fear of punishment) from another's field two sugarcane stalks and two mūlakas (esculent roots).

*Gurvaṅganūgamah* (sexual intercourse with the wife of the guru). Manu (XI.54) employs this word, while Yaj. III. 227 and Vas. 20.13 speak of the offender as *gurutaḥpaga* (who violates the bed of the guru) and Vas. I. 20 mentions the sin as '*gurutaḥpam*'

55. अथ च सुवर्णसङ्ख्याः परित्याजयितुमर्हन्त्येवमप्यवश्यं न जातिनाशवचनः ॥ जालसूत्रं... सुवर्णसङ्ख्या वक्ष्यते तेनान्ये सुवर्णस्तु षोडशम् (वा. I. 362-363) इति षोडशमात्रपरिमिते हेतुमि सुवर्णसङ्ख्या परित्याजितव्याः । ...अतः षोडशमात्रमात्रसुवर्णपरिमितहेतवेनैव एव महापातकित्वं सम्बन्धितं मन्वादिनामिनामपि सविधानं च ॥ द्वितीयादिनामप्येवमर्हन्त्येव स विवाहादिहेतवेनान्यवपुषस्तकमेवेति युक्तम् ॥ सिता. ७२ III. 257.

56. सम्पन्नवशात् । परपरिग्रहेष्विति वार्त्तावधिः । सम्पन्नो गुरुवशात् न स्वात्मिकमतिवेद्यमिति । अतिव्यवहारो मृद्वो भवति । आप. व. सू. I. 10. 28 2-4

(the bed i. e. wife of the *guru*). *Guru* primarily means acc. to Manu II.142 and Yāj. I 34 (=Śaṅkha III.2) the father. Acc. to Gautama II.56 'the teacher (of the Veda) is the foremost amongst *gurus* while some say that the mother is so'. Samivarta 57 160 and Parāśara X. 13 (employing the words 'pitṛdārān samāruhya') convey that the primary meaning of *guru* here is 'father' as stated by the Mit. on Yāj. III, 259. Acc. to many digests such as the Mit. and the Madanapārijāta p. 835 *gurvaṅganā* means one's own mother. Bhavadeva in his Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 80) takes *gurvaṅganā*<sup>57</sup> as a *karmadhāraya* compound, following what is called the *niṣādashapālī-nyūya* (Jai. VI. 1. 51). After quoting Devala's dictum<sup>58</sup> that there are eleven persons among males who are to be looked upon as *gurus*, and adverting to the way in which the word 'gurvaṅganā' is explained by the Pr. Prakaraṇa, the Prāyaścitta-vivēka expresses its dissent from the views of the Pr. Prakaraṇa and holds that 'gurvaṅganā' or 'gurupaṭni' means not only one's mother but also one's step-mother of the same *varga* as the father. The Madanapārijāta (p. 835) holds the same view as the Pr. V. The Pr. M, p. 73 finds fault with Bhavadeva (author of Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa) and also with the Pr. V. that held the view that sexual intercourse with one's Vedic teacher's wife was also a

57. पितृवर्गो समाहृत्य मातुर्वर्जो नराधमः । भगिनीं मातुरासां च स्वसारं चाप्यमातृजाय ॥ एतास्त्रिभिः स्त्रियो ज्ञात्वा तत्तदुच्यते समाचरेत् । सर्वसं 159-160, 'हृदयान्वाह्यं हृदयया हृदया पितरि वर्जते ।... अतः पितृपत्नीममममेव महापातकम् । नमनं च चरममातृविसर्गपर्यन्तं कथ्यते । अतस्ततोऽर्थात् पितृवर्गो न महापातकित्यम् । मिला. ०० वा. III, 259.

58. तेन हृद्रीं (हृदः!) चासौ अङ्गुष्ठा चेति कर्मधारयसमासात् स्वमातृवचन एवार्थं हृदङ्गुष्ठाक्षम् । न तु हृदोरङ्गुष्म हृदङ्गुष्ठा इति कठीनमासात् सपत्नीमातृवचनोऽपि ।... तेन निषाद-स्थपतिं पाजयेत् इति वत् कर्मधारयसमासे स्वमातृवचन एवार्थं हृदङ्गुष्ठाक्षम् । श्रव. मकरज p. 80; मकर ०० जे. VI. 1. 51 says 'समानाधिकार्यसमासस्तु कठीनान् ।... तस्मात् निषाद एव स्थपतिः स्यात् । (and not निषादानां स्थपतिः). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 46 for निषादस्थपतिरित्याच.

59. तथा देवतः । आचार्यश्च पिता ज्येष्ठो भ्राता चैव गृहीयति । मातुलः स्वसुरभ्राता मातामहापितामही । कर्णज्येष्ठः पितृवच्यं पुंस्येते हृदयो ज्ञाताः । भ्राता भ्रातरक्षकः । कर्णज्येष्ठः क्षत्रियादीनां ब्राह्मणः । श्रव. वि. p 129; यद्यपि देवलवचनेनैव एकाङ्ग्यं हृदयो वृत्तिता-स्तपाच्यत्र पितैव हृदयोऽहो नाचार्यादिः ।... मातृममनरातिपातकत्वात् सपत्नीमातृममनरं हृदङ्गुष्ठाक्षममन्त्रेण महापातकम् अर्थात्तुपातके लज्जुनि हीनवर्णायाः पितृवत्त्वा ब्रह्मणः । श्रव. वि. pp 134-135. ... तस्मात् मातृवत्तिरैकैकाङ्ग्यं हृदङ्गुष्ठाक्षममन्त्रेण महापातकमिति पुंस्येते देवलवचनमिति । अत्र भवदेवेनोक्तं नात्र हृदोरङ्गुष्मा हृदङ्गुष्मेति कठीनमासात् सपुत्र-समासाभ्यामेव निषादस्थपतिवत्तदुच्यते लक्षणापत्तेः । अतो हृदयसमासाङ्गुष्ठा चेति कर्मधारयः । हृदयं च मातृवच न मयुः सपत्न्याः । ... तद्वत्तया मातृवचनं हृदङ्गुष्ठाक्षं सपुत्रसमासा-भ्यामिति विष्णुहारीत्याद्यां मातृममनरातिपातकत्वाभिधानात् । यद्यपि देवलवचनेनैव एकाङ्ग्यं हृदयो वृत्तितास्तपाच्यत्र पितैव हृदयोऽहो नाचार्यादितत्पत्नीममनरं हृदयस्थममन्त्र-मातृवत्त्वेन हृदयात्कृत्यते । श्रव. वि. pp 129-134.

mahāpātaka. The Pr. M. relies on Yāj. (III. 233) where there is an express extension of the sin of *gurutalpagamana* to intercourse with one's teacher's wife, or one's daughter and other nearly related women. This would have been unnecessary if *gurutalpa* was primarily meant to include the teacher's wife; while the Pr. V. relies upon Gaut. II. 56 ('the ācārya is the most eminent among gurus, some say that the mother is so'), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 31. 1-2 'three persons are *atigurus* (exceed even guru in their greatness) viz. the mother, the father and the ācārya and Devala who mentions eleven persons as gurus. The Pr. M. does not seem to be quite correct since the Pr. V. ultimately (pp. 134-135) states its final view that guru here means only the father and not the ācārya and others and that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36. 4-8 holds that sexual intercourse with the wife of the teacher and several other women relatives is an anupātaka.

*Mahāpātakaśamsarga*—Association with those who are guilty of the four mahāpātakas has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 614, 944. Gaut. 21.3, Vas. I. 21-22, Manu XI. 180 (= Śāntiparva 165. 37), Yāj. III. 261, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35.3, Agnipurāṇa 170. 1-2 prescribe briefly that one who closely associates or dwells with any one of the four grave sinners for one year himself incurs mahāpātaka<sup>60</sup> and they add that this applies when a man occupies the same conveyance or same seat (as the sinner) or dines in the same row (with the sinner), but that if a person enters into spiritual relationship (such as that of teaching the Veda to the sinner or learning it from him or of officiating as a priest for him or allowing him to officiate as a priest for himself) or into a sexual or matrimonial alliance with him (i. e. a man who cohabits with a woman that is a grave sinner or if a woman cohabits with a male that is a great sinner or if a man marries the daughter of a *paṭita* or if a woman marries a bridegroom that is *paṭita*) that person becomes guilty of mahāpātaka at once. Bṛhaspati speaks<sup>61</sup>

60. तैत्तिरीय समाचरणम् ॥ नौ. 21.3; संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । वाजना-  
द्यापनाद्यौनात् तु याजासनासनात् ॥ मनु XI. 180, बसिष्ठ I. 22, नौ. ध. सू. II. 1.88, विष्णु  
35.3 (only the first half of Manu), अग्निव्यु. 170. 1-2.

61. एकशय्यासनं पट्टिर्भोज्यपकाशमिभ्रणम् ॥ वाजनाद्यापने योनितथा च सह-  
भोजनम् ॥ नवधा सङ्कटः योको न कर्तव्योऽधमेः सह ॥ बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 1086,  
बृह. र. 587, माय. प्रकरण p. 101, माय. नि. p. 143; the *नित्या* on III 261 as-  
cribes it to बृहस्पति. The माय. म. p. 91 explains the divergence of views as  
to योनिः, 'योनिः पातकिने कण्यादानं तत्कस्यापरिणयनं चेति विज्ञानेश्वरकल्पतत्काराद्यः ।  
पातकीनीयमनिरप्यपरार्कशूलपाणी । योगपरित्यागात्तद्विज्ञेयं युक्तम् ।' The मा. प्रकाश folio  
74a also says the same.



of nine kinds of *samsarga* (contact or association) out of which the first five were treated as light sins, but the other four were serious viz. occupying the same bed or seat, taking food in the same row with the sinner, cooking food in the sinner's cooking pots or partaking of food prepared by him, being his sacrificial priest or employing him as one's sacrificial priest, being the sinner's teacher of the Veda or employing him as one's teacher of the Veda, sexual intercourse, taking food with him in the same pot. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 74a) holds that *samsarga* is of three kinds, the highest, middling and lowest. The first includes four viz. *yonisambandha* (marriage), *srauva* (i. e. that due to sacrificing for a sinner or making him a priest), *maukha* (about learning or teaching Veda) and eating of food from the same vessel (*ekāmatrabhojana*); the middling is of five kinds viz. using the same vehicle, seat, bed or coverlet; eating in the same row and learning the Veda together (*sahādhyayana*). The lowest is of various other kinds such as intimate talks, touching, cooking food in the same vessel, eating food at his house, receiving a gift from him &c. Adhyāpāna in order to be a great sin must relate to the Veda, and so also yājana must relate to such Vedic sacrifices as Darśapūrṇamāsa, Cāturmāsya, Agniṣṭoma. Helping a mahāpātakin to perform the five daily yajñas or teaching him the *aṅgas* (metrics, grammar etc.) and the śāstras is only a minor sin. Parāśara<sup>62</sup> (XII. 79) states that sins are transferred (or spread) from man to man like a drop of oil on water by sitting or sleeping together or by using the same conveyance or by speaking with or dining in the same row. Devala and Chāgaleya q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 261, the Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 101), the Pr. V. (p. 145), the Par. M. (II. part 1. p. 28) and others contain similar verses. Acc. to Pr. Prakāśa (folio 75a), in order to become *patita* one must simultaneously practise these four together; if practised separately, there is no *pātitya* but only *doṣa*. Parāśara (I. 25-26) states that in the Kṛta age a man became *patita* by speaking with a *patita*, in Tretā by touching him, in Dvāpara by partaking of food prepared in his house and in Kali by actually committing a sinful act and that in the Kṛta age a district was abandoned (if any one therein became *patita*), in Tretā the village, in Dvāpara the family (of the *patita* was abandoned) and in Kali only the actual perpetrator himself (is

62. असनाच्छयनावाससम्भावात् सहयोगात्। संक्रामन्ति हि वापानि तैलविष्कुरिष्यन्ति॥ पराशर XII. 79, which is the same as a verse of कण्व q. by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 28.

abandoned as *patita*). It is clear from this that such contacts with a *patita* as speaking with him,<sup>63</sup> touching him or eating food (in the house of a *patita*) were not regarded as involving a man in the same sin as that of the actual perpetrator. Speaking, touching and eating are also actions (*karman*) and Parāśara did not include them in the word 'karmaṇā' which refers only to the actual perpetration of a murder, surāpāna etc. Therefore when some writers include such contacts as eating or touching under 'karmaṇā' they put two meanings on the word *karman* in Parāśara viz. perpetration of a murder or the like and also doing some of the acts (touching, eating) which are forbidden to be done in reference to a perpetrator by some *smṛtis*. This is a procedure which is against the maxim of the Mīmāṃsā that the same word conveys only<sup>64</sup> one sense in the same context. The reasonable inference from the words of Parāśara is that merely touching a *mahāpātakin* or eating food in his house did not involve the toucher and eater in *pātitya*. In spite of this medieval writers gradually extended the scope of *samsarga* in a spirit of exclusiveness and of over-emphasis on ideas of ceremonial purity. For example, the *Smṛtyarthasāra*<sup>65</sup> (p. 112) remarks that he who associates with the person that associates with a *mahāpātakin* has to undergo half the expiation that the first associator has to undergo. But that work does not go beyond this. The *Mit.* (on Yāj. III. 261) appears to hold that the associator even though he does not become *patita* is liable to undergo expiation and that even the 4th and 5th associators in a series are liable to undergo expiation

63. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । एकयानभोजनासनज्ञायते ॥ योनौवर्जौरव-  
सम्बन्धात् सद्य एव ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 35. 3-5. योनि (derived from योनि) refers to marital  
connection, ज्ञौव (derived from ज्ञूय a sacrificial ladle) means 'employing as  
a sacrificial priest or becoming such a priest for another), मौक्त (from मुख)  
means 'teaching the Veda or learning it by word of mouth). So Viṣṇu pre-  
scribes that *pātitya* results at once from the first kind of *samsarga* referred  
to above. तत्र पञ्चमहावशाद्विविधं याजनं लभ्यते । अङ्गुष्ठाङ्गुष्ठययनं लभ्यते । कुक्षितृणमिनीगन्धि-  
रिक्तो परिणयो लभ्यते ॥ पतितेन सहैकपात्रे अन्नपानतिरिक्तसत्त्वाद्विभक्षणं लभ्यते ॥ श. प्रकाश  
folio 75a.

64. सङ्कटभूतः शङ्कस्तमेवार्थे नमयति ।, which maxim is relied upon in 5 Cal.  
119, 126, (FB), that is quoted with approval in L. R. 41 I A 290, pp 303-4, 54  
All 698, 722 (FB). अग्न्यावध्यानेकार्थत्वम् ॥ शबर on जै. VI. 1.22, मद्. पा. p. 369.

65. महापातकिसंसर्गिसंसर्गे तु तत्संसर्गिजतरपार्थं कुर्यात् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 112.

though it is lesser and lesser<sup>66</sup>. The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 109), Pr. V. (pp. 169-170) and the Pr. T. (p. 547) quote certain verses of Āpastamba and Vyāsa which very much widen the circle of *samsarga*. Āpastamba-smṛti<sup>67</sup> (III, 1-3) states: 'if a cāṇḍāla stays in the house of any one of the four castes without being known, the latter on coming to know of the fact should undergo expiation, which is Cāndrāyana or Parāka for a member of the first three varṇas and Prājāpatya for a śūdra. Those who partook of cooked food in that man's house should undergo Kṛcchra; one should prescribe one half of Kṛcchra for those who took cooked food in the house of the 2nd associator and for those who partook of cooked food in the house of these last one-fourth of Kṛcchra is prescribed'. So besides the original associator three more in succession were held to be liable for prāyaścitta. Mercifully they stopped at the 4th from the original associator. A few writers took a more reasonable view. The Par. M. (II, part 2, p. 90) remarks<sup>68</sup> that Parāśara did not prescribe any expiation for *samsarga* (with those guilty of grave sins) with the idea that in the Kali age

66. अतः संसर्गसंसर्गिणां द्विजातिकर्मयो हानिर्न भवति प्रायश्चित्तं तु भवत्येव ... तत्र पादहीनम् ... एवं चतुर्थपञ्चमयोरपि कामतः संसर्गिणोरपेक्षीयं निपादोर्न च द्रष्टव्यम् ॥ मिता. on pr. III. 261. प्र. प्रकाश (folio 110a.) finds fault with this and holds on the strength of a verse of Vyāsa 'यो येन संवृज्यते स तदीयमेव प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् तेन द्वितीयसंसर्गि नपादानि कुर्यात् तृतीयस्तु पादानं सप्तद्वानि कुर्यात् । एवं चतुर्थपञ्चमादयः पूर्वापादानं प्यासवाक्याविशेषात् ॥

67. अन्यजातिरविज्ञातो निवसेद्यस्य वेदमनि ॥ स वै ज्ञात्वा तु कालेन कुर्यात्तत्र विशेषधनम् ॥ चान्द्रायणं पराको वा द्विजातीनां विशेषधनम् ॥ राजापरत्वं तु सूत्राणां तथा संसर्गदूषणे ॥ येनैतत् भुक्तं पक्कानं कुच्छं तेषां विनिर्दिष्टम् ॥ तेषामपि च वैयर्थ्यं कुच्छपादो विधीयते ॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by प्राय. वि. pp. 170 and 492, प्राय. तत्र p. 547. The verses occur with slight variations in the versified आपस्तम्बस्मृति (Ānaṁ. edition) III. 1-3. The प्राय. वि. p. 169 remarks 'प्यासादिवचने तृतीयसंसर्गपर्यन्तं प्रायश्चित्तदर्शनात् । तथा चान्दालादिसङ्केते व्यासः ॥ ये तद्व्यासिनी विमाः कुच्छं तेषां विधीयते ॥ तद्भोजिनीऽप्यकुच्छेन तद्व्यासाश्च पादतः ॥

68. आचार्यस्तु कलिपुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिप्रेत्य संसर्गप्रायश्चित्तं नावधात् । अत एव स्मृत्यन्तरे कलौ वर्ज्यनामनुक्रमणे-संसर्गदोषः प्रापेय-इत्युक्तम् । परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 90. For a severe onslaught against Mādhava, vide धर्महैतानिर्णय (p. 132). The प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 77a) explains away Mādhava's emphatic remarks as follows: 'कृते सम्भाषणमात्रात्यतः...कलौ तु कृत्स्नेन निषिद्धकर्मणा याजनादिभिरित्यर्थः । अन्यथा पूर्ववाक्ये कर्तारं तु कलौ व्यसोदित्यनेन साक्षात् कर्मादः संसर्गो निषिद्धः । द्वितीयवाक्ये तु कलौ पतति कर्मणेत्यनेन साक्षात्कर्तुर्न दोषोऽन संसर्गकर्तुरिति परस्परविरोधः स्यात् । एवं च माधवस्य कलौ संसर्गदोषाभावोक्तेरत्रैव तात्पर्यम् । तथा च कलिनिषिद्धेषु संसर्गदोष इत्युक्तिः पातकिना सह पूर्वोक्तयाजनाद्यमेकविधसंसर्गमाभावेपि यो देशादिमात्रसंसर्गः कृतपुगादौ दोषजनकत्वेनोक्तः पाराशरपूर्वश्लोके पश्चात्तरश्लोके कृतपुगादौ सम्भाषणमात्रादोष उक्तस्तद्विषया ॥

there is no blemish of samsarga and that it is on account of this that in the enumeration of things to be avoided or not allowed in the Kali age (*Kali-varjya*) another smṛti includes 'pollution through contact with a sinner' (as a *Kalivarjya*). The Smṛtimuktāphala (*Prāyaścitta* pp. 897-98) echoes the very words of Mādhava and quotes further authorities on the point<sup>69</sup>. The *Nirṇayasindhu*<sup>70</sup> holds that though there is blame in association with a *patita* the associator does not himself become *patita*. As Yāj III, 261 employs the word 'vatsaram' and as the accusative of time is, acc. to Pāṇini, to be used only when there is '*atyantasamyoḡa*' of time and space (distance) it follows that the associator who is to undergo penance for contact must have been day and night in contact for a year. Devala employs the word '*sārvakālikam*' in this connection.

Though many crimes do not in so many words come within the words of the definitions of the mahāpātakas the smṛtis extend by analogy the same condemnation as the mahāpātakas in three ways. For example, Yāj. III, 251 expressly states that one who kills a kṣatriya or vaiśya engaged in (soma) sacrifice or a foetus or an ātreya woman has to undergo the same expiation as for brāhmaṇa murder (therefore this is *vācanikātulaśa*). Yāj. III 232-233 extends the sin of *gurutaḷpa-gamana* to intercourse with several near female relatives (such as mother's or father's sister). This is extension by *tādrūpya*. The smṛtis declare many actions as equal to (*sama*) mahāpātakas in general or as equal to one of the mahāpātakas. This is *atideśa* by *sāmya*. A few words must be said on this topic. The general rule is that the expiation for those lapses that are declared to be equal to a mahāpātaka is less than (i. e. half of) what would be prescribed

69. अत एव कलियुगधर्माभिधाने प्रवृत्ताः पराशरः ब्रह्महत्यादिमहापातकचतुष्टयस्य प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तवान् कलियुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिधेयं संसर्गमवस्थितं नाप्यधात् । कर्मण एव पातित्यहेतुत्वम् । तथा कर्मणा पातित्यं कण्ठरवेणाह पराशरः (1.25) 'कृते संभावणादेव ... कलौ पतति कर्मणा #... इति । ... स्मृतिकामधेनो । संसर्गदोषो नैव स्यान्महापातकीभिः कलौ । संसर्गदोषः स्तोत्रार्थेन महापातानिष्कृतिः । तथा स्मृत्यन्तरे । संसर्गदोषः... प्रापेष्ट्विति पाठितम् ॥ कलौ संसर्गस्य पापमात्रहेतुत्वम् । संसर्गदोषस्य पातित्यापादकत्वाभावेऽपि पापमात्रापादकत्वमस्तीत्याह पराशरः । स्मृतिमु. (या.) pp 897-898.

70. कलौ कर्तव्यं लिप्यते इति व्यासोक्तेः पतितसंसर्गे दोषसत्त्वेऽपि पातित्यं नेत्यर्थः । निर्णयसिन्धु III, p. 368; तत्रापि (पाञ्चबल्कीये) वत्सरमिति द्वितीया श्रूयते सा च कालाध्वनो-रव्यन्तसंयोग इत्यव्यन्तसंयोगे स्मृता । अत्यन्तसंयोगश्च वायव्यहोरात्रसम्बन्धः । ... संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहचरन् । भोजनासनशय्यादि कुर्वाणः सार्वकालिकमिति द्वेष्टलवाक्ये सार्व-कालिकशब्देन द्वितीयाय एवोक्ताः । या. प्रकाश (folio 76 b),

for the mahāpātaka itself<sup>71</sup>. And the penance for those that come under *atideśa* of the *vācanika* or *tādrūpya* kind is three fourths of that for the mahāpātaka itself. But it has to be noted that there is divergence of views about these in the *sūtras* and the *smṛtis*. Acc. to Gaut. 21. 10 giving<sup>72</sup> false evidence, backbiting about another's guilt that will reach the king, falsely accusing one's *guru* with a grave sin or crime are equal to mahāpātaka. In Manu XI. 55 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 25) the last two of these three and false statement about one's caste or learning or family (i. e. saying that one is a brāhmaṇa when one is not) for securing prosperity or eminence are stated to be equal to brāhmaṇa's murder. Acc. to Yāj. III. 228 falsely charging one's *guru* is equal to *brahmahatyā* and false statement about one's caste or learning is equal to drinking *surā* (Yāj. III. 229), while acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 1-3 the three sins mentioned in Manu XI. 55 are to be included among minor sins (*upapātakas*), while giving false evidence is declared by Viṣṇu to be equal to drinking *surā* (36. 2). No useful purpose would be served by dilating at great length on the divergences of *smṛtis* on what lapses are equal to one of the Mahāpātakas. The digests explain that where the same lapse is described as equal to *surāpāna* by one *smṛti* and as equal to brāhmaṇa-murder by another the idea is that there is an option as to the penance prescribed for that lapse. Therefore only the remarks of Manu and Yāj. will be set out here. Manu XI. 56 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 26) prescribes that forgetting the Veda (already studied), reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, killing a friend, eating forbidden food or food that should not be eaten, these six are equal to *surāpāna*. Vide Yāj. III. 228 already referred to above. Manu XI. 57 holds that stealing a deposit or a man or horse or silver or land or diamonds and other gems is equal to the theft of brāhmaṇa's gold. Yāj. III. 230, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 5. 383, Agnipurāṇa 168. 27 are to the same effect. Acc. to Manu XI. 58 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 28) carnal intercourse with a sister by the same mother, with maidens, with females of the lowest castes (like Cāṇḍālas), with the wife of a friend or son is declared to

71. अत्र साम्प्रतिदेशोऽर्थं ताद्रूप्याचनिकयोस्तु पादोनम् ॥ माय. म. p. 8; vide माय. प्रकरण pp. 85-87; एतेनातिदेशो पूर्णमायश्चित्सं वदन्ती शुलपाणिमन्वेष्टावपास्तौ । माय. म. p. 9; अत्र समसामिधानात् शिष्टाचारबलेन पादोनं कल्प्यम् ॥ ऋषिसमां ब्राह्मणो राजसमो मन्त्रीर्यादिषु समशब्दस्य किञ्चिन्मूले प्रयोगदर्शनात् ॥ मय. पा. p. 808; vide मित्त. on वा. III, 231 for similar words.

72. कौटसादयं राजगामि वैकुण्ठं ह्योरवुलामिशंसनं महापातकसन्तानि ॥ मौ. 21.10.

be equal to the violation of a guru's bed. Yāj. III. 231 is practically the same (but he adds intercourse with a *sagotra* woman to the list). Gaut. 23. 12 and Manu XI. 170 are very similar. Yāj. III. 232-233 declare that a man who has sexual intercourse with a sister of his father or mother, with his maternal uncle's wife, with his daughter-in-law, with a co-wife of his mother, with his sister, with the daughter or wife of his Vedic teacher or his own daughter, is guilty of being a violator of the guru's bed and should have his penis cut off and be killed (by the king) and the woman concerned, if she was a willing party, should also be killed. Nārada (*śrīpūrṇasāyoga*, verses 73-75)<sup>73</sup> states: "If a man has sexual intercourse with any of these women viz. mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law, maternal uncle's wife, father's sister, a wife of the paternal uncle or of a friend or of a pupil, a sister, sister's friend, daughter-in-law, daughter, the wife of one's Vedic teacher, a woman of the same gotra, one who has come for protection, a queen, an ascetic woman, one's wet-nurse, a woman performing a *vratā* and a *brāhmaṇa* woman, he becomes guilty of the sin of the violator of the guru's bed (i. e. incest). For that crime no other punishment is laid down except that of the cutting of the penis." These two, Yāj. and Nārada, show that excision of the organ and death are both the expiation and the punishment for this crime. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 233) adds that this punishment applies only to the offenders other than a *brāhmaṇa*, since Manu (VIII. 380) prescribes that a *brāhmaṇa* offender should not be punished with death whatever sin or crime he may have committed and that he is to be banished from the country unhurt and is to retain all his wealth. The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (36.4-7) adds a few more women to the list of Yāj. and Nārada (such as a woman in her monthly illness, the wife of a learned *brāhmaṇa* or of one's sacrificial priest or of one's *Upādhyāya*).

These lapses described above from false accusation against the guru<sup>74</sup> (Yāj. III. 228 or Manu XI. 55 to Yāj. III. 233 or Manu

73. सर्वास्येति सनोत्राभिश्च भार्यास्तु स्त्रियाणां गवि च गुरुतल्पसमः ॥ गौ 23.12; माता मातुष्यता च भर्मातुलानी पितृव्यता । पितृव्यसखिनिष्पत्तिं भगिनी तत्सखां स्त्रिया ॥ द्रुहिताचार्य-भार्या च सनोत्रा शरणागता ॥ राज्ञी प्रज्जिता धात्री साध्वी वर्णोत्तमा च या ॥ आसामस्यतां गत्वा गुरुतल्पस्य उच्यते ॥ शिश्वस्योत्कर्तनं तस्य माग्वो दण्डो निर्धायते ॥ नारद (कौटिल्याय 73-75); compare आप. ध. सू. I. 9.25 (गुरुतल्पगामी सवृषभं शिश्वं परिवार्याजलावाधाय दक्षिणां दक्षिणमाहर्त्ति ब्रजेत्) and गौ. 23.10.

74. एतानि दुर्बलिकोपाद्वैतनयामनपर्वन्तानि महापातकानिद्वेषविषयाणि सद्यःपतन-हेतुगत्यापत्तास्तुच्यन्ते ॥ मिता. on आप. III. 233,

XI. 58) and said to be equal to some mahāpātaka or other are designated as pātakas by Vṛddha-Hārīta (IX. 216-17) and by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 233) and as *anupātakas* by the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (36.8). Gautama<sup>75</sup> (21.1-2) adds a few more to the list of pātakas or *patitas* viz. he who has connection with the female relatives of his mother or father or with sisters and their offspring, a thief of gold, an atheist, one who constantly repeats censured acts, one who does not cast away a *patita* or who abandons blameless relatives or those who instigate others to commit pātakas. These pātakas are less than mahāpātakas in their culpability and greater than upapātakas.

*Upapātakas* (minor sins). The number of these has greatly varied from time to time and from smṛti to smṛti. Vas. I. 23 speaks<sup>76</sup> of only five upapātakas viz. forsaking the sacred fires (after beginning Agnihotra), offending the guru, being an atheist, taking one's livelihood from an atheist, selling the soma plant. Śātātapa as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229-236 mentions only eight. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1.60-61) mentions a small number as upapātakas. Gaut. 21.11 states<sup>77</sup> that the guilt of upapātaka attaches to those who have been declared to defile the company at a Śrāddha dinner and have been named above before the beld man (in Gaut. XV. 18), killers of kine, those who forget the Veda, those who pronounce Vedic texts for these last, Vedic students who break the vow of chastity and those who allow the time for upanayana to pass without performing it. Śaṅkha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229-236 mentions only 18 upapātakas and styles them *upapātaniyas*. The longest lists are contained in Manu XI. 59-66, Yāj. III. 234-242, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 208-210, Viṣṇudharma-sūtra 37 and Agnipurāṇa (168. 29-37). According to the Pr. V. (p. 195)<sup>78</sup> the upapātakas mentioned by Manu

75. ब्रह्महत्यापत्युक्तत्पनमातृपितृयोनिस्तम्बध्यायस्तेननास्तिकानिश्चितकर्मभ्यामपिपतिता-  
त्यागवपतितत्यागिनः पतिताः ॥ पालकस्यैव राजकाय ॥ नीतम् 21.1-2. नीतम् 20.1 mentions the  
persons whom one should abandon 'त्यजेत्पितरं राजकायकं ब्रह्मपाजकं ब्रह्मार्थपाजकं  
वेदविष्ठावकं ब्रूणहणं यन्नात्ययावसायिभिः सह संवसेद्दत्त्वावसायिभ्यां वा ।'.

76. षोडशीनपत्रिष्येद् दृष्टं च यः प्रतिद्वन्द्वयान् नास्तिको नास्तिकहन्तिः सोमं च विक्री-  
नीयादित्युपपातकानि ॥ वसिष्ठ I. 23.

77. अर्पकस्यानां शत्रुर्गोलाहोहन्तुमह्वान्नाह्वान्तम्बध्यायस्तेननास्तिकानिश्चितकर्मभ्यामपिपतिता-  
नी. 21.11. The word ब्रूणहणं occurs in नी. 15.18.

78. दृष्टं च गोवधादिनास्तिकस्यान्तानि ऊनपञ्चासमुपपातकानि । भाव. नि. p. 195.

come to 49. Those enumerated by Yaj. are set out below<sup>79</sup> (they are 51 according to Viśvarūpa on Yaj. III. 229-236, who omits one verse commented on by the Mit. viz 'sūdrapreṣyam' &c. which contains five): slaying kine, being a *vṛātya* (i. e. one whose *upanayana* was not performed at the prescribed age), theft (other than that of brāhmaṇa's gold or other than what is described as equal to theft of the mahāpātaka type), non-payment of debts borrowed (and not satisfying the three debts due to gods, sages and *pitṛs*), not establishing the *śrauta* fires (even though one has the capacity to do so); selling what ought not to be sold (such as salt); parivedana (a younger brother's marrying before an elder brother or establishing sacred fires before him); learning (the Veda) from a paid teacher; teaching the Veda for payment; adultery (with women other than those referred to in *gurutalpaganana* or those lapses equal to it); an elder brother's remaining unmarried when a younger brother has married; usury (i. e. taking more interest than is allowed by the *smṛtis*); manufacture of salt; killing a woman (of any caste, except an *ātreya*); killing a *sūdra*; killing a *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* (who is not initiated for a *śrauta* sacrifice); maintaining oneself on wealth which is condemned; atheism (denial of the soul and a world after death); giving up the observances peculiar to one's status (e. g. a vedic student having sexual intercourse or one guilty of brāhmaṇa murder or the like giving up the performance of the expiation already begun); sale of one's children; theft<sup>80</sup> of corn, inferior metals (like lead and copper) or cattle; officiating as a priest at a sacrifice for those who are not entitled to sacrifice (such as *sūdras* or *vṛātyas* &c); driving out of the house one's father, mother or son (without a proper cause such as that

79. गोपथो ब्राह्मणा स्तेयघ्नानां क्षानपाक्रिया । अनाहिताग्निता वप्यविक्रयः पारिव्रजम् ।  
 धृतावृष्यमादानं श्रुतकाश्यापनं तथा ॥ पारदार्यं पारिविष्यं वापुष्यं लवणक्रिया ॥ क्षीरद्वि-  
 त्तद्विषयधो निम्बितार्थेपजीवनम् ॥ नास्तिक्यं ब्रतलोपश्च सुतानां चैव विक्रयः ॥ धार्यकुट्य-  
 पक्षुस्तप्यमाश्यानां च पाजनम् ॥ पितृमातृसुतत्यागस्तद्वाणारामविक्रयः ॥ कन्यासन्धृषणं चैव  
 परिविन्दकपाजनम् ॥ कन्यामदानं तत्सर्वं कौटिल्यं ब्रतलोपनम् ॥ आत्मनोऽर्थे क्रियारम्भो मध्य-  
 क्षीनिवेषणम् ॥ स्वाध्यायाग्निमुत्तरायानो बान्धवव्रतान एव च ॥ इन्धनार्थं ज्वमच्छेदः क्षीर्हिंसी-  
 षधिजीवनम् । हिंसयन्नधिधानं च ह्यसनाभ्यासविक्रयः ॥ सूत्रयेष्यं ह्रीनसत्त्वं ह्रीनयोनिनिषेवणम् ।  
 तथैवानामने वासः पराक्रपरिदुष्टता ॥ असञ्छास्त्राधिगमनमाकरेण्यधिकारिता ॥ आर्याया विक्रय-  
 श्वैवामिकेकमुपपातकम् ॥ या. III. 234-242.

80. 'Steala' has already been mentioned as the third upapātaka. The mention of the theft of corn &c. here either serves the purpose of showing that the theft of corn &c. will always be expiated as an upapātaka while other kinds of thefts may be dealt with more leniently. The same remark applies to *पितृमातृसुतत्याग* and *बान्धवव्रतान* separately mentioned below.



mentioned by Gautama 20.1); the sale of a tank or of a park intended for a charitable object (though not actually dedicated to the public); ascribing demerits to an unmarried girl (or interfering with her private parts by means of a finger or the like); officiating as a priest (at the marriage) of one who though a younger brother marries before an elder brother; giving one's daughter in marriage to one who marries before his elder brother; cheating or following crooked ways (except against one's guru, which is equal to *surāpāna*); giving up an observance voluntarily undertaken<sup>81</sup>; cooking for the sake of oneself only (and not for deities, guests &c., which attitude is condemned by Rg. X. 117, 6 and Manu III. 118); sexual intercourse with a woman (even one's own wife) who is given to drinking wine; giving up the Veda already learnt so as to forget it by the study of other subjects); not tending one's *śrauta* or *smārta* fire; abandoning one's son<sup>82</sup>; not maintaining one's relatives (such as the maternal or paternal uncle, when one has the means); cutting down a big tree for fuel (to be used only in cooking one's food<sup>83</sup>); maintaining one's self on one's wife (i. e. on her immoral earnings or by means of her *stridhana*) or by killing animals or by herbs (used as charms); setting up of machines that cause death or injury to beings (such as for pressing oil from sesame or for crushing sugarcane stalks); addiction to the vices (declared to be eighteen by Manu VII. 45-48); selling one's self (as a slave for money); being the servant of a *sūdra*; friendship with low persons; intercourse with a woman of a lower caste (either as a wife or as a concubine); living outside of the four *āśramas*<sup>84</sup>; fattening oneself on food charitably supplied by others; studying the works of false *sāstras* (such as those of atheists like *Cārvāka*); holding the office of the superintendent of mines (of gold and the like); sale of one's wife.

81. *Vratatopa* has already been mentioned above in verse 236 as an *upapātaka*. Therefore the repetition of 'vratalopana' (in verse 238) must be differently explained as done by the *mitākara*.

82. In च. III. 237 we have *पितृमातृसुतत्यागः* and then in 239 again *स्वाध्यायाग्निहोतृत्यागः*. Therefore अपराकं p. 1051 explains: 'सुतस्यारक्षणमत्र त्यागः स्वाध्यायाग्निहोतृत्यागसहचर्यात् । पितृमातृसुतत्याग इत्यत्र तु जातकर्मादिसंस्काराकरणं ह्युतस्य त्यागः ।'.

83. पाकादिप्रयोजनाग्निस्तमिन्धनार्थमशुक्लवृक्षमज्जनं कुमच्छेदः । अपराकं p. 1051.

84. अनाश्रमी न तिष्ठेच्च क्षणमेकमपि द्विजः । आश्रमेण विना तिष्ठन् प्रायश्चित्तयते हि सः ॥ दृक् I. 10; one must belong to one of the four *आश्रमसः*, *ब्रह्मचर्य*, *गार्हस्थ्य*, *वानप्रस्थ* and *संन्यास* and act as would befit that *āśrama*.

The above list, though long, is not thoroughly exhaustive. Vas. I. 18 quoted above mentions several persons as *enasvinah* (who acc. to Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229-236 are *upapātakinah*), some of whom (such as one who is asleep when the sun rises or sets) are not included by Yāj. in his list of upapātakas. Though almost all of the upapātakas listed by Yāj. occur in Manu (XI. 59-66), yet some of them such as 'abhicāra' (performing a sacrifice like Śyenayāga for the destruction of an enemy), 'mūlakarma' (employment of herbs for bringing under one's control a person) are not noted by Yāj. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 242 observes that some upapātakas if repeatedly indulged in make a man *patita* (as provided by Gaut. 21. 1). Viśvarūpa, therefore, derives upapātaka as one 'that may become a pātaka by constant addition (*upacaya*) or by constant practice' (*upetya*<sup>85</sup>).

Manu XI. 67 (= Agnipurāṇa 168<sup>86</sup>. 37-38) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 38. 1-6 mention certain lapses as 'jātibhrāṇśakara' (that cause the loss of caste) viz. giving pain to a brāhmaṇa (by means of a stick or by the hand), smelling things which ought not to be smelt at (such as garlic, ordure &c.) and smelling spirituous liquor, cheating (saying one thing and doing another), an unnatural offence with a man (or beast also, acc. to Viṣṇu). According to Manu XI. 68 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 38-39), killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, sheep, fish, a snake or a buffalo must be known to be *saṅkarikarāṇa* (reducing one to a mixed caste). Viṣṇu 29. 1 says that *saṅkarikarāṇa* is the killing of village or forest animals. Manu XI. 69 holds that accepting presents from condemned men (such as those mentioned in Manu IV. 84), trading, serving sūdras and speaking a falsehood make a man unworthy to receive gifts (*apatrikarāṇa*). The Viṣṇu. Dh. S. 40. 1. adds 'maintaining one's self by usury' to these. Manu XI. 70 prescribes that killing insects, small or large, or birds, eating any thing kept close to spirituous liquors, stealing fruits, fuel and flowers and unsteadiness of mind are *malāvaha* (which make a man impure). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 41. 1-4 are similar. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 42. 1 says all other lapses not specifically mentioned in

85. उपपातकसंज्ञायेवमर्थः । उपपद्येन उपेत्य वा सेव्यमानं पातकमेव ह्यवस्थितिः । अर्थात् यौतमेव पातकमध्ये निश्चितकर्माभ्यासो वर्तितः । विस्वरूपेण या. III. 229-236. The reference is to गौतम 21.1, quoted above in note 75.

86. The printed अग्निपुराण reads जैह्वे for जैह्वे in मनु XI.67 and अग्निः 168.39 reads मनुज for मनुष्य.

the several kinds are styled miscellaneous (*prakṛṇaka*). Vṛddha-Hārta (IX, 210-215) specifies several lapses as *prakṛṇaka* viz. cutting big trees for fuel (used for cooking one's food); killing insects, big and small; eating of food that has become uneatable owing to *bhāva*<sup>87</sup> (i. e. its resemblance in colour or flavour to some forbidden food or because it is offered with disrespect) or *kāla* (food on *ekādaśī* or in an eclipse, or in a mourner's house &c. or that is stale) or *kriyā* (action, such as food served with the bare hand or seen by a *puta*, *cāṇḍāla* or a dog &c.); theft of clay, skin, grass, wood; over-eating; falsehood; restlessness about pleasures; sleep by day; spreading false rumours; making others hear false rumours; eating at another's house; sexual intercourse by day; seeing women in their monthly illness or just after delivery; looking at others' wives; sexual intercourse on a fast, on a *śrāddha* day, on a *purva* day; service of a *śūdra*; friendship with the low; touching the leavings of food; broad laughs with women; talking at random (or love prattle); looking at women that have untied their hair. It will be noticed that some of these like the cutting of big trees for fuel, service of a *śūdra*, friendship with low persons have been already included by Yāj. under *upapātakas*.

Having dealt at length with several classes or grades of sins, we have now to address ourselves to the question of the consequences of sins and the means recommended or adopted for removing sin and its consequences.

It has already been shown above how the sages of the Rgveda prayed to the gods, particularly to Aditi, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Adityas and Agni to free them from *āgas* or *enas* etc. They often say that they violated the *dharma*s or the *vratas* (ordinances) of the gods and implore forgiveness. They were afraid of the consequences of their guilt, viz. the god's anger. They thought that when God was angered by their transgressions he smote them with adversity, destruction, disease and death. For example, they pray: 'whatever ordinance (*vratā*) of yours we may violate every day like subjects (in the case of a king's ordinances) do not subject us to your death-dealing blow' (Rg. I 25.2); 'O Varuṇa! whatever transgression we men have committed towards the divine host and whatever rules of yours we may have confounded through heedlessness, do not, on

87. For *मासकृत्*, *कासकृत्* and *क्रियाकृत्* food mentioned in *वृद्धहर्त* IX. 211 vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 771-772.

account of that sin (*enas*), strike us down' (Rg. VII. 89.5)<sup>88</sup>. In Rg. X. 89.8-9 it is said that Indra hurls his sharp and deadly weapon at those who break the settled order (*dharman*) of Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman. The gods are implored to save the worshipper from the deadly attacks of the wolf and from sinking into a pit (in adversity) in Rg. II. 29.6. In Rg. IX. 73.8 it is said that the wise God has his eye on all worlds and he pierces in pits those who do not observe his ordinances and who are therefore not liked by him<sup>89</sup>. On the other hand, when God is pleased with the worshipper, he is implored to lead the latter by the path of virtue (Rg. I. 189.1), to confer happiness on the worshipper's offspring (Rg. I. 189.2, IV. 12.5) and to bestow wealth on him (Rg. VIII. 45.40).

In the Rgveda the first means of removing the consequences of sin appear to be prayers for mercy and for the remission of sin as in Rg. VII. 86. 4-5, VII. 88. 6-7, VII. 89. 1-4 (where 'mṛṇā suksatra mṛṇaya' is the refrain of all four verses). Even in the Rgveda water was supposed to remove sin, e. g. I. 23. 22 says 'O water! carry away whatever sin (*durita*) may exist in me'. This shows that sin was supposed to have physical effects like a disease, which were removed by water. Sacrifices were offered to the gods in order to win their favour and in order that the sacrificer may be freed<sup>90</sup> from the consequences of even grave sins. The Tai. S. V. 3. 12 1-2 and the Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) state that the gods redeemed themselves from all sin by means of this (Aśvamedha sacrifice), they even redeemed themselves from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder. That a confession of sin was deemed to remove sin is illustrated in a striking way by what happened in the Varuṇapraghāsa (one of the *cāturmāsya* sacrifices). In that<sup>91</sup> sacrifice the wife of the sacrificer had to confess whether she had any lovers and if she felt ashamed to

88. पत्किञ्चैवं देव्ये जनेऽभिद्रोहं मनुष्याभ्यारामसि ॥ अञ्जिस्ती वसव धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तत्मादेनसो देव पीतिवः ॥ ऋ. VII. 89.5

89. विद्रावन्स निष्ठा भुवनाभियन्त्यवाजुवाच विधयति कर्ते अद्रतात् । ऋ. IX. 73.8.

90. सर्वं वा एतेन पाप्मानमतरकापि वा एतेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरन्सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति तरति ब्रह्महत्यां वेऽश्वमेधेन वजते । तै. सं. V. 3.12.1-2.

91. एज्याहं सन्तं न मनुष्याभिर्य ज्ञातिं कथंयात् । असौ मे जाव इति निदिशेत् । निर्वि- हयेवैनं वज्रपाशेन ग्राहयति । तै. ब्रा. I.6.5. Vide Kātyāyana śr. V.5. 6-10 'संवार्जनाय मेधितेऽसंखुष्टे प्रतिमत्याया पत्नीमालेख्यकाह केन चरसीति । संस्तुतानाच्छे । दृणानि बोद्धव्यमिति यथासंस्तुतम् । अनाकृयातमहितं ज्ञातिग्य इति श्रुतेः । आकृयाते मवासिन इत्येनां वाचयति नयम् ।'. 'मवासिनो हवामहे' is वाज. सं III. 44.

reply in so many words she had only to raise up in her hand small pieces of grass blades to indicate the number of lovers, if any. If she confessed she had to recite the verse, Vaj. S. III. 44 and was allowed to take further part in the sacrifice. If she concealed the truth, it was stated in the Tai. Br. that evil would befall her near and dear relatives (her son or husband). It is said by many European scholars who have written on the religion of the Veda that sacrifice became a sort of magic rite to wrest from gods or independently of them what the worshipper desired (e. g. see Keith's *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* pp. 260-268).<sup>92</sup> But this is an over-statement. When initiated for a sacrifice the sacrificer and his wife had to observe a fast or live on a low diet, both were called upon to observe many strict rules such as telling the truth, they had to make large preparations and spend wealth on the materials and the fees to the priests. These things were deemed to cleanse the mind and soul of the taint of sin. There is no reason to suppose that it was only the ritual that was thought to bring about the desired result (and not all the other matters referred to above).

We shall now discuss the prescriptions of the sūtras and smṛtis about the consequences of sins.

In this connection the doctrines of *Karma* and *Punarjanna* must be well remembered. The details of the origin and development of those doctrines will be discussed in a later section. Here it is enough to state the few main propositions of the doctrine of Karma. The fundamental proposition is that cause and effect are as inseparably linked in the moral sphere as assumed in the physical sphere by science. A good action has its reward and a bad act leads to retribution. If the bad actions do not yield their consequences at once or in this life, the soul begins another existence and in the new environment undergoes suffering for its past bad deeds. The theory of karma and

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92. Christ gave a model prayer to his disciples in Luke 11. 2-4 and Matthew 6. 9-13, where after invoking the heavenly Father the first thing asked for is the daily bread, then the forgiveness of sin and deliverance from evil. Pious Christians have an easy and complacent self-assurance of getting the things prayed for, since Christ himself has said that they have only to ask and it shall be given to them (Luke 11.9). This also is a sort of magic but it is simple as compared with elaborate Indian sacrifices. It seems rather perverse for a Christian who believes in Luke 11.9 to say that if an Indian believes that a sacrifice will yield some reward it is all magic and nothing more.

the theory of transmigration of souls (of pre-existence and post-existence) are inextricably mixed up in Indian thought from at least the ancient times of the Upanisads. The general rule is that *Karma*, whether good or evil, cannot be got rid of, except by enjoying or undergoing its consequences. This is said by Gaut. 19. 5, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and many other works. 'Because the deed does not perish' Gaut. 93; 'whatever human action it may be, whether good or evil, it cannot be got rid of except by enjoying its consequences; know from me that a man gets rid of good and evil deeds by enjoying (their consequences)'. This doctrine is based on the Śat. Br. V. 2.2.27, Br. Up. IV. 4 and VI. 2, Chān. Up. III. 14, and V. 3-10, Kāṭha 5. 6-7 and other Upaniṣad texts.

Therefore they say, 'a man is born again in that world for which he has worked.' 'According as a man acts and according as he believes so will he be; a man of meritorious acts will be meritorious, a man of evil deeds sinful. He becomes pure by pure deeds and evil by evil deeds. And here they say that a person consists of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will; and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deeds he does that he will reap' (Br. Up. IV. 4. 5); 'a man is made up of will; whatever he wills in this world the same he becomes after departing from this world' (Chān. Up. III. 14. 1); 'some human beings enter the womb in order to have an embodied existence; others go into inorganic matter (the stump of a tree and the like) according to their deeds and according to their knowledge' (Kāṭha Up. 5. 7).<sup>94</sup>

'Actions done by a man do not perish unless they (i. e. their consequences) are enjoyed even after crores of years; (the fruits of) actions whether good or evil must of necessity be enjoyed'.<sup>95</sup>

93. न हि कर्म क्षीयते । गो. ध. सू. 19.5 q. by शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on वेदान्त-सूत्र IV. 1.13; न तु भोगादृते पुण्यं पापं वा कर्म मानवम् । परित्यजति भोगाच्च पुण्यापुण्ये निषेधे मे ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 14.17; तस्मात्कृतस्य पापस्य प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् ॥ नाशुकस्या-म्यथा नाशः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ अविष्यपुराण I. 19.27.

94. यथाकारी यथाचारी तथा भवति साधुकारी साधुर्भवति पापकारी पापो भवति पुण्यः पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेन । अधो खल्वानुः काममय एवायं पुरुष इति स यथाकामो भवति तत्कृतुर्भवति यत्कृतुर्भवति तत्कर्म कुर्वते यत्कर्म तदभिसंपद्यते ॥ बृह. उ. IV. 4.5; अथ खलु कृतमयः पुरुषो यथाकतुरास्मिहोके पुरुषो भवति तथेतः प्रेत्य भवति ॥ छ. III. 14.1; योनिमग्न्ये प्रपद्यन्ते क्षरीरत्वाय देहिनिः । एषामुमग्न्येऽनुसंयन्ति यथाकर्म यथाक्षुतम् ॥ क. उप. 5.7.

95. नाशुकं क्षीयते कर्म कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यं कृतं कर्म ह्युभाभ्युतम् ॥  
रुद्रति quoted by गोविन्दानन्द on प्रा. वि. p. 17 and by सावर्ण in his भाष्य on तै. आ. 8.2. In वरा. मा. II part 1 p. 11 the verse is read as अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यम्.

Vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 2-7 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. XX. 47 'just as a calf finds out its own mother from among thousands of cows, so actions done in a former life unerringly reach the perpetrator thereof.'

But this general principle was modified in various ways by the smṛtis and later writings. Gautama 19.11<sup>96</sup> (= Vasiṣṭha 22.8) states: 'Reciting the Veda inaudibly (japa), austerities, a sacrifice, fasting and giving gifts are the means of expiating that (i. e. a blamable act).' Vas. 20. 47 and 25. 3 lay down 'A sinner is freed from sin by tormenting his body, by austerities, by reciting the Veda and also by making gifts' and 'those who are constantly engaged in *prāṇāyāmas* (suppression and regulation of breath), reciting purificatory texts, giving gifts, offering sacrifices, muttering sacred texts will undoubtedly be freed from sins'. Manu III. 227 observes: 'by confession, by repentance, by austerity, by reciting Vedic texts (sacred Gāyatri or other texts), a sinner is freed from guilt and in case of difficulty (i. e. if he is unable to perform austerities or to recite Vedic texts) by liberality'. Similar provisions occur in Parāśara X. 40, Śātātapa I. 4, Samvarta 203, Hārta (q. in Pr. T. p. 467), Yama, (q. in Pr. V. pp. 30, 31), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (q. by Pr. V. p. 31.)

Before proceeding with the subject of *prāyaścittas* we shall speak briefly about the other means of reducing the consequences of sin. And first comes confession. With reference to the confession of paramours by the wife in the Varuṇapraghāsa, the Tai. Br. (I 6. 5. 2)<sup>97</sup> says 'He makes the wife confess, thereby he renders her pure and then he leads her to penance'. The Śat. Br. (II 5. 2. 20) puts it in this form 'for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth'. This was a confession before God (Fire) and men (the priests) to restore one to divine forgiveness and favour. As regards several lapses, confession was part of the procedure prescribed for atoning for the sin.

96. तस्य निष्कयजानि जपस्तपो होम उपवासो दानम् । जौ. 19.11 = बसिष्ठ 22.8 = बौ. ध. सू. III. 10.9. The word निष्कय occurs in Jai. VI. 4.33 (*niskraya-vīdācca*) which refers to a vedic passage about विश्वजित् 'सर्वस्य एव देवतास्य आत्मानं निष्क्रीणीते' quoted by Śābara on जौ. VI. 4.32.

97. पत्नीं वाचयति मेघामेवैनां करोति । अथो तप एवैनामुपनयति । यजार्...ग्राहयति । प्रवास्यान् हवामहे इति पत्नीमुदानयति । तै. ब्रा. I. 6.5; vide note 91 above for the passage यजार्...ग्राहयति.

## CHAPTER II

### MEANS OF REDUCING CONSEQUENCES OF SINS

*Confession*—In Āp. Dh. S. I. 9, 24, 15, I. 10, 28, 19, I. 10, 29, 1 it is prescribed that the person undergoing a penance for being an *abhiṣasta* or for unjustly forsaking his wife or for the murder of a learned brāhmaṇa has to declare his misdeed while begging for alms to support himself. The Vedic student who was guilty of sexual intercourse had also to proclaim his lapse while begging at seven houses (Gaut, 23.18, Manu XI, 122 ).<sup>98</sup>

Repentance (*anutāpa*)—Manu<sup>99</sup> XI 229-230 (= Visnudharm-ottara II 73.231-32 ) provide : " The more a man's mind loathes his own evil deed the more does his body become freed from the unrighteousness ( committed by him ). If after committing a sin a man feels repentance for having done it he becomes free from that sin. He becomes purified only by the resolution of ceasing to sin and thinking ' I shall not do so again ' ".<sup>100</sup> The Viṣṇupurāṇa II 6.40 lays emphasis on repentance and humble devotion to Kṛṣṇa. Pr. V. ( p. 30 ) quotes a verse of Āṅgiras ' A man after committing sins, if he is consumed by repentance and is sorry day and night ( for his misdeed ), is purified by *prāṇāyāma* '. The view of digests like the Pr. Prakāśa is that

98. Confession of sins has played a prominent part in early and mediæval Christianity. For example, (First epistle of) John I. 9 says ' If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness '.

99. Manu XI. 229 also occurs in ब्रह्मपुराण 218. 5.

100. Compare Christ's call to repentance in Matthew 4. 17 and Mark I. 15 and his last words ( in Luke 24. 47 ) that ' repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations '. श्रोत्रेण मनसा नित्यं बुद्ध्याऽप्यनुचिन्तयन् । तपस्वी चायमस्तस्य पापेभ्यः स मुमुक्षुर्हते ॥ इति कल्पतरुवाहुत-वाक्येन तपस्विपदोपादानात् । ... पुनरङ्गिराः । विकर्मणा तत्त्वमानः पापादि परिमुच्यते । इति । अत्रानुतापमात्रस्य पापनाशकत्वात्मुच्यतेः पापनाशकमापद्यित्ते अधिकारिविशेषणत्वेन पापनाश-प्रपाप्मकत्वमुक्तम् । विष्णुरपि । मनःसंतापनासीन्ननुह्वयेच्छोकमन्ततः । ... अत्र सर्वत्रानुतापस्य विहितत्वेन नक्षानि निवृत्त्यानि इत्यादिष्व् हीनितत्ववैराग्यव्याधिकारिविशेषणत्वमेव । या. प्रकाश folio 11; यमः । पश्चात्तापो निवृत्तिञ्च स्थानं चाहुतपोहितम् । नैमित्तिकानां स्वातन्त्र्ये तद्विधिः स्वाह्वनर्थकः ॥ महाश्लेष्मताह्वं हि माचक्षितम् । अल्पश्लेष्मा हि पश्चात्तापाद्वयः । तेः माचक्षितफलं कृते माचक्षितानिधिरुक्तं इति स्पष्टम् । अपरार्क p. 1231.



repentance by itself is not enough to destroy sins, but that repentance renders the sinners fit to receive penance, just as paring the nails and the like make the person intending to perform a Vedic sacrifice fit to be a *dikṣita*. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 1231) states that repentance and stopping from repeating the sin are merely the *aṅgas* (subsidiary elements) of *prāyaścittas* and cannot independently take the place of penances.

*Prāṇāyāma* (restraint of the breath). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 317 for a description of this. Manu XI 248 (which is the same as Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1.31, Vas. 26.4, Atri II 5, Śaṅkhasmṛti XII.18-19) lays down: 'sixteen *prāṇāyāmas* attended by the *Vyāhrtis* and the *Pranava* (*omkāra*), if performed every day, would purify after a month even the murderer of a *bhrūpa* (a learned *brāhmaṇa*)'. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.2 (in prose) is to the same effect. Vas. 26.1-3 provide that on the proper performance of three *prāṇāyāmas* all the sins committed by day or in the night are at once destroyed. Yāj. III. 305 states that for the removal of all sins, of *upapātakas* and of sins for which no special expiation is provided by the texts one hundred *prāṇāyāmas* should be performed. This refers to sins not known to others for which expiation is to be performed secretly. Baud. Dh. S. (IV.1.5-11) provides for varying numbers (3, 7, 12) of *prāṇāyāmas* to be spread over one day to a year for different kinds of sins ranging from the eating of the food of a *śūdra* to *brāhmaṇa* murder. This whole passage is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III.305 which points out the kinds of sins it deals with. The Agnipurāṇa 173.21 has the same half verse as Yāj. III.305 (first half).

*Tapas* (austerity). Even Rg. X. 154. 2 speaks of *tapas* as leading to heaven and as unassailable. The Chan. Up. V. 10. 1-2, Muṇḍaka Up. I 2. 10-11 place *tapas* over *yajña*. Gaut. 19.15 says that celibacy,<sup>101</sup> truthfulness, bathing thrice daily (in the morning, at noon and in the evening), wearing wet clothes (till they are dried on the body), sleeping on the ground (on a raised part or altar) and fasting constitute austerities. Baud. Dh. S. III. 10. 13 adds to these '*ahiṃsā*' (non-injury to any being), *astaiṇya* (not depriving any one of his property) and *guru-śiṣṛṇṣā* (attendance upon a teacher). Gaut. 19. 17 states that

101. ब्रह्मचर्यं सारवचनं सर्वमेतद्वैकोपस्यार्जनायैककलायः साधितोऽनासक इति तपोति । गो. 19.15.

the periods for which *tapas* is to be observed are a year, six months, four months, three months, two months, one (month), 24 days, 12 days, 6 days, 3 days, a day and a night (according to the nature of the sin). Manu XI. 239-241 declare that those guilty of mahāpātakas and others guilty of evil deeds are freed from sins by well-practised *tapas* and that whatever sins are committed by people in thought, word and bodily actions are all quickly burnt by *tapas*. This doctrine is shared by the Jainas as stated in the Uttarādhyayana XXIX. 27 'by austerities he cuts off karman' (S B. E. vol. 45 p. 166).

*Homa* (sacrifice into fire). The Tai. Ā. (II. 7-8) describes<sup>102</sup> the kūsmaṇḍa homa and dikṣā and II. 8 prescribes that the man who regards himself as impure should offer a sacrifice with the kūsmaṇḍa mantras (mentioned in Tai. Ā. II. 3-6, viz. 'yad deva deva-hedanam' (Vaj. S. 20.14-16 = Tai. Ā. II. 3.1). The Mahārṇava-karmavivāka (folio 8 a) prescribes the procedure of Kūsmaṇḍa homa taken from Jamadagni which is brief. It is as follows:— After shaving the hair on the head and the moustache and taking a bath in holy water one should offer the ājyabhāgas and then offer oblations of clarified butter with the three *Anuvākas* beginning with 'yad deva devahedanam,' and then he worships fire with the verses beginning with 'Vaiśvānarāya pratipādayāmi.' He then offers *samīd* with the mantra 'yadadiva-yam' and then he repeats the Jayā mantras. He has to observe the rules for a dikṣita viz. not eating flesh, avoiding sexual intercourse, not telling a falsehood and not sleeping on a cot. He has to subsist on milk (if he is a brāhmaṇa), on barley gruel if a ksatriya and on āmīkṣā if he is a vaiśya. The Kūsmaṇḍa-homa as prescribed by Baudhāyana is a longer one. The Baud. Dh. S. III. 7.1 prescribes that he who considers himself impure should offer burnt oblations reciting the kūsmaṇḍa mantras, that he who has had forbidden intercourse becomes even like a thief or even like a slayer of a learned brāhmaṇa

102. अथ कूष्माण्डैर्जुह्वयाद्योऽभूत इव मन्वेत यथा स्तेनो यथा ब्रूहृद्वेमेव भवति योऽर्थो नीरेतः सिञ्चति । यद्वर्षाधीनमेवो ब्रूहृत्प्रास्तास्तस्मान्मुच्यत इति । तै. आ. II. 8, which is repeated in बौ. ध. सू. III. 7.1, that is q. by the मित्ता. on वा. III. 303. 'यत् कर्मणि ब्रूहेवा देवदेवमभिराह्वयो मन्त्रास्तैस्तिरीवारण्यके समाम्नाताः स कूष्माण्डहोमः, पश्चिन्मन्त्रे अग्ने नव हुपयेति च तथा अग्ने मत्वे प्रथमस्य प्रयेतस इत्याद्या मन्त्रास्तैस्तिरीवशाकायां समाम्नाताः स वज्रहोमः । महार्णवकर्मविवेक folio 7 b. For अग्ने नव vide Rg. I. 189.1, Tai. S. I. 1. 14.3, Tai. Ā. I. 8.8.

and that (by performing homa with kūsmaṇḍas) he becomes free from any sin that is less than the murder of a learned brāhmaṇa. Yāj. III. 309 provides that whenever a twice-born man feels himself mixed up in heavy sins he should perform a homa with sesame with the sacred Gāyatri mantra. The Mit. following a verse of Yama says that one lakh of offerings of sesame must be made. Both Manu XI. 34 and Vas. 26. 16 say that a brāhmaṇa becomes free from all distresses by Vedic recitations (japa) and sacrifices (homa). When the wife confessed to the existence of a paramour, the Śat. Br. II. 5. 2. 20 states that she made an offering into the Dakṣiṇāgni with the mantra (Vaj. S. III. 45) 'whatever<sup>103</sup> sin we have committed, whether in the village, in the forest, in society or by the organs of sense, we cast that away by this sacrifice, svāhā.' Both Manu (VIII. 105) and Yāj. (II. 83) prescribe that when a witness tells a falsehood in order to prevent an accused person from being sentenced to death, he should offer for expiating his perjury an oblation of boiled rice to Sarasvatī. There are other homas also prescribed such as the Gaṇahoma, in which such verses as 'agne naya supathā' from the Taittirīya śākhā are recited (Mahārṇava).

The old idea of sacrifice seems to have been that it was propitiatory in character. Sacrifice was not demanded or required by God. Sacrifice was probably regarded as a gift which pleased God, induced Him to forgive a man for his transgressions and enabled erring man to regain God's favour which had been lost by some shortcoming or some sinful act. Sacrifices therefore had an expiatory or cleansing function or character. Sacrifices may be performed by offerings either an animal (meant as substitute for the sinner himself who had forfeited his life for his sins and transgressions) or a burnt offering or any other thing offered to God and then distributed to others.

*Japa* (muttering of Vedic passages as prayers). *Japa* is of three kinds, *vācika* (audibly uttered), *upāṃśu* (inaudibly uttered) and *mānasa* (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior, acc. to Laghu Hārīta IV. p. 186,

103. यद् ज्ञाने यद्वरणे यत्समाधां यद्विद्विषे । यदेनश्चकुना यदतिर्दं तद्वचपञ्चममे  
स्वाहा ॥ वाज. सं III. 45; vide also तै. सं. I. 8.3 for a similar passage.

(Jivananda I).<sup>104</sup> Śabara (on Jai. XII 4. 1) distinguishes *japa* from *stuti*, the former being simply an utterance or recitation of a *mantra* or *mantras*<sup>105</sup>. Inaudible *japa* is praised<sup>106</sup> in Śāṅkhāyana Br. 14. 1. The Āśv. Śr I 1. 20 provides that *japa*, anumantṛaṇa, āpyāyana and upasthāna are uttered *upāṁśu*. The Āp. Śr. (24. 1. 8-10) provides that mantras from the Rgveda and the Sāmaveda are uttered in sacrifices loudly and that passages of the Yajurveda are muttered *upāṁśu* and the Tai. Prātiśākhya 23. 6 states that *upāṁśu* recitation is made by means of the effort of speech organs but without sound (i. e. in a very low voice) and without the mind being directed (to utterance with udātta and other accents) i. e. 'Karanavad-aśābdam-amanah-prayogam-upāṁśu'. Gaut. 19. 12 (= Baud. Dh. S. III 10. 10 = Vas. 22.9) prescribes the following Vedic texts as purifiers: Upaniśads, Vedānta texts, the Samhitā texts of all the Vedas (and not the *padapāṭha* or *kramapāṭha*), the *Yajus* texts in which the word 'madhu' occurs, the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1-3), the Atharvasīras, (the *anuvākas* called) Rudras, the Puruṣa hymn (Rg. X. 90), the two *sāmans* called Rājata and Rauhineya, the Bṛhat-sāma and the Rathantara, the Puruṣagati sāman, the Mahānāmni verses, the Mahāvairāja (*sāman*), the Mahādivākīrtya (*sāman*), any of the Jyestha sāmans, the Bahispavamāna (*sāman*), the Kūsmāṇḍas, the Pāvamānis (Rg. IX) and the Śāvitri (Rg. III 62.10).<sup>107</sup> The

104. अथ जपयज्ञं पञ्चस्य नरसिंहपुराणम् । त्रिविधो जपयज्ञः स्वातन्त्र्य भेदं निबोधत । वाचिकारूप उपाङ्गजप मानसस्त्रिविधः स्मृतः । त्रयाणां जपयज्ञानां श्रेयात् स्वाङ्गुत्तरोत्तरम् । इति । अथ हारितः । उच्छस्तेकमुणः शोको ह्यनादृशमुणः स्मृतः । उपाङ्गः स्वाङ्गतमुणः सह-  
स्रो मानसः स्मृतः । स्मृतिश्च. I. p. 149. The verses त्रिविधो...उत्तरोत्तरम् occur in नृसिंह-  
पुराण 58. 78-79 and also in लघुहारित IV. p. 186 (Jiv. I). Both these also define वाचिक and उपाङ्गजप as follows: 'मन्त्रमुच्चारयन् वाचा जपयज्ञस्तु वाचिकः । शरीरव्यवस्थामन्त्रं किञ्चिदोद्यो यन्मालयेत् । किञ्चित्प्रयत्नयोग्यः स्वात्स उपाङ्गजपः स्मृतः ॥'

105. चक्षुर्न जपनमिति समानार्थः, वस्मात् जप एवकार्या वाचीति स्मर्यते । तेन यत्र चक्षुर्नमन्त्रं यत्र जपते न सत्यते नास्तिवत्ये त जपः । इतर ०० जे. XII. 4.1.

106. अथात आजपमाजपेन वै ह्यवाः सर्वान्कामानजपन्त सर्वमनुतर्त...तथा इदं चक्षु-  
विधमाजपं तूष्णीं जपस्तूष्णीं कृतः पुरोयज्ञस्तुतस्तूष्णीं वाजयेति । ... अथ यस्तुतस्तत् तूष्णीं  
जपं जपति स्वर्गो वै लोकः यज्ञस्तस्तुतस्तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वस्वयममेव तत्कुर्वते स्वर्गस्य  
लोकस्य समश्च वै । शांखायनब्रा. 14.1.

107. 'Madhūni' are explained by Haradatta as 'अनुसम्बुत्तुकानि यन्त्राणि  
मन्त्राणि मानिस्वादीनि'. These occur in तै. अ. X. 38. It is better to hold as done  
by the मन्त्र. शा. p. 761, by Maskarin in his bhāṣya on Gaut. and by Pr. Prakāśa  
(folio 86a) that the word मधुनि refers to the three verses beginning with the  
words 'Madhu vātā' that are Rg. I. 90. 6-8 and occur in Tai. S. IV. 2.9 and

(Continued on the next page)

original idea of japa was highly spiritual. Deep knowledge of the Upaniṣads and other texts would have made the soul pure and enabled it to realise the supreme reality and induced in the mind love of all human beings as sparks of the one Divine Essence. Japa at the highest level was contemplation of God and endeavour to attain unity with God. The habit of repeating the sacred texts should lead to maintaining the soul in the presence and thought of God. Japa demands three things, purity of heart, detachment and placing oneself in the hands of God.

Manu XI. 46 provides that a sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts as prayers, but that which men in their folly commit intentionally is expiated by *prāyaścitta*.

(Continued from the last page)

Vāj. a. XIII. 27-29 also, since they are styled ऋग्वेदीय by अथ. दृ., पार. दृ. I. 3, मानव. I. 9.14. Atharvaśātras is an उपनिषद् which begins with वेदा इ वै स्वर्गं लोक-  
मायन्ते इह मनुष्यान् को भवामिति. Vide the Nir. edition of 108 Upaniṣads (printed in 1925) for the अवर्णनम्. The अवर्णनम् is highly eulogized as a destroyer of sins like Aśvamedha in Manu XI. 259-60, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.7, Vas. 26.8, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2.20. Rudras are the eleven *anuvāhas* of Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11 beginning with नमस्ते इह मन्त्रे. Acc. to Haradatta the two *Sāmans* Rājata and Raubha are sung on the Rk verse 'Indram naro nemadhitā havante' (Rg. VII. 27.1, Sāmaveda, Pūrvārcika 318). The इह मन्त्र is sung on the verse कामिनि इवामहे (ऋ. VI. 46.1, Sāmaveda Pūrvārcika No. 234), the Rathantara on the verse अग्निं स्वा नृर (ऋ. VII. 32.22, Sāmaveda Pūrvārcika 233). In the भवकृतीता X. 35 ŚrīKṛṣṇa puts the Bṛhatsāma as the foremost among Sāmans (बृहत्साम तथा साम्नां). Puruṣagati Sāman is sung on the verse 'Aham-asmi prathamajā rāsyā,' (Sāmaveda, Aranyakāṇḍa VI. 1.594). महाभारती verses are those beginning with विद्या मयम् विद्या which occur in the ऐ. अ. IV, in the जैमिनीवर्णनम् of the सामवेद (ed. by Dr. Raghuvira) and in other ऋषिता. The महावैराज (सामम्) is sung on the verse विद्या सोममिन्द्र मन्त्रतु त्वा (ऋ. VII. 22.1, सामवेद पूर्वाधिक 398, उत्तराधिक 927); the महाद्विवाकीर्त्य is sung on विद्यामयमिन्द्र सोमम् (ऋ. X. 170.1, सामवेद अरण्यकाण्ड 628, उत्तराधिक 1453); about the जेहसामानि इह मन्त्रे mentions two interpretations (of the मन्त्रकार साम्ना and इह मन्त्रे), one holding that they are sung on उहू त्व (Rg. I. 50.1, सामवेद पूर्वाधिक 31) and चित्रं देवानां (Rg. I. 115.1), the other that they are three Sāmans sung on यूर्धानं विभो (Rg. VI. 7.1, सामवेद पूर्वाधिक 67, उत्तराधिक 1140). Mādhari holds that जेहसामानि are those sung on the verses इह नो देवी (Rg. X. 9.4) and चित्रं देवानां (Rg. I. 115.1). The बह्विज्यमान is sung on उवासे वायसा नरः (Rg. IX. 11.1, सामवेद उत्तराधिक 651, 763). Vide H. of Dh. vol II pp. 1169-1170 for further details of the बह्विज्यमान. For the कुम्भारण्यमन्त्र, vide तै. अ. II. 3-5. वायमान्यः are the verses about soma in the 9th Māṇḍala of the Rgveda. Sāvitrī is the famous Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62.10.)

Manu II 85-87 (which are the same as Vas. 26. 9-11 and Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 55. 10-21) lay<sup>108</sup> down: 'the performance of *japa* is ten times more efficacious than the sacrifices (like Darśapūrṇamāsa) prescribed by the rules (of the Veda), *japa* when carried on inaudibly is a hundred times superior (to sacrifices) and mental revolution of mantras is a thousand times superior. The four *pākayajñas*<sup>109</sup> (Vaiśvadeva, *buli*, daily *śrāddha*, and honouring guests) together with the Vedic sacrifices do not come up to even the 16th part of *japa*. A brāhmana attains perfection (the highest goal) by *japa*; he may or may not engage in other duties (such as Vedic sacrifices); a brāhmana befriends all creatures'. Great eulogy is bestowed on the inaudible *japa* of the Gāyatri mantra (Rg. III 62.10) for which pp. 303-305 of H. of Dh. vol. II may be consulted. Where no particular number is specially mentioned the recitation of a mantra is to be performed a hundred times.<sup>110</sup>

Manu<sup>110a</sup> XI 261-262, Vas. 27. 1-3, Angiras 101 and other works go so far as to assert that the fire of Veda study consumes guilt caused by evil deeds just as a fire burning strongly consumes even green trees or that a brāhmana who remembers Rgveda (studied by him) is not tainted by any guilt, though he may have destroyed the three worlds and have eaten the food of any person whatever. But these are simply laudatory (*arthavādas*) and are not to be taken literally, as Vas. 27. 4<sup>111</sup> (= Angiras 102) gives the warning 'one should not become addicted to (or take pleasure in committing) evil deeds relying on the power of the Veda (stated in some *smṛti* passages). (The effects of) actions done through ignorance and negligence are alone consumed (by Veda study) and not those of other actions (intentionally done).'

Many *smṛtis* such as Manu XI 249-257 (which are almost the same as Viṣṇudharmottara II 74. 4-13), Vas. 26. 5-7 and 28. 10-15 (the former of which are the same as Manu XI. 249-251), Viṣṇu

108. Manu II. 87 occurs in Śaṅkha-smṛti also (XII. 28).

109. The five *pākayajñas* are enumerated in Manu III 70 and the four meant are all of them except *brahmayajña* (teaching and studying Veda).

110. 'अपस्तु सततं कृत्वा, अनादौ सतमिति द्वाविंशति जलपाणिः । प्रा. प्रकाश. folio 143a.

110a. Manu XI. 262 and Vas. 27. 3 are identical.

111. न वेदबलमात्रेण पापकर्मरतिर्भवेत् । अज्ञानाच्च प्रमादाच्च दृष्टते कर्म नेतरः ॥ पल्लि 27.4, अङ्गिरस 102.

Dh. S. 56. 3-27, Atri VI. 1-5 (which are almost the same as Vas.<sup>112</sup> 28. 10-15), Śaṅkha, chap. 11 (= Vas. 28. 10-15), Samvarta 227-228, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2. 4-5, IV. 3. 8, IV. 4. 2-5, Yāj. III 302-305, prescribe several Vedic hymns or single Vedic verses or prose passages as specially efficacious for removing all sins. It is not possible nor necessary to set down all of them, but by way of sample the verses of Manu (XI. 249-257) are translated here. 'Even a drinker of *surā* becomes pure if he mutters the hymn (seen) by Kutsa<sup>113</sup>, the three verses beginning with 'prati' (Rg. VII. 80. 1-3) seen by Vasiṣṭha, the Māhitra hymn (Rg. X. 185), the verses called Śuddhavaṭis (Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9 where the word 'śuddha' occurs 13 times in different connections). Even he who has stolen gold (of a brāhmaṇa) instantly becomes free from guilt if he once mutters (the hymn) beginning with 'asya vāmasya' i. e. Rg. I. 164. 1-52), and the Śivasāṅkalpa (Vāj. S. XXXIV. 1-6). The violator of a guru's bed is freed from sin if he repeatedly recites the hymn beginning with 'haviṣpāntani' (Rg. X. 88. 1-19) and the hymn beginning with 'na tam-amho' (i. e. Rg. X. 126. 1-8), the hymn beginning with 'iti' (i. e. Rg. X. 119) and the hymn addressed to *Puruṣa* (Rg. X. 90). He who desires to do away with sins, great and small, should mutter during a year the verse beginning with 'ava' (i. e. 'ava te halo varuṇa namobhiḥ' Rg. I. 24. 14, Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 3), or the verse 'yat kim ca' (Rg. VII. 89. 5) or the verse 'iti vā' (Rg. X. 119. 1). That man who, having accepted a gift that ought not to be accepted, or having eaten forbidden food, mutters the hymn beginning with 'tarat sa mandī' (Rg. IX. 58. 1-4)<sup>114</sup> becomes pure after three days. He who has committed many sins becomes pure if he recites for a month the hymn beginning with 'Somā rudrā' (Rg. VI. 74. 1-4) and the three verses beginning with 'Aryamaṇam' (Rg. IV. 2. 4-6) while he bathes in a river (and not in a pond or other reservoir of water). One guilty of a grievous offence should mutter the seven verses beginning with 'Indram' (Rg. I. 106. 1-7). A twice-born man removes even very great guilt by offering clarified butter for a year (in fire) with the mantras for the Śākalahomas (Vāj. S. VIII. 13) or by muttering the

112. Vas. 28.10-15 are quoted in ह्युल्लिख. I. p. 187. Atri VI. 1-5 are quoted as Atri's in Gr. R. p. 245.

113. The Kautsa hymn is Rg. I. 97. 1-8, all of which have as their refrain अथ नः सोमश्चक्षुः, 'may he burn away our sin.'

114. तस्मै सन्धी धायति is the refrain of all four verses of Rg. IX. 58. It means 'He who presses (soma) gets over (all sins), he runs (to higher worlds),' Vide Nir. XIII. 6,

mantra 'nama id-ugram' (Rg. VI 51. 8). One who is stained by mortal sin becomes pure if with a concentrated mind he attends cows for a year, reciting the Pāvamāni hymns (the whole of Rg. IX) and subsisting on alms.<sup>114a</sup>

So much importance and such occult powers came to be attached to the words of the Rgveda that the Rgvidhāna of Śaunaka (which is later than Manu) concerns itself with prescribing numerous hymns of the Rgveda for the removal of various diseases, of sins, for the conquest of enemies.

The Sāma. Br. I. 5. 2 says<sup>115</sup> generally that when no particular hymns are prescribed for the removal of sins Vedic mantras are powerful and become purifiers if accompanied by *tapas* and the Sāmans may be repeated for the same purpose from ten times as the minimum to 100 times as *prāyaścitta*. Gautama 19. 13 prescribes the kind of food on which one should subsist when one is engaged in *japa* viz. one was to live on milk alone, to eat vegetables only, to eat fruits only, to live on barley gruel prepared from a handful of grain, to eat gold<sup>116</sup>, to eat clarified butter, and to drink soma and so forth. Gautama 19. 14 further lays down that all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (*ṛṣis*), cowpens and temples of the gods are places (which help to destroy sin).

As the Veda could be studied in and after the sūtra period only by the male members of the first three classes, the *japa* of Vedic texts for the removal of sins was not possible for śūdras; therefore, the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 262) says that although the śūdra (and women and those born of pratiloma marriages also) has no *adhikāra* (power or capacity or authority) for the recitation of Gāyatri and other Vedic mantras, still the śūdra and women after revolving in the mind the name of the deity put in the dative case can engage in *japa* with the word *namaḥ* (i. e. he can only utter the words 'namo namaḥ' and not *om* &c)

114a. In Rg. I. 106. 1-7 the first six verses have the refrain विश्वमात्रो भवन्तो निविपर्जन ( 'May you take us beyond all sin' ).

115. अनादिज्ञे मन्त्रा अत्यन्तस्तपोनिताः पावना भवन्ति। आपन्नः मायश्चित्तं खरेत्। अभ्यासः साधनां कर्तुं ब्रह्मचरम्। सामविधानम्। I. 5. 2-4.

116. 'To eat gold' is explained by हरद्वज as 'सर्विरादौ हिरण्यं निवृत्त्य मासान् हिरण्यमाशनम्'.



as stated by Gaut. Dh. S. X. 66-67 and Yaj. I. 121<sup>117</sup>. When Manu IV. 80 says 'let him not explain to a śūdra the sacred law (*dharma*) nor impose upon him a *vrata*' all that is meant is, according to the Mit. on Yaj. III. 262, that it applies only to a śūdra who does not wait upon or serve higher varṇas. Similarly, when Gaut. IV. 20 says that those born in the inverse order are outside the pale of the sacred law, the meaning is that *saṁskāras* like upanayana are not to be performed on them. The mystic syllable 'om' is said by Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 13. 6) to be the door to heaven and was to be employed before the recitation of any Vedic passage. The Yogasūtra (I. 27) avers that *om* (called *pranava*) is expressive of the idea of God and that the repetition of *om* and revolving the meaning of it in the mind lead to concentration.<sup>118</sup>

Not only were certain Vedic hymns and passages recommended for recitation with the object of removing sins some works, particularly the Purāṇas, proposed an easy way for all viz. that the remembrance of God Nārāyaṇa (or Hari or Kṛṣṇa) removed all sins. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 176) contains a stotra (hymn of praise) of Viṣṇu, which when recited is said to free a man from all sins (mental, vocal or bodily). The Pr. V. p. 31 quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa<sup>118a</sup> and three verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa as follows:—'even a great sin is removed by (the resolve of) not doing it again, by gifts, by confessing it to others, and by meditation (on Viṣṇu) and not only by *prāyaścittas*' (Bhaviṣya); 'of all the expiations (for sins declared by the sages) such as *tapas* (Cāndrāyana and others) and other actions (*japa*, *homa*, gifts) the meditation on

117. अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः । पाकयज्ञैः स्वयं यजेतत्येकः । गो. X. 66-67, on which हरदत्त comments 'अस्य जुद्धस्य वैश्वदेवादिषु तत्तद् देवतापदं चतुर्थ्यन्तं मनसा द्यात्वा नमो नम इत्येवंकुर्यो मन्त्रोऽनुज्ञातो धर्मज्ञैः ; नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्चपञ्चाक्ष हापयेत् ॥ वा. I. 121, Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 158 note 371 for further details. मधु. X. 41 says that all pratilomas are like śūdras.

118. ओङ्कारः स्वर्गद्वारं तस्माद् ब्रह्माध्वेष्यमाणं पतद्वादि यतिपथेन । आप. ध. सू. I. 4.13.6; 'तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः । तज्जपस्तद्व्यभाषणम् । योगसूत्र I. 27-28; वाचस्पति comments: प्रणवस्य जपः प्रणवामिधेयस्य चेश्वरस्य भावनम् । तद्वदयं योगिनः प्रणवं जपतः प्रणवार्थं च भावयतश्चित्तमेकार्धं सम्यच्यते ।

118a. भाविष्यपुराणम् । अनुजः करणास्यानात्कवापनादुद्धृष्टिन्तनात् । स्वयैति महद्द्वयेनः शशविस्तीर्णं केवलम् ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् । शशविस्तार्यशेषाणि तपःकर्मात्मकानि वै । यानि तेषाम-शेषाणां कुञ्जाशुभमर्णं परम् ॥ यतर्गिणि तथा सन्ध्यामध्याह्नादिषु संस्मरन् । नारायणमवाप्नोति सद्यः पापक्षयं नरः ॥ श्रौ. वि. p. 31. The verse शशवि...परम्. is विष्णुपुराण II. 6.39. The verse यतर्गिणि is q. by अपरार्क p. 1232 and by श्रौ. तत्र also (p. 524) The two verses are also respectively ब्रह्मपुराण 22.37 and 39.

Kṛṣṇa is the highest. If a man remembers Nārāyaṇa in the morning, at night, at twilight, at midday and the like, he at once secures the removal of sin' (Viṣṇupurāṇa). The Brahmapurāṇa<sup>119</sup> (216. 87-88) gives expression to a popular belief as follows:—"Men, even after committing sins many times through folly, do not go to Hell if they prostrate themselves before Hari who destroys all sins. Those men also who always remember Janārdana even by roguery go to the world of Viṣṇu after death." The Viṣṇupurāṇa affirms that those who contemplate upon the mantra of twelve letters (viz. 'om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya') do not return to the cycle of births and deaths. The great power of mantras is mentioned in the Ādiparva (161. 14) by Kuntī. The Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa in chap. 18 eulogises the mantra of eight letters (om namo Nārāyaṇāya) and chap. 63.6, states "what is the use of many mantras and the performance of many *vratas*, when the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' is capable of securing all desired objects". The mantra of five letters 'namaḥ Śivāya' is dealt with in Līṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārtha, chap. 85) and Saurapurāṇa 65. Brahmapurāṇa speaks of *vaidika* mantras and *āgamokta* mantras (41. 63). The Nityācāra-paddhati (p. 67) says that it is necessary to understand the meaning of vedic mantras in śrauta rites but in smārta rites it is not so.

*Dāna* (gifts). Gaut. XIX. 16 provides<sup>120</sup> that gold, a cow, a dress, a horse, land, sesamum, clarified butter and food are the gifts (that destroy sin) and may be optionally undergone as penance if no express mention is made thereof. Vas. quotes several verses on gifts one of which (29. 16) states: "whatever sin a man distressed for livelihood commits he is purified from that by giving land even if it be as small in extent as 'gocarma'"<sup>121</sup>. Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 92.4 is to the same effect. Sāmavarta<sup>122</sup> (204) prescribes that the gifts of gold, cow and land

119. कृत्वापि बहुधाः पापं नरा मोहसमन्विताः ॥ न यान्ति नरके नत्वा सर्वपापहरं हरिम् ॥ शास्त्रेनापि नरा निरप्यं ये स्मरन्ति जगद्गन्धं । तेषां यान्ति तद्गुं त्यक्त्वा विष्णुलोकमनामयम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुरा. 216.87-88: अथापि न निवर्तन्ते द्वादशाक्षरमन्त्रकाः । विष्णुपुराण I. 6.39.

120. हिरण्यं गोर्वासाऽथो धूमिस्तिला वृत्तमक्षमिति देयानि । एताम्येवानादौ विकल्पेन कियेत् । गो. 19.16 and 18.

121. अथाष्टुद्वाहरन्ति । यत्किञ्चिदुच्यते पापं पुद्बो ह्यसिद्धिर्लभः । अपि मोक्षमन्त्रेण धूमिदानेन क्षुध्यति ॥ बसिष्ठ 29.16. For the meaning of मोक्षर्म, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 432, n. 718.

122. सुवर्णदानं मोक्षदानं धूमिदानं तथैव च । नाशयन्त्याहु पापानि अण्वण्वमकुताम्पापि ॥ संवत् 204 q. by प्राच. तत्र p. 483 (which reads 'महापातकजायपि at the end). हिसायां दानमेव ह्युपमित्युक्तं भविष्ये । हिसात्त्वकानां सर्वेषां कीर्तितानां मनीषिभिः । प्राच-धितकदम्बानां दानं प्रथममुच्यते ॥ प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 86a).



Haradatta explains *upavāsa*<sup>127</sup> as giving up the eating of boiled rice (*bhaktatyāga*) and adds that *upavāsa* is again included under *tapāṁsi* to show the great importance attached to it. Haradatta notes that a predecessor of his relying on a Purāṇa passage explained *upavāsa* in Gaut. 19.11 as 'restraint of senses'. In many of the Grhya sūtras *upavāsa* means only eating light food prepared from corn usable in sacrifices (such as rice) once in the day excluding vegetables, māsa (pulse), salt and flesh (compare Gobhila gr. I 5.26, Khādira gr. II. 1.4 and 6, Kauśika-sūtra I 31-32, Kāthakagrhya 46.2<sup>128</sup>). The Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 22 closely associates 'anāsaka' (fasting) with *tapas* as a means to the mystic realisation of the Supreme Soul<sup>129</sup>. Jaimini (III. 8. 9-11) appears to regard fasting as *tapas*<sup>130</sup>. Manu XI. 203 (= Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 54.29) provides that fasting (for a day) is the penance for omitting the rites ordained by the Veda (such as the Darśapūrnamāsa sacrifice and the performance of *sandhyā* adoration) and for neglecting the special duties of a *snātaka* (laid down in Manu IV. 34 ff). When a person was observing a fast he had to avoid doing certain other actions. Acc. to Devala a fast becomes bereft of its good results by drinking water often, by chewing *tāmbūla*<sup>131</sup> by sleep in the day-time and by sexual intercourse<sup>132</sup>; but the Garudapurāṇa I 128.6 and Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I. 184.27) allow even when one is fasting the use of flowers, ornaments, rich clothes, garlands, unguents, applying collyrium to the eye and the cleansing of teeth. Dakṣa quoted by the Par. M. states that if a man observes a fast for the day and night on the day on which the sun first turns towards the

127. उपवासो भक्त्यागः । स एव तपःस्वयं पुनः पश्यते आह्वरकपापमार्थम् । अपर आह । निवकयनेषु पठित उपवास इन्द्रियनिग्रहः । स्वाहुत्तरयेव दोषेभ्यो यस्तु वासो मुनेः सह । उपवासे तस्मात्सु न क्षीरस्य शोषणात् ॥ इति पुराणे दर्शनादिति । हरदत्त on गौ. 19. 11. The स्वस्थिः II. p. 355 attributes the verse to स्वात्म and it and अपरार्क p. 199 read it as उपवासस्य पापेभ्यो... सर्वभोगविवाजितः. प्रा. प्रकाश. (folio 44a) reads as अपरार्क does and says it is taken from अग्निपुराण.

128. काठकग्रह 46.2 is औपवासे श्रुत्या and the com. of देवपाल says: उपवास-रक्षणमौपवासे तत्पुनर्नित्यं इन्द्रियपाकं साकजयचलवजनीलवर्जम् । त्रीन्द्रियपथोदुत्तमभूतिभिर्मुक्ता ।

129. स वा एव महात्मज आत्मा... तमेतं वेदाध्यायचक्षेण जाह्नवा विविदिषन्ति यजेन दामेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । बृह. उ. IV. 4. 22. Vide काह्वरभाष्य on वेदात्तसूत्र III. 4.26 and 33 for the explanation of this Up. passage.

130. तपश्च कलसिद्धिर्वाहोक्तवत् । जै. III. 8. 9; काश्वर 'तपः कृपते इच्छं नापनाति इयं नाश्नाति इति । तत्र सन्धेयः किमस्ति तपः पाजमानमिति । पाजमानं तप इति ।

131. असङ्कलपानाच्च ताम्बूलस्य च भक्षणात् । उपवासः प्रभुष्येण विवा स्वापाच्च नैषुमात् ॥ देवल q. by अपरार्क p. 199, स्वस्थिः II. p. 355. The नवग्रहपुराण (I. 128, 7-8) has almost the same verse.

north or south, or on the Visuva day (day of equinox), and on an eclipse of the sun or the moon and bathes he is freed from all sins<sup>132</sup>. Manu XI 166 (= Agnipurāṇa 169.31) prescribes a fast for three days as a penance for theft of grass, firewood, tree, dry food (i. e. grains of rice), jaggery, clothes, hide and flesh. The Anuśāsanaparva (106.1) remarks<sup>133</sup> that men of all varṇas and even Mlecchas thought highly of fasts and that chapter contains an exaggerated eulogy of fasting. Almost all religions (except Zoroastrianism) such as the Hebrew, Christian (in Lent) and Moslem (in Ramjan) emphasize the necessity of fasting as a discipline or as a preparation for penitence. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I, chap. 16. 12-14) states that those who have not kindled sacred fires can please the gods by *vratas*, restraints, gifts and particularly by *upavāsas* and points out (verses 18-22) what substances (eatables) should be given up from the first to the 15th *tithi* in each fortnight. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the śrauta and grhya sūtras the word upavasatha is used in the sense of 'upavāsa' and is derived from 'vas' (to dwell) with 'upa'. Vide. H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1010 and n. 2276 for the Śat. Br. The Khādira gr II 1.4, Gobhila. gr. I 6.2, Kauśika-sūtra I 31 employ the word upavasatha. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1.4-5. prescribe an upavāsa for husband and wife on *parva* days and if they cannot totally abstain from food they should eat only once by day food proper for upavāsa. Aparārka p. 199, Smṛ. C. (śrāddha p. 355) and Kṛtya-ratnākara quote a verse from Vyāsa deriving the word upavāsa<sup>133a</sup>. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 9-13, Baud. Dh. II. 7.32, Vas. 6.21 and Śān. gr. II. 16.5 have the same verse viz. 'an ahiṭāgni, a draught ox and brahmacārin, these three fulfill (their work) by eating; they cannot fulfill their duties by non-eating'. This is explained as not applying to prāyaścittas (Baud. Dh. S II. 7.34) and to fasts on Ekādaśī. The Śāntiparva 323.17 states 'Just as a dirty garment is afterwards cleansed by water, so to those who are heated in (the fire of) fasting inexhaustible happiness for a long time comes.' Śānti 79.18, however, says 'merely emaciating the body by fasting is not *tapas*, but ahimsā, truthfulness, freedom from cruelty, restraint and compassion are *tapas*'.

132. अयने विबुधे क्षेपः सङ्गच्छ्यते तदा । अहोरात्रोचितः स्नात्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ इक्ष. g. by यत्. स्म. I. 1 p. 438.

133. सर्वपापे वर्णानां स्नेहानां च पितृमह । उपवासे मतिरिषं कारकं च न विवहे ॥ अनुशासन 166.1.

133a. 'उपावृत्तस्य पापेभ्यो यस्तु कानो ह्युच्यते तदा । उपवासे स विवहेः सर्वपापविनाशितः अपरार्क p. 199. ह्युच्यते means 'क्षमादिभिः' and वासः means 'निवर्तनेनावस्थानम्.'

**Tīrthayātrā** :—Pilgrimage will be dealt with exhaustively in a later section. It was believed that going on a pilgrimage and bathing in such holy rivers as the Ganges freed a man from sins. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (35.6) lays down that those guilty of *mahāpātakas* may become pure by Aśvamedha sacrifice or by visiting all the sacred places on the earth. Devala says that a man removes the consequences of such grave sins as the murder of a brāhmaṇa that he may have committed unintentionally by the performance of great sacrifices or by going on a pilgrimage. Parāśara (XII. 58 ff) prescribes<sup>134</sup> pilgrimage to see Rāma's bridge to Lankā for a murderer of a brāhmaṇa who has studied the four Vedas. Devala states: 'a man becomes freed from sin by approaching holy places and shrines, brāhmaṇas that practise austerities, that all rivers that fall into the ocean, all great mountains, all shrines and all forests are holy.' The Matsyapurāṇa (184.18) says that a heap of sins as big as the mountain Meru or Mandara becomes destroyed when man reaches Avimukta (Benares). The Kūrmapurāṇa<sup>135</sup> (pūrvārdha 29.3) says: 'I do not see any other expiation for destroying all sins in the Kaliyuga for all beings except Benares'. Even in the times of the Peshwas of Poona pilgrimage was prescribed for brāhmaṇa murder (vide 'Selections from Peshwa Records,' vol. 43 p. 107) and the brāhmaṇas were ordered that after the sinner performed the penance they were to dine with him and recognize that he had been purified. In an order dated sake 1659 (1737 AD) the Peshwa Bajirao the first informs the Deshmukhas, Deshpandes and Mukadams that four brothers named Zende approached him with the story that their father was born when their paternal grandmother lived with one Pilaji Zende after she became a widow and that she intended to remarry that man but that had to be postponed owing to famine, that the caste meeting were prepared to take them into the

134. आतुर्विधोपपत्तेः तु विचित्रे ब्रह्मघातके । सनुव्रसेतुमननं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशते ॥  
पराशर XII. 58 q. by अपराकं p. 1061, प्रा. वि. p. 45. The मा. प्रकाश (folio 66 a and b) remarks: 'ब्रह्महत्याद्विषयकस्य भविष्यपुराणे । विष्णुपादुसरतो यस्य निवासः परिकीर्तितः । पराशरस्य तस्य सेतुबन्धस्य दर्शयाम् ॥ इति ।...अत्र च विष्णोसरपतिनः पञ्चविक्रान्तप्रयोगजननमेव तावत्संलयाकमाजापत्यापनोद्यमब्रह्महत्यापनोद्योकेरतीर्थापुनः कूलैः लोकयोगजननमनस्यैकमाजापत्यापत्यमूल्यत्वमर्थादुक्तं भवति ।'

135. नाश्वत्यवस्थानि जन्तुनां सुखा वाराणसीं पुरीम् । सर्वपापप्रक्षाननं प्रायश्चित्तं कलौ पुनः ॥ कूर्मपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 29.3) q. by परा. मा. II. 2 p. 162, अभिसंगम्य तीर्थानि पुण्याभ्यापत्तानि च । नरः पापात्मसुखेत आह्वानाच्च तपस्विनः ॥ सर्वाः सद्गुणाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्या नमोत्तमाः । सर्वमावर्तनं पुण्यं सर्वे पुण्या वनाश्रयाः ॥ श्वेल q. by परा. मा. II. 2 p. 201, मा. प्रकाश folio 66 b.

caste and hold them pure if a Government order was issued. Then the Peshwa issued an order that they should go to Tulapur on the banks of the Bhīmā river and that they and their male progeny together with their wives should be restored back to the caste and complete association with them as to taking food and marriage be carried on with them from generation to generation.<sup>136</sup> The Pr. Prakāśa quotes a verse from the Bhavisya-purāṇa about the penance for brāhmaṇa murder to the effect that for him who dwells to the north of the Vindhya mountain Parāśara prescribes the sight of Setubandha as a penance and then remarks that a man from the north of Vindhya has to travel 360 yojanas to reach Setubandha and that since 360 Prājāpatya penances are declared to be enough to remove the sin of brahmahatyā, it impliedly follows that each yojana towards a tirtha is equal to one Prājāpatya. The Smṛtyar-thasāra ( pp. 149-150 ) quotes several verses from the Purāṇas stating that gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, great sages like Bhṛgu, Vasistha and Viśvāmitra, great kings like Hariscandra, Nala, Sagara obtained greatness by means of tirthas and that Pāṇḍavas, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Nārada, Vyāsa and other sages engaged in pilgrimages for securing kingdoms and for removal of evil fortune. This subject of *tirthas* will be dealt with at length in a separate section.

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136. Vide राजवाडे खण्ड 6 letter 113 p. 225.

## CHAPTER III

### PRAYASČITTA; ITS ORIGIN, DERIVATION AND MEANING

It is now necessary to turn to *prāyaścittas* as removers of sin. A number of subjects will fall to be treated here.

First, an attempt must be made to understand the etymology and meaning of the word '*prāyaścitta*' in ancient times. There are two forms of the word, *prāyaścitti* and *prāyaścitta*, which occur in Vedic works without distinction of meaning and both forms are fairly old, though *prāyaścitti* appears to be the older of the two. The form *prāyaścitti* frequently occurs in the *Tai. S.* (as in II. 1.2.4, II. 1.4.1, III. 1.3.2-3, V. 1.9.3, V. 3.12.1)<sup>136</sup>. In some of these passages no question of sin arises. The word means 'doing some thing which would get rid of some accidental happening or mishap such as the breaking of an *ukhā* (a pot or saucepan for boiling or cooking) or the sun's losing its brilliance.' In *Tai. S.* V. 3.12.1 the word is used in the sense of an expiation for a sin. So even in very old books the word had two shades of meaning. The *Kausitaki*<sup>137</sup> Br. (vi. 12) states: "they say 'whatever mistake or excess occurs in the sacrifice that affects the priest *brahmā*, that he treats with the three-fold learning (i. e. the three Vedas)". The word also occurs in the *Atharvaveda* XIV. 1.30, *Vaj. S.* 39.12 (in close proximity to *niskṛti*), in the *Ait. Br.* V. 27, in the *Śat. Br.* IV. 5. 7.1, VII. 1.4.9, XI 5.3.8, XII. 4.1.6 and in other works also. The form *prāyaścitta* occurs in *Kausitaki Br.* V. 9, VI. 12 and elsewhere. The *Āsv. Śr.* III. 10.38 and *Śāṅkhāyana Śr.* III. 19.1 respectively employ the words *prāyaścitti* and *prāyaścitta*<sup>138</sup>. In *Pār. gr.* I.

136 a. असायाद्विषो न चरोचत तस्मै हेवाः प्रायश्चित्तिर्मेच्छन् । तै. सं. II. 1.2.4, II. 1.4.1; यदि भिद्येत तैरेव कपालैः संवृजेत्सर्व ततः प्रायश्चित्तिः । तै. सं V. 1.9.3; एष वै प्रजापतिं सर्वं करोति योऽश्वमेधेन यजते सर्व एव भवति सर्वस्य वा एवा प्रायश्चित्तिः सर्वस्य भेषजम् । तै. सं. V. 3.12.1.

137. यद्वै यज्ञस्य स्वयलितं बोलचनं वा भवति बह्वज्ज एव तस्याहुस्तस्मै ब्रह्म विद्यया भिषज्यते । कौषीतकि ब्रा. VI. 12.

138. विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तिः । आश्व. औ. III. 10; विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तम् । अथर्वलोपे प्रतिनिधिः । श्रौ. औ. III. 19.1; विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तं दोषनिषातार्थं विधीयतेऽनाज्ञाने विधौ ध्यानं नारायणस्य तज्जपेज्याहोमाश्च हननायेति । वैखानसभूतसूत्र 20. 1 (ed. by (Continued on the next page)



Sāmavidhāna Br. I. 5.1 another derivation is suggested viz. that 'prāyaḥ' is composed of two parts 'pra' and 'ayah' and means 'happening or finding' (of the non-performance of what is ordained) and 'citta' means 'knowledge'; and so religious observances after knowing a certain happening are called prāyaścittas. The Pr. Vi. p. 3 and Pr. Tattva p. 467 quote Hārita and give<sup>147</sup> yet another derivation (from 'prayata' pure and 'cita' collected), in accordance with which 'prāyaścitta' means such actions as *tapas*, gifts and sacrifices whereby a man becomes purified (*prayata*) and destroys his accumulated sins ('cita' being equal to 'upacita'), just as clothes are made clean by the employment of salts, moist heat, putting in boiling water on a fire, and washing in water. Hence, as the Mit. says, the word prāyaścitta conventionally<sup>148</sup> denotes a certain act or rite of the *naimittika* type (since it takes place only when an occasion arises) intended for the destruction of sin (and therefore being desired for removal of sin it may also be called *kāmya*). The Par. M. quotes verses from Bṛhaspati's<sup>149</sup> work of which the section on prāyaścitta holds at the beginning and at the conclusion thereof that prāyaścitta is *naimittika*<sup>150</sup> (to be performed when a cause

147. तत्र हारीतः । प्रयत्नत्वाद्दोषक्षितमनुभवं कर्म नाशयतीति प्रायश्चित्तमिति । प्रत्ययः-  
प्रशुक्तिर् कर्म उपश्रितं क्षितितमनुभवं प्रायं नाशयतीति । कृततत्कर्मभिः कर्तुः प्रयत्नत्वाद्वा । छुत्तत्वा-  
देव तत्प्रायश्चित्तम् । तथा च दुर्नहरीतः । यथा क्षारोपस्नेहचण्डनिर्जोदनप्रक्षालनादि-  
निर्वासादि छुत्तव्यमिदं तपोदानयज्ञैः पापकृताः छुद्दिदुपपन्ति । प्राय. तत्र p. 467 ; vide  
also प्राय. वि. p. 3 for the first sūtra and p. 17 for the rest of the passage of  
हारीत. The मद्र. पा. p. 703 quotes the passage from यथा क्षारोप. मद्र. पा. p. 704  
explains चण्डनिर्जोदनम् as 'चुद्दिदुपपन्नानि तत्क्षेदनात्' and प्र. प्रकाश (folio 9a)  
'चण्डः अग्निः निर्जोदनं तस्मिन्नाग्निश्चयं क्षेदनामिति'.

148. प्रायश्चित्तज्ञानव्याप्यं पापक्षयार्थं नैमित्तिके कर्मविक्षेपे कृद्वा । मित. on वा. III.  
220, which is q by स्तुतिरु. (प्राय.) p. 859, परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 3.

149. तथा च बृहस्पतिः प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणरूपोपक्रमोपसंहारयोः नैमित्तिकत्वं दर्शयति ।  
नैमित्तिकं धर्मजातं भवतो मे निषोद्यतः । विहितस्यानुष्ठानात् प्रतिषिद्धनिषेवणात् । प्रायश्चित्तं  
प्रायश्चित्तं तन्मैमित्तिकमुच्यते । इत्युपक्रमः । नैमित्तिकं समाख्यातं प्रायश्चित्तं समासतः ।  
इत्युपसंहारश्च । परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 7 ; also in काश्यादी on वा. III. 206 and  
प्राय. प्रकाश folio 7 b. तथा च आपालः । अतः काश्वं नैमित्तिकं च प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्थितिः ।  
प्रा. प्रकाश folio 8a.

150. Actions are divided into three kinds, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. *Nitya* acts are those like *sandhyā-vandana* (which are obligatory and performed daily as a duty and which if not performed lead to sinfulness); *naimittika* are those acts which have to be done only on some occasion (as a bath on an eclipse) and *kāmya* rites are those which are performed out of a desire to secure some object (as the sacrifice called *putreṣṭi* for a son). Manu in XI. 53 says: 'therefore (because of the remnants of the guilt of

or occasion arises). Jābāla q. in the Pr. Prakāśa holds that *prāyaścitta* partakes of the nature of both *naimittika* and *kāmya* actions. The Pr. Prakāśa finds fault with the definitions of *prāyaścitta* proposed by the Kalpataru, Sūlapāni and others and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that those alone are *prāyaścittas* which are so spoken of by the learned, just as on Jaimini II 1.32 (tac-codakeṣu mantrākhyā) Bhaṭṭācārya explains that mantras are those which the respectable *yājñikas* and those who studied the Vedas so designate.<sup>150a</sup>

Sins as stated by Bṛhaspati<sup>151</sup> and others are of two kinds, viz. intentionally committed and unintentionally committed.

Great divergence of views has prevailed from very ancient times as to whether *prāyaścittas* can destroy sins intentionally committed. Manu XI. 45 and Yāj. III. 226 are positive that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by *prāyaścittas* or by the study of the Veda. The difficulty arises about sins committed intentionally or with full knowledge. Gaut. (19. 3-6 = Vas. 22. 2-5) states two views,<sup>151a</sup> one holding that *prāyaścitta* should not be performed since deeds (here sinful deeds) are not destroyed (except by experiencing the consequences thereof), the other view holding that *prāyaścitta* should be per-

(Continued from the last page)

crimes in former lives men are born blind or idiots &c.) penances must always be performed for the sake of purification, because those whose sins have not been expiated are born with disgraceful marks.' Though Manu employs the word 'nityam' here, what is meant is that when a sin is committed, a *prāyaścitta* must necessarily be performed and it is not left to the volition of the sinner whether to perform it or not. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 220. But it does not follow from this that if *prāyaścitta* for removing a sin is not performed, another sin is thereby committed, for in that case there would be *anavasthā* (regressus ad infinitum).

150 a. 'यद्यः भद्राचार्यैस्तच्छेदकेषु मन्त्राकरोति... यश्च वैदिकवाङ्मिकानामभिपुस्तानां मन्त्र इति मसिद्धिः स मन्त्र इति कुर्वतात्पर्यं वर्णितमेवमिहापि यत्राभिपुस्तानां यावच्छित्त-मसिद्धिरस्माद्विस्तारमिति लक्षणे मनुवाङ्मन्त्रकवचवाक्यानां तात्पर्यमुक्तेयम् । folio 76 of Ma. Ms. Ms.

151. कामाका मङ्गलं त्वेवं महापापं द्विधा स्मृतम् । पुनरापेक्षया चैव निष्कृतिर्द्विविधा स्मृता ॥  
इदमपि q. by मा. वि. p. 24, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 13 (first half).

151 a तत्र यावच्छित्तं कुर्वाक कुर्वाविति मीमांसन्ते । न कुर्वाविरिवाहुः । न हि कर्म क्षीयत इति । कुर्वाविरवयवम् । नौ. 19.3.6 = बसिष्ठ 22. 2-5 (the last being कुर्वाविरिवाहुः तस्मात्पुनरिति निर्दिष्टम्) न कुर्वाविरिवाहुः. This is the पूर्वपक्ष view. The सिद्धान्त is 'कुर्वाव' which is supported by indications derived from vedic passages.

formed (for the removal of the effects of sin). The latter relies upon certain indications in Vedic passages. Gaut. relies upon four such passages. The first says <sup>152</sup> 'after performing the *punaḥstoma* <sup>153</sup> one can come back to (become fit for) *soma* sacrifice (i. e. for Vedic rites in general). Another indication is: 'after performing *Vrātyastoma* (one becomes fit for Vedic sacrifices).' A third is: 'He, who offers the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, crosses beyond all sin, beyond *brāhmaṇa* murder'. The fourth is: one should make a person charged with grave sins perform the *Agniṣṭut*. *Vasiṣṭha* also (20. 1-2) gives expression to the two views about the efficacy of penances. <sup>154</sup> *Manu* XI. 45 (latter half) states, that according to some, *prāyaścittas* may be prescribed for the removal of intentionally committed sins from indications contained in the *Vedas*. It cannot be said that these *Śruti* passages are mere *arthavādas* (i. e. laudatory texts). They must really be taken, though expressed in the form of ordinary *arthavādas*, as laying down (a *vidhi*) that one desirous of destroying his sins should perform *Aśvamedha* and the other sacrifices mentioned. In this case the maxim of *rātrisattra* <sup>155</sup> applies (vide *Jai* IV. 3. 17-19). There are certain *sattras* (sacrifices extending over more than twelve days) called *Trayo-*

152. पुनः स्तोमेनेष्टु पुनः सवनमावाप्स्यति विज्ञाप्यते । ज्ञात्वास्तोमेष्टुम् । तस्मिन् सर्वं पाप्मानं तस्मिन् बह्वहर्षा वोऽश्वमेदेन यजते । अग्निष्टुताभिज्ञापमानं वाजयेदिति च । नौ. 19.7-10. बसिष्ठ (22.6) is the same as नौ. 19.9, while it (22.7) reads इति चाभिज्ञास्तो मोक्षवेनाभिष्टुता यजते. तस्मिन् सर्वं is तै. सं. V. 3.12.2 quoted above and अतपयन्ना. XIII. 3.1.1. मोक्षय and अभिष्टुत् are different sacrifices. The मोक्षय is a strange rite, for which vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1213 n. 2644. It is described in तै. ब्रा. II. 7.6.

153. The *Punaḥstoma* is a *śrauta* sacrifice, of the class called *ekāha* (i. e., performed in one day) acc. to *Haradatta*. Vide *Lātyāyana-śrauta* IX. 4 and 5 for its efficacy. The *Vrātyastoma* is also an *ekāha*, which was prescribed for those whose *upanayana* was not performed at the proper time (and who had therefore become *patita-sāvitrīka*). *Yāj.* I, 38 provides *vrātyastoma* for *patitasāvitrīka*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 377 and p. 385 (for its description from the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*). The *Agniṣṭut* is an *ekāha* (vide *Tai. Br.* II. 7. 12 and *Āśv. Sr.* IX. 7. 22-25). *Manu* XI. 74 prescribes *Aśvamedha*, *Gosava* or *Agniṣṭut* and several other sacrifices for the removal of the grave sin of *brāhmaṇa* murder.

154. अग्निसन्धिकृते प्रावक्ष्यितमपराधे । अग्निसन्धिकृतेऽप्येके । बसिष्ठ 20. 1-2.

155. रात्रीः प्रकृत्य भूपते प्रसिद्धिर्हन्ति इ वा य द्वा रात्रीकयजन्ति । बह्वर्चसिर्वाऽ-वाहा भवन्ति य द्वा उपयजन्ति । इति । तत्र सम्बेदः । किं ते कलार्चवाहा उत कलविधय इति । शबर उ जैमिनि IV. 3. 17. The second alternative is the सिद्धान्त view.. Vide *शारङ्गधरास्मृत्य* 23.2.4 for the passage प्रसिद्धिर्हन्ति...उपयजन्ति ।

daśarātra, Caturdaśarātra and so on. All these are called rātrisaṭtras. With reference to these a Vedic passage says 'those who approach (i. e. perform) these rātrisaṭtras attain stability (long life or super-eminence)'. In the text prescribing the rātrisaṭtras there is no mention of any special reward for performance. Therefore 'stability' (*pratiṣṭhā*) contained in the passage must be held to be the reward of the performance of rātrisaṭtras and not mere heaven (which is the reward of all sacrifices for which no special reward is mentioned, according to Jai. IV. 3. 15-16). The same maxim applies to passages like Yaj. III. 226 which say that sin is removed by penances<sup>156</sup>. Medhātithi draws attention to the story in the Tai. S. VI. 2.7.5, Kathaka S. VIII. 5, Ait. Br. 35.2 that Indra consigned yatis to *śālāvṛkas* (dogs or wolves) and had to perform the rites called Upahavya to get rid of the sin. Manu states his own opinion in the next verse (XI. 46) that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by the recitation of Vedic texts and sins committed intentionally through folly are destroyed by various *prāyaścittas*. Yaj. III. 226 (latter half) appears to hold that *prāyaścittas* do not destroy sins intentionally committed, but the sinner undergoing the prescribed penance becomes fit to be associated with other people on account of the texts (laying down the *prāyaścittas*); but Yaj. implies, it seems, that the results of sin intentionally committed (such as Hell and the like) are not got rid of. Manu XI. 189 prohibiting social intercourse with sinners who have not performed penance practically conveys the same idea as that of Yaj. in III. 226 (latter half). Yaj. III. 220 observes that a man guilty of *pātakas* should perform *prāyaścitta* for his own purification (here and in the next world); in this way (i. e. if he performs penance) his inner soul recovers its composure and the people also become satisfied. This verse puts in a nutshell the purposes of *prāyaścittas* as conceived by the *smṛtis*, viz. purging of sin (or purification), the satisfaction of the sinner's mind, admission to intercourse with

156. 'युनःस्तोमेनेष्टा... वजते इति ।... न चेदमर्थवादमात्रम् । अधिकारविशेषणा-  
काक्षया रात्रिसत्रस्यायेनार्थशब्दिकफलस्यैव कल्पनाया न्याय्यत्वात् । अतो युक्तं मायश्चित्तै-  
रेवेन इति । मित्रा, on वा. III. 226; vide माय. वि. p. 9 and p. 18 for similar views  
' अतो रात्रिसत्रस्यायेनार्थशब्दिकपापक्षयकामिना मायश्चित्तं कर्तव्यमिति निर्णीतम् । माय. वि.  
p. 18. The उपहव्य sacrifice is prescribed for one desirous of prosperity,  
ownership of a village or offspring. Vide कात्या. श्रौ. सू. 22.8.7 'यूक्तिकामो वा  
ग्रामकामो वा प्रजाकामो योपहव्येन वजेत.'

all people. Chāgaleya<sup>157</sup> holds that *prāyaścittas* free the sinner from the consequences of sins committed unintentionally, but no penance exists which frees a man from the consequences of sins knowingly committed except in the case of *upapātakas* and in suicides or attempts at suicide. The Par. M. (II. 1. pp. 200-201) cites a verse of Jābali and verses of Devala setting forth the two views about the efficacy of *prāyaścittas*, while it also cites the view of Baudhāyana-smṛti that there is no *prāyaścitta* for sins committed knowingly and the view of Aṅgiras that the penance is double in the latter case<sup>158</sup>. Aṅgiras further says that *prāyaścittas* do destroy the sin arising from committing acts that are forbidden and the like, just as the rising sun removes darkness. Manu XI. 47 provides: 'A twice-born man having become liable to perform a penance (for a sin), whether he committed it through fate or by some act committed in a former existence, must not have intercourse with virtuous men until he performs the proper penance.' Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24. 24-25) provides 'If a man slays a *guru* (father, Vedic teacher &c.) or a *brāhmaṇa* who has studied the Veda and finished the ceremonies of a soma sacrifice he shall live according to these very rules (contained in Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 10-32) until his last breath. He cannot be purified (of the sin of the murder of a *guru* or learned *brāhmaṇa*) in this life. But his sin is removed (at his death)'.<sup>159</sup> It appears to follow from Āpastamba's words that penance ending in death destroys the sin. The same was the view of Aṅgiras, Yama and others.

157. छागलेयेषु। प्रायश्चित्तकामानां कामापासी न विद्यते। उपपातक एव स्वात्तया चापमोपघातने॥ अर्थार्थः। कामापासी ज्ञानपूर्वकपापं नरकभोगनिवारकं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते। उपपातकालमहमयोस्तु ज्ञानपूर्वकत्वेयि स्वादिद्यत एवेति। आत्महमनार्थे विषमक्षणे कृते यदि जीवति तदा प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते यदा मृतस्तदा तद्विरोधना कर्तव्यमित्युभयपथापि प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते इति न विरोधः। मनु. पा. p. 703. The half verse प्रायश्चित्त...विद्यते occurs in परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 201.

158. अकामत. कृते पापे प्रायश्चित्तं न कामतः। स्वात्तकामकृते यन् विदुषे बुद्धिपूर्वकं॥ अत्रिच. q. by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 201; अस्ति निश्चितिक्रियाजन्यं पापं तज्ज्ञात्वात्वं तु प्रायश्चित्तस्य। तथा चाङ्गिराः। उद्यम्यहृदयादिरयस्तमः सर्वं व्यपोहति। तद्वत्कृत्यान्मासिद्वयं सर्वं पापं व्यपोहति। पापं चेत्पुनश्च कृत्या कृत्यान्ममिषद्यते। मृत्यते यातकैः सर्वैरिहाज्ञैरिव चन्द्रमाः॥ कृत्यान् प्रायश्चित्तम्। मा. यज्ञज्ञा (folio 6a).

159. हर्षं हत्वा मोक्षार्थं वा कर्मसमाप्तमेतेभ्य विधिनोक्तमापुष्पासाधरेत्। नास्यास्मिन्नोक्ते प्रयापसिर्विद्यते कलम्वं तु निर्दिश्यते। आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 24. 24-25. Vide also आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 18 for the same words. हरद्वय gives his own and another's interpretation of आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 24 24-25 'अस्मिन्नोक्ते जीविते प्रयापसिः क्षुद्रिर्नास्तीत्यर्थः। कलम्वं तु निर्दिश्यते। तदप्युपनिधिः संस्कारादिः कर्तव्य इति भावः। अन्ये तु पूर्वं हर्षं तद्विषयार्थं मन्यन्ते। प्रयापसिः पुत्रादिभिः पुत्रादिभावेन सम्बन्ध इति'.

In this conflict among the authors of *smṛtis* the solution proposed by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 226 has been accepted by most medieval writers and is as follows<sup>160</sup>: The potentialities and consequences of sins are twofold, viz those leading to Hell and the others preventing intercourse with members of the society to which the sinner belongs. Therefore, even though a *prāyaścitta* may not be efficacious to prevent the first mentioned consequence (viz. fall into Hell), there is nothing improper in *prāyaścitta* being effective in removing the obstacle to association with other people. As to sinful acts that are not *patanīya* (do not cause loss of caste) *prāyaścitta* does destroy such sinfulness as expressly stated by Manu. XI. 46. Even as to sins that are *patanīya* and are committed intentionally, if a penance ending in death is undergone as laid down by Manu XI 73, Yāj. III. 247-248 and Gaut. 22. 2-3 for *brāhmaṇa* murder; Manu XI 90-91, Yāj. III. 253, Gaut. 23.1 for drinking *surā*; Gaut. 23.8-11, Manu XI. 103-104 and Yāj. III. 259 for sexual intercourse with the *guru*'s wife; Manu XI 99-100 and Yāj. III. 257 for theft of *brāhmaṇa*'s gold; then the sin is destroyed as stated by Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.24. 25 and I. 10. 28.18 quoted above. When Manu says (in XI 89 latter half) that there is no penance for the sin of slaying a *brāhmaṇa* intentionally, the proper interpretation of this read along with Manu XI 46 quoted above is not that there is total absence of *prāyaścitta* in such a case, but that ordinary *prāyaścittas* (such as those in Manu XI 72) would not do in such a case, but only very heavy ones that would end in death. Medieval digests like the *Prāyaścitta-muktāvalī* (folio 32a) hold that according to the *Kalivarjya* section penance ending in death is forbidden in the case of *brāhmaṇa* sinners and therefore a

160. यत्तु मनुवचनं 'इयं विशुद्धिर्वादिता' इत्यादि (11.89) तदपीयमिति सर्वनाम-  
पराशुब्रह्मादशपात्रिकादिब्रह्मचर्याया एव 'कामतो...विधीयते' इत्यनेन मतिर्बोधो न पुनः  
प्रायश्चित्तमात्रस्य । मरणात्मिकादेः प्रायश्चित्तस्य दृष्टित्वात् ।...हे हि पापस्य झक्ती नरकोत्पादिका  
व्यवहारनिरोधिका चेति । तत्रैतदशकस्याविनाशोऽपि व्यवहारनिरोधिकायाः शक्तीर्विनाशो नाशुपपन्न-  
स्मरमात्यापानपयमेऽपि व्यवहार्यत्वं नाशुपपन्नम् । यत्तु मनुवचनं (11.45) 'अकामतः...निर्द्धारनात्'  
इति तदपि कामकृते प्रायश्चित्तप्राप्त्यर्थं न पुनः पापक्षयमतिपादनपरम् । अपत्तनीये पुनः कामकृतेऽपि  
प्रायश्चित्तं पापक्षयो भवत्येव 'अकामतः...पृथग्विधेः' इति मनुस्मरणात् (11.46) । पत्तनी-  
येऽपि कामजि कामकृते मरणात्मिकाप्रायश्चित्तेषु कस्मश्चक्षणे भवत्येव कलाम्तराभावात् ।  
'नारय्यास्मिहोके...निर्द्धार्यते' इत्यापस्तम्बस्मरणात् । मित्त. on वा. III. 226. बृहद्द्वारीत IX.  
173 and Yama hold the view that intentional sins are destroyed by penances  
that end in death: प्रायश्चित्तेरैवेत्येवो चक्षकार्यकृतं महत् (यत्कामकृतम्?) । कामकृतं  
कृतं यत्तु मरणात्मिकादिब्रह्मचर्याया । महापातककर्तारश्चत्वारो मतिपूर्वकम् । अग्निं प्राविश्य  
क्षुपयन्ति स्नात्वा महति वा कर्तते । यम g. by मा. यकाक्ष, folio 16 (b); अपराक्ष p. 1039  
reads चत्वारोऽपविशेयतः'. The words of the mitta. are quoted or paraphrased by  
subsequent works such as the *Prāyaścittasāra* (p. 4).

brāhmana murderer can only be made to undergo the twelve years' penance.

The Par. M. (II part 1 pp. 201-203) sets out this view of the Mit. and appears to hold it itself. It sets out another view also. Those who hold this latter view read Yaj. III. 226 as 'kāmatośvyavahāryastu' with an *avagraha*. The meaning then is that one who has performed the penance prescribed for a sin does not fall into Hell, but he cannot be allowed to associate with good men (*śiṣṭas*) if he is guilty of a wilful sin. There is a verse of Manu (XI. 190 = Vispu Dh. S. 54.32) that one should not associate with those who slay children, who return evil for the good done to them, who slay those that come for protection and who kill women, even though they might have become purified by undergoing the appropriate penance. There is a similar verse of Yaj. III. 298 on which the comment of Viṣṇāneśvara is most interesting as indicative of the spirit of our medieval writers who were always oppressed by the might of words (Vedic or *smṛti*) deemed as authoritative. The Mit. remarks:<sup>161</sup> 'the prohibition (contained in Yaj. III. 298) is based on the text alone (and not on logic or reasoning). What cannot a text do? There is nothing too heavy for a text. Therefore, even though a light penance is prescribed for slaying an adulterous woman, still there is a prohibition against associating with such slayers based on the words of the text'.

161. प्रायश्चित्तेन क्षिणक्षानपि न संयवहरेदिति वाचनिकोऽयं प्रतिषेधः । किमपि वचनं न कुर्यात् हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्ति । अतश्च यद्यपि स्वभिचारिणीनां वधोऽप्येव एव प्रायश्चित्तं तथापि वाचनिकोऽयं संयवहारप्रतिषेधः । मित्ता. on वा. III. 298. The words किमपि हि वचनं...भारः occur frequently in Śābara-भाष्य, e.g. on ऊ. II. 2.27, III. 2.3, III. 7.11, IV. 3.38, V. 4.17 etc. On ऊ. VI. 1.44 (about the privilege of the *rathakāra* to consecrate Vedic fires) Śābara employs slightly different words 'न हि वचनस्य किञ्चिदुत्तरं नाम.' Even Śāṅkarācārya relies on these words of Śābara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra III. 4.32. When Yāj. I. 58 says that a son born of a brāhma form of marriage renders 21 generations holy (10 paternal ancestors, ten descendants and himself) Viśvarūpa says that this is all laudatory of the brāhma form and not to be taken seriously as it would be contrary to the doctrine of *Karma*; but then he turns round and says that it may be taken literally as stated by those who know Mīmāṃsā 'रज्जिमात्रमेतच्छ्रुतानां भाविनां पावनानुपपत्तेः । उपपत्तौ वा कृतवशात्कृतवशात्पावनमसकृत् । यदास्तु कलपिषिः । विवाहनिशब्दस्य कलपिशेषापेक्षात् । न चानमानुसारीत्यर्थेऽनुपपत्तिरिति शङ्क्यं वक्तुम् । तथा च नैयायिकाः—न हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्तीत्याहुः ।' विश्वरूप on वा. I. 58. Vide Aparārka on Yāj. II. 73-75 (p. 673) who says that one man's merit (*puṇya*) cannot be transferred to another and that Yāj. II. 73-75 are simply intended to frighten away witnesses from perjury as Nārada (ṛgādaṇa 200) clearly states.

This maxim is taken from the bhāṣya of Śābara and is a favourite device with all Dharmaśāstra writers from Viśvarūpa downwards to justify any statement of the smṛtis however illogical or exaggerated it might appear to be. The Pr. T. (pp. 544-545) quotes <sup>162</sup> the Mit. about the two *śāldis* of sin and its remarks on Yāj. III. 298 and does not approve of them, relying on the words of Bṛhaspati that no decision should be arrived at on the bare words of the śāstra, but it should also be supported by reasoning and that the words 'slayers of women' do not refer to adulterous women but to innocent women (such as the wives of one's enemies). Nārada (sāhassa, verse 11) holds that those who are punished by the king with a fine of the first or second (madhyama) kind can be allowed to associate with other members of society but those who are awarded the highest fine should not be spoken to by others <sup>162a</sup>. Those who take the view of the sinner's inability to associate with other men even after undergoing penance rely also upon Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis-tūbhayathāpi smṛterācārācca). The Par. M. very rightly points <sup>163</sup> out that the sūtra refers to those who after going in for life-long celibacy abandon the duties of that stage of life (āśrama) and that it does not refer to householders and quotes a verse of Kauśika in support. The Smṛti-muktāphala (Pr., pp. 867-868) refers to this discussion contained in the Par. M. The Pr. M. (p. 7) appears <sup>164</sup> to hold that the great Śāṅkarācārya explained

162. एतेन यद्यपि व्यभिचारिणी...मतिरेव इति मिताश्रयोक्तं न युक्तिसहम् । केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्मण्यो विनिर्णयः । युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्मद्वानिः प्रजायते । पापे ह्यपि शुक्लपि स्वल्पान्यस्ये च तद्विदुः । मायश्चित्तानि मैत्रेय जगुः स्वायम्भुवाद्यः । इति बृहस्पति-वचनात् । मा. त. प. 545.

162 a. एपातां संशयहार्यौ तु धृतदण्डौ तु पूर्वयोः । धृतदण्डोऽप्यसम्भाव्यो ज्ञेय उत्तम-साहसं ॥ नारद (साहस, 11).

163. अयं हि बहिष्कार ऊर्ध्वरेतोविषयः न तु बृहस्पतिविषयः । ऊर्ध्वरेतोविचारणामेव तत्र प्रस्तुतत्वात् । इदं च कौस्तिकेन स्पष्टीकृतम् । मैत्रिकायां वनस्थानां वतीनां चापकीर्तिनाम् । ह्युज्जानामपि लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रत्यापसिर्न विद्यते ॥ इति । परा. मा. II part 1 p. 205. मा. प्रकाश (folio 17 b) quotes कौस्तिक's verse.

164. श्रीशङ्कराचार्यस्तु 'कामतोऽप्यवहारस्तु' इति अकारयभूतेष्वेतेषां याज्ञवल्क्यवचनो 'बहिस्तुभयथापि स्मृतेराचाराच्च' इति सूत्रे कृतमायश्चित्तनीटिकमह्यचार्यादियम् । आस्त्यो मैत्रिके धर्मे यस्तु प्रयत्ने पुनः । मायश्चित्तं न पश्यामि येन ह्यप्येतस्य आत्महा ॥ इति । मा. म. p. 7. The verse आस्त्यो is अत्रि VIII. 16 and is quoted by शङ्कर without citing the name. The मा. प्रकाश (folio 17 a) also refers to Śaṅkara's comment on Vedāntasūtra III. 4.43 and the two verses quoted by him. It observes: एवं तावत्सकलविषयसुखं समतं यथाह्यं इतिपद्व्युत्पेदेन याज्ञवल्क्यवचनस्य व्याख्यान-लक्षम् । शरीरकामीनांसायां तु .



Vedāntasūtra III, 4, 43 after reading Yāj. III, 226 as 'kāmatos vyavahāryastu' and that those who fell from the vow of life-long celibacy (either as naiṣṭhika brahmacārins or as sannyāsins) were to be excommunicated (and not to be associated with). The printed editions of the bhāṣya contain no express quotation of Yājñavalkya's verse, but from the fact of his quoting Atri's verse it is possible to hold that Śaṅkarācārya understood Yājñavalkya as the Pr. M. says he did.

A question may naturally be asked: why should it be accepted that penances destroy sin (as stated in Yāj. III, 226). The answer is: what <sup>165</sup> actions are grave sins or minor sins or not sins at all is laid down by the śāstra (śruti and smṛtis). For example, it is not clear to ordinary people why being an officer over mines or making friends of low people or being a servant of a śūdra should be a sin at all. But the smṛtis say so. If the smṛtis are to be relied upon for determining what acts are sinful, then it follows as a matter of course that the same smṛtis which speak of penances as removers of sins must also be accepted and that no other means for determining the efficacy of penances can be appealed to. So also the Bhagavad-gītā (IV, 37) states that the fire of spiritual knowledge consumes all (accumulated, *sañcita*) actions (and their consequences).

Many of the sins (though not *all*) for which penances are provided in the smṛtis are also offences punishable by the king or State. For example, murder, theft, incest, perjury are acts punishable by the State in almost all countries even now and were so in ancient and medieval India. Persons guilty of these were also liable to undergo *prāyaścittas*. It is probably due to this double liability that punishments for crimes in ancient and medieval India were light as compared with the heavy punishments for even trifling crimes inflicted in western countries only a century or two ago. But there are other acts which are not punishable by the State now and were not probably punished even in ancient or medieval India by the king. For example, forgetting Veda studied by a person, not tending Vedic fires consecrated by a person himself, sleeping till after sun-rise and sleeping at sunset are *pātakas*, acc. to Vas. I, 19 and some of those are *upapātakas* acc. to Yāj. III, 239. It does not seem

165. मनु प्रायश्चित्तैरप्येवमिति न युक्तम्। फलविनाशवत्प्रायश्चित्तम्। नैवम्। यथा पापोत्पत्तिः ज्ञानमग्रा तथा तत्परिक्षयोपीति। नात्र यमजाग्रात् कर्मते। अत एव नीतमेव पूर्वोत्तरपक्षभङ्गस्यायमर्थो दर्शितः। मित्रा. on वा. III, 226.

likely that an Indian king ever punished any person for these. On the other hand, obstructing the road, prying when the king is taking his meals, sitting before the king on one's haunches, speaking loudly before the king are among the fifty *chālas* of which the king could take cognisance *suo motu* and award suitable punishment (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 266). But there is nothing to show that such actions ever fell within the purview of the rules about *prāyaścittas*. The important questions are: What was the relation of the rules about *prāyaścittas* which were to be prescribed by a *pariṣad* (a meeting of learned *brāhmanas*) to punishments by the king as regards actions which were both *pātakas* inviting penances and crimes entailing punishments by the King? Which of these two sets of rules was earlier? Were penance and punishment cumulative or alternative? It is difficult to give definite opinions on these questions. We know that *prāyaścittas* like *Aśvamedha* are spoken of even in the Tai. S. We also know that the *pratnavivāka* (which is quite close to *prādvivāka* in derivation and meaning) occurs in the Vaj. S. XXX. 10 and Tai. Br. III. 5. 6. Therefore it follows that judicial functions were very early separated from the executive functions of the king. The reference to the ordeal of fire in the Tāndya Br. 14. 6. 6 (vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 361) and the grasping of a red-hot hatchet in the hand by a person accused of theft and his being killed show that ordeals were administered and the punishment for theft was death. Bṛhaspati, quoted in the Vivādaratnākara, says 'When a man of good character and a diligent reader of the Veda has committed theft he shall be kept in prison for a long time and shall be caused to perform penance after having been compelled to restore the goods' (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 362<sup>166</sup>).

The *pariṣad* made its own rules about *prāyaścittas* and the king awarded punishments. Which set of rules was earlier it is difficult to say. The king did not very probably interfere with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the *pariṣad* and the *brāhmanas* helped the king in the administration of justice by being judges and by advising him as to the punishments to be imposed (vide

166. वृत्तस्वभावायवान् स्तेयी बन्धनाद् क्लिश्यते चिरम् । स्वामिने तद्धनं दाप्यः  
प्रापयितुं तु कारयेत् ॥ इत्युच्यते q. by विवादरत्नाकर p. 331. It is possible that this  
verse means that a learned *brāhmaṇa* who has been well conducted but fell  
a victim to the temptation of theft should not be jailed for a long time  
because jail life torments his mind and therefore he should be made to  
restore stolen property and given penance.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 194). Gautama VIII.1, echoing the words of the Śat. Br. V. 4. 4. 5, observes:<sup>167</sup> 'the king and the brāhmaṇa with profound learning uphold the moral order in the world (or are upholders of the sacred law). The Āp. Dh. S. ( II. 5.10.12-16) contains very important information: 'The śācārya shall order those who, while participating according to the śāstras (in the privileges and responsibilities of their castes), have gone astray through the weakness of their senses to perform penances according to the dictates (of the smṛtis) commensurate with their (sinful) acts. If they transgress their śācārya's order he shall take them to the king. The king shall send them to his *purohita* proficient in dharmasāstra and the science of government. He (*purohita*) shall order them to perform (proper penances) if they are brāhmaṇas. He shall reduce them by forcible means except corporal punishment and slavery.' So this passage shows that the king helped in carrying out *prāyaścittas*. Nārada includes 'neglect of penances' among matters solely dependent on the king (*prakīrṇaka*, verse 3) and not on complaints by private individuals. Devala<sup>168</sup> probably conveys the real position when he says: 'The king is the giver of *krochras* (i. e. his consent is required for actually undergoing the prescribed penances), the learned man who has studied Dharmasāstras prescribes the *prāyaścitta*, the sinner carries out the penance and the king's officer sees to the safe performance of the prescribed penance.' Parāśara VIII. 28 says 'an assembly should point out the proper penance after getting the permission of the king, it should not be done without reference to him, but slight penance may be done without informing him'. The Par. M. II. part 1. p. 232 explains that this applies to *prāyaścittas* for sins like *govadhā* or those that are greater than it. Devala<sup>169</sup> also has similar verses.

167. 'हो लोक धृतराजो राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुतः । श्री. VIII. 1. शतपथ V. 4.4.5 has 'निष्साद धृतराज इति धृतराजो वै राजा...एव च ओत्रियश्चेति इ वै हो मन्त्रयेतु धृतराजो.'

168. 'कुम्भारणां दायको (दायको v. l.) राजा निर्देहा धर्मपाठकः । अपराधी प्रयोक्ता च रक्षिता कुम्भारालकः' देवल q. by मन्. सा. p. 777 ; प्राय सा. p. 8. राज्ञश्च/कुम्भारे स्थित्वा प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् । स्वयमेव न कर्तव्यं कर्तव्या स्वल्पमिच्छतिः ॥ पराशर VIII. 28, on which परा. मा. II. 1. p. 232 says : अत्र गोवधस्य प्रकृतत्वात्तस्मात्प्रायश्चित्तं राजाकुम्भारैव कर्तं निर्दिशेत् ।

169. 'याचित्वास्तेन ते चापि ब्राह्मणाः पापभीक्ष्णाः । निष्कृतिं व्यवहारार्थं कुर्यान्स्ते द्वापञ्चया ॥ इयं वा ब्राह्मणेः कुम्भारमल्पदोषे विधीयते । राजा च ब्राह्मणैश्चैव महत्तु द्वपरीक्ष्य च' देवल q. by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 232-233 and by मन्. सा. p. 21. मा. वक्राश (folio 25 a) reads देवल's verse as इयं तु ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मरूपदोषेषु निष्कृतिः । राजा... महत्तु परिचक्षते ॥

Parāśara VIII. 29 states that the king also should not ignore the *pariṣad* and should not by himself prescribe penances. *Paithinasi* quoted by the *Dandaviveka* (p. 76) provides<sup>170</sup> for both *prāyaścitta* and punishment and from the tenor of the verse it appears that both were to be enforced by the king. The position is tolerably clear as to mediæval times. One feels great hesitation in stating definitely the relation of punishment to penances and the king's position as to both in ancient times. *Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 1-4* provide<sup>171</sup> that one who kills a *ksatriya* or a *vaiśya* or a *śūdra* shall respectively give one thousand cows, a hundred cows and ten cows for the purpose of removing the enmity and that in each of these cases one bull was to be given in addition for the purpose of expiation. *Āpastamba* does not expressly state to whom the cows were to be given. The commentator *Haradatta* explains that they were to be given to *brāhmaṇas*. *Manu XI. 127, 129, 130, and Yaj. III. 266-267* have similar provisions but in the chapter on penances. On the other hand, *Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 23.* expressly states that the cows are to be given to the king. As both the words '*vairaniryātanārthaṃ*' and '*prāyaścittārthaṃ*' are employed by *Āp.* it may be said that the cows were to be made over to the king even according to *Āpastamba*. The cows were to be made over to the king for bestowal on the family of the murdered person to mollify them and if they refused to receive them the king was not to retain them for himself but was to distribute them among *brāhmaṇas*. We know that *Manu (IX. 243-245)* provides that the fine recovered from a man guilty of mortal sins was not to be taken for himself by the king but was to be offered to *Varuṇa* and thrown into water or was to be distributed among learned *brāhmaṇas*. *Manu IX. 236* provides that for those who were guilty of the four grave sins (*brāhmaṇa* murder &c.) and did not undergo penance for the same the king should inflict corporal punishment (branding on the forehead) together with fine in accordance with the *śāstra*. *Manu IX. 237*

170. अकार्यकारिणोऽपि प्रायश्चित्तं तु कल्पयेत् । यथाशक्त्यनुसृत्य च दण्डं चैव ।  
यकल्पयेत् ॥ पैथीनसि q. by हण्डविवेक p. 76.

171. क्षत्रियं हत्वा नृपः सहस्रं वैरनिर्वातनार्थं दद्यात् । शतं वैश्ये । दश शूद्रे ।  
अश्वभयाप्राधिकः सर्वत्र प्रायश्चित्तार्थः । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 24.1-4: क्षत्रियवधे मोसहज  
दण्डभेदाधिकं राज्ञ उक्तजैरेरनिर्वातनार्थम् । शतं वैश्ये दश शूद्रे अश्वभयाप्राधिकः । बी. ध. सू.  
I. 10. 23-24.

( = Matsya 227. 164 ) and Viṣṇu V. 4-7 say that on the forehead a mark of female private parts with red-hot iron should be branded in the case of incest, the mark of a tavern flag in the case of drinking *surā*, the mark of dog's foot in the case of theft (of brāhmaṇa's gold) and the mark of a headless trunk in the case of a brāhmaṇa-murder. Manu IX. 240 further prescribes that men of all castes guilty of the four mahāpātakas committed unintentionally that perform the proper penance should not be branded on the forehead by the king but should be awarded the highest fine. Manu IX. 241 and 242 provide that a brāhmaṇa guilty of these grave sins unintentionally may be punished with the middle amercement (if he himself be possessed of good qualities) but if he was guilty of the grave sins committed intentionally he should be banished from the kingdom being allowed to take with him his wealth and paraphernalia; while persons other than brāhmaṇas when guilty of grave sins unintentionally committed were to be deprived of all their wealth and if guilty intentionally they were to be sentenced to death. These verses show that though *prāyaścitta* be performed persons guilty of grave sins were liable to undergo punishment and if no penance was performed then they were liable to branding and also fines etc. Manu XI. 56 provides that bearing false witness is similar to the drinking of *surā* and Manu XI. 57 and Yāj. III. 230 hold that misappropriation of a deposit is like the theft of gold. Viṣṇu Dh. S. ( V. 169 ) provides that the misappropriator of a deposit was to be made to return the deposit or its price with interest and was to be punished like a thief by the king and V. 179 that a false witness had all his property confiscated. These instances establish that both fines by the king (i. e. *rāja-dāṇḍa*) and penances prescribed by the assembly of learned men (i. e. *parisaddaṇḍa* or *daiva dāṇḍa*) had to be undergone by those guilty of some grave sins that were also looked upon as crimes. In some cases the penance and the punishment were the same. For example, Gaut. 23. 10-11, Vas. 20. 13, Manu XI. 104, Yāj. III. 259 and several other *smṛtikāras* prescribe for incest the penance of the excision of the testicles and penis and proceeding toward the south or south-west till the body falls. Nārada as quoted above prescribes for incest the *punishment (dāṇḍa)* of the excision of the testicles. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 233 quotes Nārada and remarks that the punishment of excision and death prescribed by Yāj. III. 233 applies only to non-brāhmaṇas and that in such cases the punishment of death itself is the

prāyascitta. There were works like the Madanaparījata<sup>172</sup> (p. 827) and the Mitākṣarā that held that the prohibition against corporal harm to brāhmanas (Manu VIII 380) applies only to matters other than prāyascittas and that since the Manusmṛiti itself (XI 100) states that a brāhmana guilty of theft of brāhmana's gold may go to the king with an iron club and have his head smashed by the king, the death of a brāhmana as a penance for theft by being struck with a club presented by himself was not ruled out. In some cases punishment by the king was deemed to have purged a man of sin and no penance seems to have been thought necessary, as Manu VIII 318 (= Vas. 19.45) says 'men that commit sins and are punished by the king become purified and reach heaven like good men who perform meritorious deeds.' The Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 explains that this holds good only where the punishment is death, as in the case of incest noted above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 10.27, 15-16 provide<sup>173</sup> that a person guilty of slaying a man, of theft and of forcible seizure of land was to be deprived of his wealth by the king and was to be sentenced to death and that if the offender was a brāhmana he was to have a piece of cloth tied over his eyes for the whole of his life (i. e. he was not to be sentenced to death). It appears that in very ancient times as provided by Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.4 the thief approached the king<sup>174</sup> with a club (of iron or *khadira* wood) on his shoulder and announced his guilt, when the king struck him with the club; on his being killed he became free from guilt. This was a penance as well as a legal punishment. Manu has a similar rule in his chapter on punishments (VIII. 314-316) providing that the thief should carry a weapon (called *musala*) or a club of *khadira* wood or a double-edged *śakti* or an iron staff and that if the king strikes him once with the club and he is killed

172. अथ च लिङ्गच्छेदवधात्मको दण्डो ब्राह्मणव्यतिरेकरव । न जातु ब्राह्मणं हत्या-  
त्प्रापयेज्जवद्विषात्—इति तस्य वधानिर्दिष्टात् (मनु. ८.३८०) । इत्यस्यैव प्रायश्चित्तस्यत्वात् । मित.  
on वा. III. 233; but on वा. III. 257 the मित्ता says 'मनुना सुवर्णस्तेयकृद्भिर्हत्यादिविषाद-  
युक्तीनां सुसलं राजा सकृद्वृथापु तं स्वयमिति सर्वनाम्ना प्रकृतब्राह्मणवद्वर्ग्येनैव हननविधानात् ।  
न जातु ब्राह्मणं हत्यादिविषादस्य प्रायश्चित्तव्यतिरेकदण्डरूपहननविषयत्वेनाप्युपपत्तेः ।' ; vide  
also मद्. वा. p. 827 for the same view.

173. पुनश्च वधे स्तेपे भूयसादान इति स्वान्यादाय वधः । चक्षुर्निरोधस्तेषु ब्राह्मणस्य ।  
आप. ध. सू. II. 10, 27, 15-16.

174. स्तेनः प्रकीर्णकेषोऽस्ते सुसलमाधाय राजानं गत्वा कर्माच्छ्रुति तेनेनं हत्याद्वये मोक्षः ।  
आप. ध. सू. I. 9.25. 4. ; ब्राह्मणसुवर्णहर्त्रेण प्रकीर्णं केशान् राजानमभिधावेत्स्तेनोऽस्मि भो  
स्मात् तं भवामिति तस्मै राजौदुम्बरं सार्द्धं दद्यात्तेनात्मानं प्रमापयेज्ज्वरणाभूतो भवतीति विज्ञायते ।  
पत्ति 20 41. औदुम्बर means 'made of udumbara wood' or may also mean 'red  
in colour' (i. e. made of copper).

or if he is not killed but is allowed to go half dead and lives, the thief is freed from the guilt. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 257 quotes a prose passage from Śaṅkha and a verse from Saṁvarta (122) to the same effect. Manu in the chapter on penances (XI. 100-101 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 20-21) provides the same procedure for theft as a penance. Vas. 20. 41, Yaj. III. 259, Viṣṇu 52. 1-2 and Parāśara XII. 69-70 provide a somewhat similar penance for the thief of brāhmaṇa's gold. Vasiṣṭha introduces an important change viz., that the king hands over to the thief a weapon made of udumbara wood (or probably of copper) with which the thief is to kill himself. It appears that gradually the king gave up this unpleasant method of awarding punishment personally. Nārada<sup>175</sup> (pariśiṣṭa, verses 46-47) provides that after the thief comes running to the king and announces his guilt, the king was to touch him (with the club, as a symbolic gesture) and then let him off and the thief became freed from sin by his confession of guilt. It has to be remembered, however, that the thief had to restore, even when he underwent penance, stolen property, as stated by Manu VIII. 40, Yaj. II. 36 and 270, Bṛhaspati and by digests<sup>176</sup> like the Pr. Prakaraṇa. If it were impossible to make the thief restore the stolen property the king had to make it good from his own treasury<sup>177</sup> (Gaut. X. 47, Śāntiparva 75. 10, Kautīliya III. 16) or he had to make his officers<sup>178</sup> entrusted with the duty of preventing thefts pay the price of the stolen property (Āp. Dh. S. II. 10. 26. 8). Vide for further details H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 166-168. It appears that the actual carrying out of the sentence of death was later on assigned to Cāṇḍālas as stated by Manu X. 56 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 11 (vadhya-ghātītvaṃ cāṇḍālānām).

175. राजा स्तेनेन नृपस्यो सुककेशेन धावता। आचक्षणेन तस्तेपमेवकमस्मि श्लाघि माय॥ अनेन भवति तेन स्वकर्ममतिपादनात्। राजा ततः सुकेशेनमुत्पुजेत् क्षाकित्थिवच॥ नारद, परिशिष्ट 46-47.

176. दुष्यैवापहतं द्रव्यं धनिकस्याप्युपायतः। श्रापश्चित्तं ततः कुर्यात्कलमवस्थापयन्नुचये॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 52. 14; सर्वमेव सुवर्णहरणविस्तेयमायाधिसं विद्यमानस्यापहतद्रव्यस्य स्वायपुरःसरमेव कर्तव्यम्। इतरथा कुतमायश्चित्तस्यापि पुनस्तद्रव्यस्योत्कारे तथैव स्तेयमसङ्गतम्। चिन्ते तु द्रव्ये पुनःस्वीकाराभावात्मायाश्चिन्तयेति। श्राव.प्रक. on p 77.

177. चौरहृतमयजित्वा यथास्थानं गमयेत्। कोशाद्वा दद्यात्। गी. X. 46-47; मर्यादहर्तुमशक्यं स्याद्वन्न चौरैर्हृतं यदि। तत् स्वकोशात्मज्ञेयं स्यादशक्येनोपजीवतः॥ श्लो. 75.10 q. by the mitta. on वा. II. 36; चौरहृतमविद्यामानं स्वद्रव्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत्। कौटिल्य III. 16 p. 190.

178. तत्र यमुत्पुजेते तैस्तत्पतिवाच्यम्। आप. ध. सू. II-10. 26. 8.

Another point to be noted is that as regards the awarding of punishments and prescribing of penances, the matters to be considered were the same viz. whether the lapse was intentional<sup>179</sup> (kāmataḥ) or unintentional (akāmataḥ) or whether it was the first offence or whether it was repeated and what the circumstances as to the time, the place, the caste, the age, the capacity, learning, wealth were. Compare Kautīlya IV. 10, Gaut. XII 48, Manu VII. 16 and VIII. 126, Yāj. I. 368, Viṣṇu V. 194, Vas. 19. 9 about punishments with Baud.<sup>180</sup> Dh. S. I. 1. 16, Yāj. III. 293 (= Atri verse 248 and Agnipurāṇa 173. 6), Angiras 143, Viśvāmitra, Vṛddha-Hārta IX. 297, and Vyāghra as regards penances. It is on account of this close connection between punishments and penances that the Prāyaścittatattva, after quoting Devala to the effect that if a man makes no move for taking prāyaścitta for one year, he has to undergo double penance thereafter and to pay a double fine to the king, remarks that the maxim is that prāyaścittas are to be moulded on the lines of punishments<sup>181</sup>. The Pr. M. (pp. 124-125) quotes Kāśyapa who provides a penance for one that causes mischief to a well, public park, bridge, rampart wall or a temple or idol, then quotes Viṣṇu V. 169 which prescribes the highest fine for a breaker of idols, Manu LX. 285 which provides a fine of 500

179. ज्ञात्वापराधं देशं च कालं बलमधापि वा। वयः कर्म च वित्तं च दण्डं दण्डयेषु पातयेत् ॥ या. I. 368; अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ च तत्त्वतः। सारापराधी चालोक्य दण्डं दण्डयेषु पातयेत् ॥ मनु. VIII. 126, on which मेधातिथि remarks that this is the fundamental or basic verse on the question of punishment 'उकाशुकदण्डेष्वपराधेषु मानुकाश्लोकोपयम्। एतदर्थानुसारेण सर्वदण्डकृतिः कर्तव्या'.

180. शरीरबलमायुश्च वयः कालं च कर्म च। समीक्ष्य धर्मविद् बुद्ध्या मायश्चित्तानि निदिशेत् ॥ बी. घ. I. 1.16; देशं कालं वयः शक्तिं पापं चाधिरय पश्यतः। मायश्चित्तं प्रकल्प्य स्याद्यत्र चाका न निष्कृतिः ॥ या. III. 293; सर्वत्र चैव मायश्चित्तमकरणे-जातिशक्तिगुणा-पेक्षं सङ्गृह्यद्विकृतं तथा। अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय मायश्चित्तं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ इत्येतदेव संक्षेपबुद्धम्। विश्वरूप on या. III. 262. The verse is quoted as विश्वामित्र's in प्राय. प्रकरण. p. 8, प्राय. वि. p. 29, परा. मा. II. part I p. 235 and as देवल's by the मित्त. on या. III. 243. Vide also स्याद्य. q. by परा. मा. II. part 1, p. 24.

181. यथा स्मृतिनामरे देवलः। कालातिरेके द्विगुणं मायश्चित्तं समाचरेत्। द्विगुणं राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा छुद्रिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ कालातिरेके संवत्सरातिरेके। संवत्सराभिज्ञस्तस्य बुद्धस्य द्विगुणो ह्यमः-इति मनुवचने (8.373) संवत्सरात्यरतो द्विगुणदण्डदर्शनेन दण्डवत्यायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति न्यायेन एकत्र निर्णीतः शास्त्रार्थो बाधकमन्तरान्यत्रापि तथेति न्यायाच्च। प्राय. तस्य p. 474; vide p. 530 of the same work for the same न्याय. 'अथ मण्ड-योद्यानादि-देवतागारादि-भेदने कादयः। वापीकुवाराभ्येतुल्यतातडागवमदेवतायतनभेदने मायश्चित्तम्।...जाह्नवाभोजयेत् ॥ इति। एतच्चाख्योपधाते। महतोपधातेऽप्यासे प्राजापरयादि कल्पनीयम्। देवता चान्न दण्डनीया च शास्त्रा। मायश्चित्तस्याप्यत्तादृश्यत्र दण्ड-नीत्यदर्शनेन मायश्चित्तपौर्णवं कल्प्यं दण्डवत्यायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति वचनात्। तथात्र दण्डनोरवमाह कारवाचनः।...विष्णुरपि...मनुः...इति।



*paṇas* for a breaker of idols and re-instatement of the idol by him and then remarks 'daṇḍavat prāyaścittāni bhavanti'. Nārada divided *sāhasa* into three kinds viz. *prathama*, *madhyama* and *uttama*, the last of which consisted in killing a person with poison or weapon, adultery and rape and injury to life. He then provides that when offenders guilty of the first two kinds were punished by the king, they became fit for association with the people, but that one guilty of the *uttama-sāhasa*, though punished by the king, was not fit even to be talked to (Nārada, *sāhasa*, verse 11).

The king had jurisdiction<sup>182</sup> to punish sinners if they did not agree to undergo the *prāyaścitta* prescribed by the *pariśad* but it is extremely doubtful whether he exercised that jurisdiction in all cases. Society or the caste also had a weapon in its hand viz. that of excommunication by *ghaṭasphoṭa* if one guilty of a grave sin refused to perform the *prāyaścitta* prescribed (i. e. it was *jātidanda*). Vide Gaut. 20.2-9, Manu XI. 182-185 and Yaś. III. 294 and H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 388 and vol. III. p. 1009-1010 for the rite of *ghaṭasphoṭa* and re-admission to caste after *ghaṭasphoṭa*. Many of the *prāyaścittas* prescribed for the grave sins were terrible (such as throwing oneself into fire, drinking boiling *surā* or water or cow's urine or milk or ghee for drinking *surā*, Manu XI. 73, 90-91, 103 &c.) and were to be self-inflicted and were not to be prescribed by the *pariśad* as the words of Manu in XI. 73 '*icchayātmanas'* and '*prāsyed-ātmanam-agnau vā*' clearly convey and as some of the digests expressly provide<sup>183</sup>. In order to enable a man to become fit for intercourse with his caste men he had to give a dinner to them or distribute sweetmeats even after undergoing *prāyaścitta*. So it follows that a man guilty of a crime was liable to three burdens, punishment by the king, penance prescribed by learned *brāhmaṇas* and giving dinner or sweetmeats to castemen. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 971.

182. बन्धं कुर्यान्नुपो वृणा यावद्विजसकुर्वताम् । कामतोऽकामतो वापि यावद्विजं कृतं शरेत् ॥ अग्निपुराण 168 1. यावद्विजैः क्षमं याति पापं कृतमसंशयम् । राजदण्डाप्युक्तं याति यावद्विजसकुर्वताम् । यावद्विजसविहीना ये राजभिश्चाप्यद्विजिताः । नरकं पतियच्छन्ते तिर्यग्गोमि तस्यैव च ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण II. 73.3-4 q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 210, प्रा. प्रकाश folio 102 a.

183. यावद्विजसकुर्वताम् तु पर्वदा न वेयम् । तत्त्वचमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात् । याव. सा. p. 41 ; पतञ्जलमर्यादिकं यावद्विजं पर्वदा न वेद्विजसमपि तु मृत्युचक्षुस्त्वचमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात् । अन्तुप्यचक्षुस्त्वचमेव ज्ञात्वा तद्वद्विजसमपि तत्त्वचमेव कुर्यात् । मद्. पा. p. 817.

The literature on *prāyaścittas* is vast in extent, since in ancient times they loomed very large in the popular mind. Out of the 28 chapters of the *Gautamadharmasūtra*, ten (i. e. more than one-third of the whole) are devoted to penances. Out of the 30 chapters of the printed *Vasistha-dharmasūtra*, *prāyaścittas* cover nine (20-28). *Manu* devotes verses 44 to 265 (in all 222) of chapter eleven to penances and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* containing 1009 verses deals with *prāyaścittas* in 122 verses (III, 205-327). Several printed *smṛtis* such as those of *Āngiras* (168 verses), *Atri* (chapters 1-8), *Devala* (90 verses), *Brhad-Yama* (182 verses), *Śatātāpasmṛti* (in 274 verses) from the *Ānandāsrama* collection of *smṛtis* alone deal only with *prāyaścittas*. Many other *smṛtis* and several *purāṇas*, such as the *Agni* (chap. 168-174), *Garuda* 52, *Kūrma* (*Uttarārḍha* 30-34), *Varāha* 131-136, *Brahmaṇḍa* (*Upasamhārapāda* chap. 9), *Viṣṇudharmotara* (II, 73, III, 234-237) contain hundreds of verses on *prāyaścittas*. Besides commentaries like the *Mitākṣarā*, *Aparārka*, *Par. M.* and others and digests like *Madanapārijāta* (pp. 691-994), there are special digests dealing with *prāyaścittas* alone such as *Hemādri on Prāyaścitta* (which is of doubtful authenticity), the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* of *Bhavadeva*, *Prāyaścittaviveka*, *Prāyaścittatattva*, *Smṛtimuktāphala* (*prāyaścitta* section), *Prāyaścittasāra* (part of *Nṛsiṃhprasāda*), *Prāyaścittamayūkha*, *Prāyaścittaprakāśa* (ms. in the *Anūp Sanskrit library*, *Bikaner*, No. 2610), *Prāyaścittenduṣekhara* of *Nāgojibhatta*, which have been utilised in this work. The most elaborate treatment is found in *Prāyaścittaviveka*, *Par. M.* II parts 1 and 2, and *Prāyaścittaprakāśa*.

The commentators discuss the question about the persons who have *adhikāra* (capacity) for having penances prescribed for them. Since *Manu* XI, 44 (*prāyaścittiyate naraḥ*) and *Yāj.* III, 219 (*naraḥ patanam-ṛcchati*) both employ the word 'man' without <sup>184</sup> any qualification, the commentators and digests say that penances are meant for men of all *varṇas*, for all persons born of unions in the reverse order (*pratilomajas*) and for even *cāṇḍālas*. *Yāj.* III, 262 states that a *sūdra* sinner

184. नरग्रहणं सर्वजनिकयद्वर्णनार्थम् । विश्वरूपेण वा. III, 210; नरग्रहणं प्रतिलो-  
मजातानामपि कार्यश्चैसाधिकारमाप्स्यर्थम् । तेषामप्यर्हिसादिसाधारणधर्मव्यतिक्रमसम्भवात् ।  
मिता. वा. III, 219; नर इत्यनेन ब्राह्मणादिब्राह्मणालाभानां सर्वेषां पापं दूर्ययति ।  
अस्ति च ब्राह्मणादीनामपि विधिनिषेधश्च । यथा देवलः । स्वजातिलोचनं सर्वजनप्रणामस्ति-  
मिता एवमहारक्षुद्रिपरपमानं स्वधुरवयोधनं प्रधानकर्मपरिवर्जनमिति ब्राह्मणधर्मः । मनुः ।  
नवार्थे...ब्राह्मणां छुद्रिकारणम् ॥ (10.62) अतो वेदार्थव्यवहारनिमित्तेनैव प्रायश्चित्तीयता न  
ब्राह्मणादीनामिति मनुस्मृत्यम् । माव. वि. p. 12.

though he has no *adhikāra* (for recitation of Vedic *mantras* and *homa*), yet becomes purified by undergoing the observances (except *japa* and *homa*) for the periods prescribed. Āṅgiras<sup>185</sup> provides that penance may be administered to a *śūdra* devoid of *japa* and *homa*. Even as to *japa* and *homa* there were works like the *Madanapārijāta* p. 749 and Vy. M (p. 112) that relying on a verse of Parāśara VI. 63-64 held that a *homa* could be performed for women and *śūdras* in the ordinary fire through a *brāhmaṇa*<sup>186</sup>. The Pr. V. relies on Manu X. 62 and a prose passage of Devala for the proposition that even *Cāṇḍālas* have to perform penances, if they act contrary to the rules and prohibitions laid down for them. Since the non-performance of what is prescribed and doing what is forbidden lead to sin, the person guilty of these or the person who has a desire to destroy his sins is a person entitled to perform *prāyaścitta*, as also one who repents of his guilt.

Before going into the subject of the several *prāyaścittas* prescribed for each grave or minor sin, some questions of a general character have to be disposed of.

Some *smṛtis* like *Brhad-yama* III. 1-2 and *Śaṅkha* state that a boy over five years of age and less than eleven years old, if guilty of some *pātakas* such as drinking *surā*, has not to undergo penance personally, but his brother, father or other

185. तस्माच्छूद्रं समासाद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थितम् । प्रायश्चित्तं यदातय्य जपहोमविच-  
जितम् ॥ अङ्गिरस्य q. by the मिता. on या. III. 262, याच. म. p. 12, या. सार p. 173.

186. श्रीशूद्रयोरपि ब्राह्मणद्वारा लौकिकाग्नी होमा भवयेय । अत एव धर्मविद्वद्भी  
'उपवासां ब्रतं होमस्तीर्थस्नानं जपादिकम् । विधेः सम्पादितं वश्यं सम्पूर्णे तस्य तत्फलम् ॥ इति ।'  
मद्. या. p. 749. This is पराशर VI. 63-64 (the printed edition in B. S. Series reads ब्रतं चैव स्नानं तीर्थे जपस्तपः). It is rather inexplicable how while Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāramayūkha* holds, relying on Parāśara, that the *dattahoma* may be performed by a *śūdra* or a woman through a *brāhmaṇa*, the *Prāyaścittamayūkha* of the same author propounds a different view in the words 'एतेन वग्महार्जमदनरत्नयोः श्रीशूद्रादेर्विषद्वारा समम्ब्रकी जपहोमौ भवत इति तत्परास्तम्' (p. 13). Did the author change his views or is the text of one of the two *Mayūkhās* tampered with by his successors? The या. प्रकाश (folio 30 b) explains Parāśara VI. 63-64 in a different way. It says that the verse does not lay down generally that a woman or any one else can in every case have a *homa* performed for her through a *brāhmaṇa*, but that where in a rite *japa* and *homa* are obligatory and the person concerned is unable to perform *japa* and *homa* in person there alone he can appoint a *brāhmaṇa* as *pratinidhi*. अथ यातेषु जपहोमादिषु अक्षत्तौ विपर्ययमतिनिविदि-  
यमन्नात्रार्थसात् । प्रायश्चित्ताङ्गजपहोमयोस्तु निषेधादेवामृत्येस्तत्र तस्याप्रवृत्तिः । ...एतेन  
वग्महार्जमदनरत्नयोः श्रीशूद्रादेर्विषद्वारा समम्ब्रकी जपहोमौ भवत इति तत्परास्तम् !  
या. प्रकाश. folio 30 b.

relative or friend has to undergo it for him and that if a child is less than five then whatever act it may do it is not deemed a crime, nor is it a sin and it is not liable to any legal penalty nor to any<sup>187</sup> prāyaścitta. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) comments that these verses are not meant to prescribe a total absence of prāyaścitta in the case of children of five or less but are meant to convey that they are not liable for the full prāyaścitta prescribed for a sin. Its argument is that the texts lay down generally without any reference to the stage of life that a brāhmaṇa should not be killed or that a person belonging to the three higher castes should not drink *surā*.<sup>188</sup> Hence any one of whatever age who is guilty of having done such prohibited acts is liable and the words of Gaut. II. 1 and of Kumāra are to be interpreted as not excusing altogether the drinking of *surā* by a child but as referring to minor lapses. Brhaspati expressly states that the dictum about a child being allowed to eat what it likes is confined to such matters as will not fall under grave sins.

It has already been stated above (n. 180) that the prāyaścitta to be undergone depended upon many circumstances such as the time, the place, the age &c. And first as to age, several *smṛtis*<sup>189</sup> provide that a man 80 years old or a boy less than

187. ऊनेकादशवर्षेण पञ्चवर्षात्परस्य च । प्रायश्चित्तं चरेद् भ्राता पितः । वाग्यः सुहृज्जनः ॥ अतो बालतदस्यास्य नापराधो न घातकम् । राजदण्डो न तस्यास्ति प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥ काङ्क्ष, quoted by the मिता. on या. III. 243, बृहद्यज III. 1-2 (reads वान्योपि वाग्धवः). These are quoted by हरदत्त on यौ. II 6 (without name) and the first occurs in आपस्तम्बस्मृति III. 7 as चरेद्भुक् सुहृद्वापि प्रायश्चित्तं विशोधनम्. The first verse is वेबल 31. Both are ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by माय. वि. p. 29.

188. प्रायुषणयनात् कामचारः कामवासः कामभक्षः । गौ. II. 1: मध्यमपुरीषाणां भक्षणं नास्ति कश्चन । दोषस्यापञ्चमाहर्षादूर्ध्वं पित्रोः सुहृदुरोः ॥ कुमार q. by मिता. on या. III. 253, by माय. प्रक. p. 50 : स्यात्कामचारभक्षोक्तिर्महतः घातकादृते । बृहस्पति q. by मा. तत्त्व p. 551.

189. अक्षीतिर्यस्य रक्षाणि बालो वायून्बोद्धकः । प्रायश्चित्तार्धमर्हन्ति क्षिपो रोगिण एव च ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 54. 33, लघुहरित 33, वेबल 30, आपस्तम्बस्मृति III. 3, बृहद्यज III. 3 (reads अक्षीरपक्षिकवर्जिणः). This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by the मिता. on या. III. 243 and to भार्गव by हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 26.5. The मद्. पा. p. 796 ascribes it to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस्. तथा बालब्रह्मदीर्घां साक्षात्कर्तुं तेऽप्यधमेव । अक्षीति...रोगिण एव चोच्यङ्किरस्मरणात् । तथा । अर्वाकु द्वादशाहर्षावक्षीतेरुधमेव वा । अधमेव भवेत्पुंसां तुरीयं तत्र योचिताम् ॥ इति । तथापुष्पीतरयापि बालकस्य पादमात्रमेव प्रायश्चित्तम् । क्षीणार्धं यदातप्यं ब्रह्मार्वा रोगिणां तथा । पादो बालेषु दातव्यः सर्वपापेष्वयं विधिरिति विष्णुस्मरणात् । मिता. on या. III. 243. The verses अर्वाकु and क्षीणार्धं are ascribed to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस् by मद्. पा. p. 796 and the latter is ascribed to लघुविष्णु by माय. वि. p. 28 and to बृहद्विष्णु by माय. प्रकरण p. 17.

16 years of age, women and diseased persons should be liable only to half the *prāyaścitta* (prescribed for able-bodied men). The *Mit.* on *Yāj.* III. 243 quotes a verse of Sumantu that for a male below twelve and above eighty years of age the penance is half (of that for ordinary men) and one fourth for women within the same limits and a verse of Viṣṇu that for women, old men and diseased persons half the penance should be prescribed and for boys (before *upanayana*) only one-fourth. Some say that for boys less than five the penance is one-fourth. Cyavana (prose) prescribes half *prāyaścitta* for boys, old men and women and declares that a person is a *bāla* up to 16 years and a man is to be regarded as similar to a *bāla* after 70. *Katyāyana* provided generally that the fines to be levied from females were to be half of those leviable from male offenders as regards all offences and when the punishment for a male would be death, a woman criminal was to be punished with the cutting of a limb (nose, ears &c.)<sup>190</sup>

The difference between a sin committed unintentionally (*akāmanataḥ*) and the same sin committed with full knowledge (*kāmanataḥ*) is this that for the latter the *prāyaścitta* is double of what is prescribed for the former as provided by *Āngiras*,<sup>191</sup> *Vyāsa* and the *Agnipurāṇa*. As *Yāj.* III. 226 employs the word '*ajñāna*' in the first half and the word '*kāmanataḥ*' as its opposite in the second half instead of the word '*jñānataḥ*' it follows that *Yāj.* makes no difference between the consequences of *jñāna* (knowledge) and *kāmanā* (desire).

The caste of the offender as well as of the victim made a difference in the *prāyaścitta* as well as in the legal punishment. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 395-399 as to punishments for crimes dependent on caste. Viṣṇu<sup>192</sup> provides that the *prāyaścitta* for

190. बालदृष्टबीजागर्भे प्रायश्चित्तम् । आ बोहशास्त्रात् । सत्पूर्वजन्ता दृष्टाः । ययव  
q. by *परा.म.* II. part 1 p. 122 and *प्राय. वि.* p. 28. सर्वेषु चापराधेषु पुंसो बोधेनः  
स्मृतः ॥ तदर्थे बोधितो दण्डार्थे पुंसोऽङ्गकर्मम् ॥ कात्या. 487.

191. श्यामकामकृते वन् हिमं बुद्धिपूर्वके । अङ्गिरस् q. by *प्राय. वि.* pp. 22 and  
24 ; विहितं यदकामानां कामान् हिमं स्मृतम् । अग्निपुराण 173. 9, q. by the *मिता.* on  
वा. III. 226 (without name) ; and as that of अङ्गिरस् by *प्राय. प्रकाश* p. 12 and  
as of मध्वमाङ्गिरस् by *प्रा. प्रकाश* (folio 16b). अस्तेष्वेव कुर्वति कुवत्यमकामतः  
कामते हिमं शोके पूर्वेषु च यदुच्यते ॥ श्याम q. by *प्राय. वि.* p. 24.

192. विधे तु सकलं देवं पादोनं ऋत्रिणे मत्तम् । वेदेयं पादोन्मत्तं बुद्ध्यातिवृत्तं मत्तम् ॥  
विष्णु q. by *प्राय. वि.* p. 102 where it is stated that *मित्रान* noted that this verse  
was not found in the *विष्णुसंहिता*. It is ascribed to बृहस्पति by *प्राय. प्रकाश*  
p. 16 and to बृहस्पति by *मिता.* on वा. III. 267.

a ksatriya, vaiśya and sūdra sinner should be respectively  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of what is prescribed for a brāhmaṇa sinner. The Agni-purāṇa says<sup>193</sup> the same thing. The Par. M. II. 1. p. 231 quotes the Caturvimsatimata<sup>194</sup> to the same effect. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 250 explains that the verse of Caturvimsatimata applies to all cases except where any one of the four sāhasas is committed by a man of a lower caste as against one of a higher caste. Brhad-Yama (IV. 13-14) in prescribing penance for the killing of a cow provides the same scale of 4, 3, 2, 1 for the four varṇas. Angiras (verse 3) prescribes the penances of Kṛcchra and Cāndrāyana for a brāhmaṇa partaking of the food of an *anyaja*, half of these for a ksatriya or vaiśya guilty of the same. Yāj. II. 206-207 provide that the punishments for defamation depend upon the higher or lower varṇa or caste of the offender as well as of the person defamed and that if a ksatriya or vaiśya defames a brāhmaṇa the fines are respectively twice or thrice as high as the fine for a brāhmaṇa defaming a brāhmaṇa and conversely if a brāhmaṇa defames a ksatriya or a vaiśya the fine is reduced by half in each successive caste. The Mit. quoting Angiras says that the rules about punishments apply to prāyascittas for slaying a person i. e. if a brāhmaṇa slays anybody and a certain penance is prescribed for him, then a ksatriya killing the person would have to perform double the penance prescribed for the brāhmaṇa and a vaiśya offender three times as much.<sup>195</sup> It may be pointed out here that though the smṛtis provided for different punishments according to the castes of the offender and of the person wronged and though some commentaries and digests went into all those details for the sake of presenting a

193. सर्वत्र शुद्धे पादः स्याद् द्वित्रयं वैद्यभूषयोः । अग्निपुराण 168.13.

194. प्रायश्चित्तं पदाम्नातं ब्राह्मणस्य महाविभिः । पादोनं क्षत्रियः कुर्यादर्थं वैद्यः समाचरेत् । शुद्धः समाचरेत्पादमश्वेष्वपि पाप्मसु ॥ अतुर्विंशतिमत q. by the मित्ता. on या. III. 250. देवल 28 is a verse of similar import. यत्तु अतुर्विंशतिमतवचनं प्रायश्चित्तं...पाप्मसु-इति प्रतिलोमाहुतिस्तत्तुविंशतिमतस्यतिरिक्तविषयम् । तथा मूर्धावासाकाङ्क्षिनामप्यहलोमोत्पत्तानां वृण्वत्प्रायश्चित्तमूहनीयम् ॥ मित्ता. The four साहस are 'महद्वयमारणं स्तेयं परदारभिमर्शनम् । पादव्ययभयं चोति साहसं स्यादतुर्विंशम् ॥'

195. यथाहाकिताः । पर्वथा ब्राह्मणानां तु सा राज्ञां द्विगुणा मता । वैद्यानां त्रिगुणा शोको पर्वथा ब्रतं स्युतम् ॥ इति ।...अनयैव द्विजा क्षत्रियवैद्याद्वपि द्विनेनोक्तदृश्ये दोषगौरवा-स्यावधितरयापि द्विगुणादि कल्पनीयम् । दोषगौरवं च वृण्वगौरवाद्वयमस्यते । मित्ता on या. III. 250. Vide मित्ता. on या. III 267 also. This verse is q. by परा. या. II. part 2 p. 67: while the प्राय. वि. p. 102 ascribes it to देवल; 'परिवृथा...स्युता-इति देवल-वचनं ब्राह्मण एव द्विगुणादिकं बोधयति.' The प्राय...प्रक. p. 16 reads the verse of अक्षिरत्न as 'वैद्यानां...शोको ब्रह्मणो तु चतुर्गुणा ॥ परिवृथ ब्रतं शोकं शुद्धये पापकर्मणाम् ।'

complete statement or digest of the *smṛti* material, such discriminatory punishments had mostly ceased to be enforced by the rulers from about the 12th century A. D. at least, as stated by the *Smṛticandrika*, the *Madanaratna* (*vyavahāra*) and the *Sarasvativilāsa*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 512 note 924 for the relevant quotations from the three works. Since, as stated above (n. 181), *prāyaścittas* were to be moulded on the lines of legal penalties, it appears that the discriminatory treatment about *prāyaścittas* depending upon the *varṇa* of the sinner must also have gradually fallen into disuse with the disappearance of the more severe *prāyaścittas* and the substitution of cows and monetary equivalents in later digests. And some digests expressly state this to have been the case in relation to *prāyaścittas*. For example, the *Pr. Prakaraṇa*, after quoting Gaut. 22. 14-16 about the *prāyaścitta* for killing a *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* or *śūdra* under certain circumstances, remarks that in its day those *prāyaścittas* were no longer part of the practices of the people.<sup>196</sup>

Whether an act made a man liable to undergo *prāyaścitta* depended in some cases on the country also. For example, marrying a maternal uncle's daughter was and is allowed in certain countries and among certain castes in the Deccan and Southern India on the ground of custom, but such a practice was severely condemned by Manu XI. 171-172 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 17-24 and other *smṛtis*. *Bṛhaspati* refers to this custom as prevalent among southerners and states that in these countries persons following it are not liable to undergo *prāyaścitta* or penalty (at the hand of the king). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 462 for *Bṛhaspati*'s verses.

Severity and extent of *prāyaścitta* depended also on the question whether a sinner had repeated the lapse or was a first offender. The *Āp. Dh. S.* (II. 10. 27, 11-13) prescribes that a *brāhmaṇa* who has once committed adultery with a married woman of equal class shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for a *śūdra* having intercourse with a woman of the three upper castes, that for every repetition (of the crime) one

196. पञ्च गौतमेनोक्तं राजस्यवधे...या दद्यात् (२९. १४-१६) एवमादीनि जामातुनिवक्ष-  
मानि जामाविधमायाश्चोक्तव्यतियादिकानि तानि ब्राह्मणजातवृत्तस्य-यामस्य-पञ्चद्वयेद्वाधव-  
नाद्विष्णुपुत्र-कामाकामाद्विष्णुसत्रियादिवधविधयानि यथावोर्ग्यं व्याख्येयानि । इदानीं तु  
तथाविधविधयाद्यमनेन व्यवहारानुवृत्त्यात् न पर्येकं विधयस्यवधया व्याख्यातमीति सर्वं  
चोदं ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्रियादिवधमायश्चिद्विष्णुकात् । शब. प्रक. p. 22.

fourth of the penance must be added and if (he commits adultery) for the fourth time, the whole penance (of 12 years must be performed<sup>197</sup>). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 293 remarks that for a sin that is committed knowingly the *prāyaścitta* is double of what is prescribed for the same sin if committed unintentionally and that if a sin is committed intentionally and is repeated then for the repeated lapse *prāyaścitta* is four times as much as that for the same deed done unintentionally. Similarly, the *āśrama* to which the sinner belonged made a difference in the *prāyaścitta* as stated by Āṅgīras 'when persons in other *āśramas* are guilty of sins for which penance is prescribed if committed by householders, then the *prāyaścitta* is increased in the same proportion that is laid down for *śauca* (bodily purity<sup>198</sup>). Manu V. 137, Vas. VI. 19, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 26, Sāṅkha 16. 23-24 provide that Vedic students, forest hermits and *sannyāsins* have respectively to perform twice, thrice and four times as much *śauca* as is prescribed for householders (e. g. by Manu V. 136 = Viṣṇu 60. 25).

One convenient and merciful rule laid down by the *smṛtis* was that if a man died in the midst of the period for which penance had to be performed (sometimes it extended to twelve years or more) he became free from the sin here and in the next world as stated by Hārīta, Vyāsa and Yama<sup>199</sup>.

Though the *smṛtis* have entered into very great details about the *prāyaścittas* for different individual lapses, still they cannot be supposed to have dealt with every lapse. Therefore,

197. सर्वार्थसामान्यपूर्वायां सकृत्संनिपाते पावः पततीत्युपादिशति । एवमन्वासे पावः पादः । अतुर्ये सर्वम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 27. 11-13.

198. तथाभिमनोमपि अङ्गिरसा विशेषो दर्शितः । गृहस्थोक्तानि पापानि कुर्वन्मया-  
भिमनो यदि । शौचवच्छेदधनं कुर्युर्वर्गब्रह्मनिर्दशनादिति । शौचवदिति - एतच्छौचं गृहस्थानां  
त्रियुष्णं ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । त्रियुष्णं तु वनस्थानां वनीनां तु चतुर्गुणम् । इति (मनु ५. १३७) वचना-  
दपि ब्रह्मचार्यादीनां शौचं त्रियुष्णादिकमेव वर्धते तथा शौचधनं प्रायश्चित्तमपि भवतीत्यर्थः ।  
ब्रह्मचारिणस्तु प्रायश्चित्तत्रैगुण्यं षोडशवर्षावृत्त्येव । मित्ता. on वा. III. 250. On ब्रह्म-  
निर्दशनात् the अय. म. p. 3 says 'ब्रह्मनिर्दशनं तत्त्वज्ञानम् । ज्ञानोत्पत्त्यनन्तरं तत्त्वज्ञाप्यं  
ज्ञानमेव नादिते । ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकामानि अस्मत्सात्कुर्वतेऽनुमेति भगवद्गीतोक्तोः । (गीता ४. ३७).

199. न च द्वादशवार्षिके चतुर्गुणे क्रियमाणे मध्ये विपत्तिस्तद्वा समाप्यमुपपत्तेः  
महत्तिरेव नोत्पद्यते इति शाङ्करीयम् । यतः ब्रह्मान्तप्रायश्चित्तस्य मध्ये विपत्तिरपि पापक्षयो  
भवत्येव । तथा हारीतः । प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते कर्त्ता यदि विपद्यते । पुनस्तद्दहरं वासाविह लोके  
परत्र च । इति । व्यासोऽप्याह । धर्मार्थं यत्प्रमाणस्तु न च्छेत्तुमर्हति मानसः । प्राप्नो भवति  
तत्पुण्यमत्र वै नास्ति संशयः । इति । मित्ता. on वा. III. 250. बृहस्पति II. 7 is almost the  
same as हारीत. आय. त्रि. p. 86 ascribes the verse प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते to बृहस्पति ;  
अथर्वकं p. 1058 ascribes it to यम.



Gaut. (19. 18-20) provides that these acts (viz. Vedic recitation, *tapas*, fasting, gifts &c.) may be optionally performed, when no (particular penance) has been prescribed, that for grave sins difficult penances and for trivial faults easy ones may be prescribed and that *Kṛcchra*, *Atikṛcchra* and *Cāndrāyana* are penances for all sins.<sup>200</sup> Manu XI. 209 (= Viṣṇu 54.34) provides that for the expiation of offences for which no particular atonement has been prescribed, let (the *parisad*) prescribe a penance after considering the (offender's) strength and the nature of the offence. Parāśara (XI. 55-56) provides that the recitation of the *Gayatri* ten thousand times is the best penance for all sins and that *Cāndrāyana*, *Yāvaka*, *Tulāpuruṣa* and serving cows destroy all sins. Yāj. III. 265 provides that a man is purified from all sins by undergoing the penance for cow-killing or by *Cāndrāyana*, observance for a month of the milk *vrata* or by *Parāka*. Manu XI. 117 provides for all *upapātakas* except the sin of sexual intercourse by one who is in the stage of Vedic student the penance prescribed for *govadhā* or *cāndrāyana*.

One guilty of a sin, even though he may himself be a learned man, should approach an assembly of learned *brāhmaṇas* and after making some present (a cow or the like) announcing the nature of his lapse seek their decision about the proper penance for his lapse (Yāj. <sup>201</sup> III. 300 and Parāśara VIII. 2). The Mit., Par. M., Pr. S. and other digests quote long passages in verse from *Āngiras* <sup>202</sup> who provides that the sinner should

200. एतान्येवामादेशो विकल्पेन कियेरन् ॥ एनः सु सुवपु सुखणि लवपु लवणि ॥ कृच्छ्रा-  
तिकृच्छ्रा चान्द्रायणमिति सर्वमायश्चित्तम् ॥ गो. 19. 18-20. Vide ब्रह्मपुराण 22. 36 and  
विष्णुपुराण II. 6. 38 for very similar words 'वापे सुखणि सुखणि स्वल्पाग्नये च तद्दिदः ।  
आयश्चित्तानि विवेन्द्या जह्युः स्वायंमुवाहयः ॥ Instead of विवेन्द्या: the विष्णुपुराण has  
मैत्रेय. This very verse is quoted as बृहस्पति's in माय. तत्र. p. 545 (with मैत्रेय  
for विवेन्द्या:).

201. विस्पातदोषः कुर्वति पर्षदोऽष्टमस्तं ब्रतम् । य. III. 300. This is ascribed  
to both बृहस्पति and या. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 153. Vide सङ्ख्य 17. 62 also.

202. A few of the verses of अङ्गिरस् are cited here: कृत्वा वापे न गृहेन गृह-  
मानस्य वर्धते ॥ सर्वत्र वाग्यतः स्नात्वा क्लृप्तवासाः समाहितः । आश्रितो वाय वैश्यो वा परि-  
चर्यपतिष्ठति । उपस्थाप्य ततः शीघ्रमातिमागन्धर्वीं ब्रजेत् । आश्रित्य शिरसा चैव न च  
किञ्चिदुवाहरेत् ॥ ततस्ते मणिपातेन ब्रह्मा तं सङ्गृहयितव्यम् । ब्रह्माः पृच्छन्ति किं  
कार्यमुपाविशमाद्यतः दिष्टम् । किं कार्यं का च ते पीडा किं वा मुनयस्ते हिज । एवं तेः सममुज्जातः  
सर्वे ब्रूयाद्वशेवतः । तस्मिन्निवेदिते कार्ये निष्कारणो वस्तु कार्यवान् । सर्वेषां निश्चितं यत्प्राप्तं  
यच्च प्राप्नान् न यातयेत् । आहूय आचयेदेकः पर्षदा यो निषीजितः । कृण्वन् भो ब्रह्मं विम वसे  
आदिश्यते ब्रतम् । वचः पूर्वमुवाहार्यं यथोक्तं धर्मकर्तुमिह । पञ्चात्कार्यानुष्ठानेन शक्यता कुर्वन्  
शुभहम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् पृ. by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 206-207 and 235-236. माय. मा. pp. 7.  
17-20, माय. म. pp. 11-12, मा. पञ्चाङ्ग (folio 27b and 28a),

not conceal his lapse and lose time; he should bathe with his garment on, and with the garment still wet approach the assembly and should prostrate himself on the ground. Thus the elders of the assembly ask the man prostrating himself before them 'what is your business, what is the trouble and what do you seek from us'. The assembly then asks him to go aside a little and debate among themselves what the penance should be, considering all the circumstances of time, place, nature of the lapse, age &c. Then one of them at the desire of the assembly should declare the assembly's decision as to the proper penance after citing the *smṛti* passages and reducing the penance in view of the weakness and other circumstances of the offender. It has already been stated that the *pariṣad* acted under the direction of the king in matters of *prāyaścitta* and that the king was not to interfere with the decision of the assembly. The principal stages in a penance were four viz. approaching the *pariṣad*, the declaration of the appropriate penance by the *pariṣad*, the actual performance of the penance declared and the announcing of the sinner's freedom from taint (Angiras q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 27a 'upasthānam vratādesascaryā suddhi-prakāśanam : prāyaścittam catuspādam vihitam dharmakartṛ-bhiḥ " ").

It is not necessary here to set out the details of the constitution of the *pariṣad*, of the qualifications of the *śiṣtas* who were to be the members of the *pariṣad* and their privileges and duties. These points have already been discussed at length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 966-974. A few matters not stated there are mentioned here. Caste exclusiveness and pride had gone so far that Parāśara (VIII. 25) and the Caturvimsatimata quoted by Par. M. state that a *drīja* though he may be of bad character is to be honoured and not a *śūdra* who may have controlled his senses, that the advice of a *śūdra* even though learned and devoted to the knowledge of the *śāstras* should not be accepted like sacrificial food when licked by a dog<sup>203</sup>. Instead of the word '*pariṣad*' the word *parṣad* (which is an irre-

203 दुःशीलोपि द्विजः पूज्यो न तु शूद्रो जितेन्द्रियः । कः परित्यज्य मां दुष्टां दुष्टे-  
च्छीलवर्मी करोत् । पताकार VIII. 25 on which बरा. मा II. 1. p. 228 observes :  
जातिशीलयोर्मध्ये जात्युत्कर्षं एव मायात्वेनोपादेयः । शीलं तु वचनम्भवत् । अत एव चतुर्विंशति-  
मते शूद्रोपदेक्षस्यानुपादेयत्वं व्यवहसति । स्ववर्त्मनि वचा क्षीरमेवेवं ब्राह्मण्यदिभिः । तद्वत्पूज्य-  
दुष्टात्कर्षं न श्रोतव्यं कथञ्चन ॥ पण्डितस्यापि शूद्रस्य शास्त्रज्ञानमस्य च ॥ वचनं तस्य न  
प्राप्तं क्षुनोच्छिद्यं हविर्गया ॥

gular abbreviation) is employed in several smṛti passages<sup>203a</sup>. Parāśara (VI, 55-57) provides that the assembly should take compassion on the weak, on boys and old men and should reduce the penance, but not otherwise and that if learned men through affection, greed, fear or ignorance reduce the penance that should be prescribed they themselves incur the sin.<sup>203b</sup> Devaśa says the same and adds<sup>204</sup> that the reduction in the penance should not be directed by one man alone or by a person ignorant of Dharmasāstra and that it is only a number of brāhmaṇas who are proficient in Dharmasāstra that are entitled to reduce the penance through compassion for the sinner. The decision of the assembly should be unanimous<sup>205</sup> as far as possible.

If the learned brāhmaṇas of the assembly knowing the proper prāyaścitta do not declare it in the case of those who are distressed by their own sin and seek direction, they incur sin similar to that of the seeker after proper penance<sup>206</sup>.

203a. पर्वण्ययोऽत्र वृषोदरादित्यात्कायुः । शाय. वि. p. 26, on which गोविन्दानन्द says 'परिषीदम्यस्यामिति पर्वत् वृषोदरादित्यादिकारलोपो विकल्पितः'. पाणिनि provides वृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् । VI, 3. 109.

203 b. दुर्बलशुभ्रहः शोकस्तथा वै बालवृद्धयोः । अतोऽयथा भवेदोषस्तस्मान्नुग्रहः स्मृतः ॥ स्नेहाद्वा यदि वा लोभान्नपादज्ञानतापि वा । कुर्वन्मनुग्रहं ये तु तत्पापं तेषु मथ्यति ॥ पराशर VI. 55-57.

204. शयश्चित्तं यथोचितमशक्यं दुर्बलादिभिः । इत्यनेन्यग्रहस्तेषां लोकसंग्रहकारणात् ॥ एको नार्हति तत्कर्तुमज्ञो वा नाप्यनुग्रहम् । धर्मज्ञा बहवो विद्याः कर्तुमर्हन्त्यनुग्रहम् ॥ देवल q. by परा. मा. II.1. pp. 130-131, शाय. म. p. 12.

205. विचाररतादृशः कार्यो वथा सर्वे सभासदः । एकवाक्यतया ह्युक्तया श्रेयोधि-  
गच्छति ॥ q. by शाय. मा. p. 18.

206. अज्ञानं नान्यमानानां शयश्चित्तानि ये द्विजाः । जानन्तो न मथ्यन्ति ते वान्ति  
सन्नां द्विजैः ॥ अक्षिपत् q. by मिला. ०० वा. III. 300, शाय. तय. p. 512, परा. मा.  
II. part 1 p. 234.

## CHAPTER IV

### PENANCES FOR PARTICULAR SINS

It is now proper to turn to the penances prescribed for individual sins of different types (grave sins, minor sins and the like). It may be noted that the *smṛtis* contain numerous *prāyaścittas* for the same sin and that it is often difficult to reconcile all the dicta. The commentaries and digests such as the *Mit.* and the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* therefore try to assign to each penance an appropriate provision, looking to all the circumstances noted above (i.e. they are bent on '*viśayavyavasthā*').<sup>206a</sup> In this work, it is not necessary to set out in detail the numerous penances for numberless lapses that are prescribed in the several *smṛtis* and digests. In the *Śabdakalpadrūma* (part III) there is an analysis from the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* alone of the several lapses, the penances for them, the number of cows to be donated as substitutes, the monetary equivalents when even cows cannot be donated and the *dakṣiṇā* in each case, which occupy pages 321 to 364. Setting out all these lapses together with the penances for them would only be a matter of academic interest and of no practical value, as almost all the *prāyaścittas* have become antiquated and are hardly ever performed now except in the form of gifts of cows or money to *brāhmaṇas*, pilgrimages and recitation of Vedic mantras or *japa* of the names of some favourite deity such as Viṣṇu or Śiva. Therefore only a few typical sins alone will be taken for treatment here and later on a list of all penances with brief descriptions will be furnished.

First come the *Mahāpātakas*. Śāṅkha<sup>207</sup> (17. 1-3) prescribes the following penance for the four *mahāpātakas*: the sinner should bathe thrice every day, should erect in a forest a cottage thatched with leaves, should sleep on the ground, should subsist

206 a. एवमादीन्यन्यानि उत्कर्षार्थकर्मपातिपादकश्चनानि बाध्यादिजातस्य—इत्यस्या-  
दुत्तरधरा—वेदान्तपादिकृत्यापुक्तत्वं—कामाकामकुलत्वं—अवस्थया व्याख्येयानि । प्राय. वि.  
p. 220; vide also प्रा. वि. pp 338-39 for a similar passage.

207. निर्वचं त्रिवचनस्यापी कृत्वा पर्जन्यं वने । अधःशायी जलाधारी पर्णमूलफल-  
क्षणः ॥ ग्रामं विसेज्य भिक्षार्थं स्वकर्म परित्यजेत् । एककालं समशीवाहर्षं तु द्वादशे वने ॥  
हेमस्तेपी दुरापञ्च ब्रह्महा दुष्टवल्गवः । जलेनोत्तमं दूषयन्ते महापातकिनस्त्रिभिः ॥ शङ्ख 17. 1-3  
q. by अपराधी pp. 1033-54, प्रा. भा. II. part I p. 320-321, भा. ब्रह्मसूत्र folio 87b.

on leaves, roots and fruits, should enter a village for alms all the time declaring his misdeed, should eat only once a day. When the 12th year passes in this way, the thief of gold, the drinker of surā, the murderer of a brāhmaṇa and one who is guilty of incest become free from sin. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 34.1 speaks of sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law as *atipātaka* and (34.2) provides that there is no penance except entering fire for this grave sin. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Hārta and Sainvarta (q. by the Pr. V. p. 43) say the same. But other smṛtis like Manu XI. 54 and Yāj. III. 227 treat *mātr-gamana* as a *mahāpātaka* (*gurutaḥpa-gamana*) and intercourse with the daughter or daughter-in-law as equal to violating guru's bed (Manu XI. 58, Yāj. III. 233-234). Therefore we begin with the *mahāpātakas* the first of which is the murder of a brāhmaṇa. Gaut. 22. 2-10, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 10-25 and I. 9. 25. 12-13, Vas. 20. 25-28, Viṣṇu Dharmaśūtra 35. 6 and 50. 1-6 and 15, Manu. XI. 72-82, Yāj. III. 243-250, Agnipurāṇa 169. 1-4 and 173. 7-8, Sainvarta 110-115 and many others prescribe various penances for brāhmaṇa-murder. As the treatment of Manu is tolerably long, an analysis of it alone will be given here. Manu as stated by the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (quoted by Kullūka or Manu XI. 72-82, Aparārka p. 1055 and Pr. V. p. 63) speaks of 13 separate penances for *brahmahatyā*<sup>208</sup>. The general rule was that for a man of any class who is directly guilty of intentional murder of a brāhmaṇa the penance was to end in death<sup>209</sup>. The thirteen penances as set out by Govindānanda in his commentary (called *Tattvārthakaumudī*) on *Prāyaścittaviveka* (p. 63) are as follows:—

(1) The murderer of a brāhmaṇa should construct a hut in a forest and dwell therein for twelve years, should subsist on alms and should carry a piece of the head-bones of the murdered man on a staff. This is a very ancient penance and other smṛtis add some details. For example, Gaut. 22. 4 provides that the sinner should submit to observances meant for a Vedic student (such as not partaking of flesh, honey etc. stated in

208. तथापि ब्राह्मणवधे प्रायश्चित्तानि सुव्रत । मनुना कीर्तितानीह त्रयोदश यथाक्रमम् ।  
भविष्यपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 1055, प्राय. वि. p. 63.

209. तत्र कामतः साक्षाद् ब्रह्मवधे विशेषाभ्युपगच्छत् सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां मरणान्तिकं प्रायश्चित्तम् । यद्वाह याज्ञवल्क्यः (3. 247.) 'लोमस्थः स्वहेतुवधे... । तथा च मध्यमा-  
ह्विरा... मरणान्तिकं तु व्यसोकं प्रायश्चित्तं मनीषिभिः । तस्य कामकृतं यादव विज्ञेयं नात्र संशयः ।  
प्राय. प्रक. pp. 8-9 ; वरा. भा II. part 2. p 72 and श. प्रकाश 94 a, quote the verse of मध्यमाह्विरश्च.

Gaut. 2. 19), should announce his sin and enter a village only for begging alms. Yaj. III. 243 prescribes that the sinner should have a piece of the head-bone in the hand (left) and another placed on a staff (in the right hand) and that he should eat a moderate quantity (i. e. only once a day). The carrying of the piece of the head-bone in one hand is not meant for begging alms therein but only as a symbol. There was some divergence of views on this point<sup>209</sup>. Āp. Dh. 8. I. 9. 24. 14 further provides that he should beg for alms at seven houses in only a broken reddish vessel (of clay or copper) and wear a piece of hempen cloth round his waist that will reach a little above his knees and that if he got no food at the seven houses he had to go without food that day and that he should protect cows and may for that purpose (for taking them out for grazing or bringing them back) enter the village again. The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) adds that the staff with head-bone on and the head-bone carried in the left hand are merely symbolic (in order to remind him and others of his being guilty of brāhmaṇa murder), that he should on seeing an ārya avoid his path (Gaut. 22. 5), that he should keep standing by day and only sit down at night (Gaut. 22. 6) and bathe thrice in the day (Gaut. 22. 6). It is added by the Mit. that, if the murdered brāhmaṇa's head-bone cannot be had, that of any other brāhmaṇa would do. The Mit. adds that this *vrata*<sup>210</sup> for twelve years propounded by Gautama, Manu, Yājñavalkya and others is one and not different for each smṛti and therefore all the details that are not opposed to each other should be included. Aparārka p. 1053 (on Yaj. III. 243) relies on the 'sarvaśākhāpratyayanyāya'<sup>211</sup> and states

209 a. स्वप्तापादितविमर्शेव सिरो द्वेधा कृत्वा च अजङ्गमाने स्वापयेद्द्विं च हस्ते धृष्टीपादिति...केचित् । अपरे तु द्वेधाकरणे प्रमाणाभावात् कृत्वा क्षयमित्यजङ्गमिति मनुवाक्ये अस्माद्विमतसिःप्रसिद्धाभिरुक्त्याः कथाः हस्ते ग्राह्यं स्वप्तापादितविमर्शेस्तु द्व्यङ्गाने स्वापयेदित्याहुः । इत्यनेन विज्ञानेनपरद्वयतापत्तावचः । एवं तु स्वप्तापादितसिःकथाः हस्ते ग्राह्यं अजङ्गीयसिरसा तु अजङ्गः कार्यः । म. अकारा folio 88a.

210. इयं च मनुवाक्यसम्बन्धोत्तमादिवृत्तिपादिता द्वादशवार्षिकव्रतचर्चा एवैव न युज्यते । परस्परसंयोगादविरोधाच्च । तथाहि—यिसासी कर्म वेदवत्—(वा. 3. 243) इत्युक्ते किं निष्कारणं केचन वा युवेतु कतिपु वेदाकारका आवेतेव । तन्मतेहितेन कथमप्येव (आप. ध. सू. 1. 9. 24. 14.)—इत्यापस्तम्बचर्चनैः परिहृत्यनविद्वद्वा । अतः सर्वैककल्पोपदेशात्केचिदुक्तं मनुगौतमादुक्तेतिकर्तव्यतायाः परस्परसंयोगेऽपि विकल्प इति वदधिकत्येवोक्तमिति । मिला. ०४ वा III. 243.

211. अत्र च सर्वशाखावचनेनैव कर्मेति न्यायेन स्वस्वस्तोका अविद्वद्वा वर्माः सहचयेन कर्तव्याः । विद्वद्वास्तु विकल्पेन । अपरार्क p. 1053. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 870 for explanation of this Nyāya (maxim) which is based on जे. II. 4. 9 and Śabara's bhāṣya thereon.

that there would be an option where the details of several smṛtis are in conflict. It was Viśvarūpa<sup>212</sup> on Yaj. III. 237 who held that the procedure prescribed by each smṛti was separate and that all details taken from different smṛtis were not to be mixed up. According to the Mit. and Kullūka (on Manu XI. 72) this vrata for 12 years is appropriate in the case where a brāhmaṇa is murdered unintentionally and Kullūka quoting Āṅgīras provides that for intentional brāhmaṇa murder the penance will be double (i. e. 24 years). The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) states that this observance for twelve years applies only to one who was himself directly the murderer of a brāhmaṇa and that the *anugrahaka* has to undergo only 9 years' vrata, the *prayojaka* only six years, the *anumantā* only 4½ years and the *nimittin* only three years. It is further provided by the Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) following a verse ascribed to Manu (not found in the printed text) and Devala<sup>213</sup> that if a man commits several murders of brāhmaṇas one after another, and performs penance at one time for them, for two murders he has to undergo the penance for 24 years and for three murders 36 years and when he commits the 4th murder there is no penance (but only death is the penance). The Pr. T. (p. 468) on the other hand,<sup>214</sup> following the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa holds that one performance of the 12 years' penance is enough penance for the murder of several brāhmaṇas, on the analogy of the *Kṣāmasatī iṣṭi* (Jal. VI. 4. 17-20) which is performed when both the purodāśas and the house are totally burnt up by accident before the oblations are offered. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 19 a) also says the same and adds that Devala's verse is to be interpreted as laying down that repetition of the same sinful act is more blamable. If the murderer of a brāhmaṇa

212. य देवमेवैतत् सर्वस्त्वितिर्ह्य द्वावसवार्षिकं ब्रह्मविद्याकाङ्क्षनीयं प्रतिस्तुतिं प्रयोज-  
येद्ब्रह्म-पञ्चमरी सर्वज्ञात्मानमिषम श्रेयैकं ( पा. १.४ ) अविहितत्वात् । विश्वरूप on पा. III.  
237 ( सिरःकपालपात्र . ) .

213. यच्च मन्त्रेणैवाव्याहकं विधेः प्राधानिकावरमात्रं द्वितीये द्विह्यं ज्ञेयम् । तृतीये  
विहितं श्रेयं चतुर्थे चास्ति भिन्नकृतिः । एवञ्च प्रतिनिमित्तं त्रैविधिककाङ्क्षमावर्तते इति त्वाचयेन ।  
मित्र. on पा. III. 243. माच. वि. pp. 25 and 77, माच. प्रकाश (19a) ascribes the verses  
to देवल alone, while परा. मा. II part 2 p. 60 ascribes to both and त्वातिह. (माच.)  
p. 872 attributes it to जम्बु and मातङ्ग (if the ms. was properly read by the  
editor). हरद्वय on मी. 22.6 ascribes it to जम्बु alone.

214. एवञ्च मानवमनुष्यकर्मणे सर्वेद्विज्ञेयं सङ्कल्पयन्निवे कुते सर्वमनुष्यकर्मण्यपवादकाः ।  
यच्च ब्रह्मसङ्कल्पे प्रतिष्ठे । मातङ्गणश्च मातङ्गणलोकाङ्क्षमात्रं च पुत्रकः । अथविषयस्य देवकर्म  
मातङ्गणमिषम सप्तमरी । काम्यत्वादिना यज्ञत्वं कर्मणा पुत्रमावर्ते । देवदोषाद्वक्तव्ये जाते  
दोषकाद्वक्तव्ये । द्वेमेवैकेन दोषाणां सर्वेषां कथमादिशेत् । मा. सर. p. 468.

was a ksatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra he had to perform the penance above described respectively for 24, 36 or 48 years (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 105). Instead of staying in a hut for twelve years he may stay at the end of a village or a cowpen and should tonsure his head and the hair on the lips or he may stay in an hermitage or at the foot of a tree and should devote himself to doing good to brāhmaṇas and cows and should observe celibacy (Manu XI 78 and 81). At the end of 12 years he destroys the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.

(2) According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 9.25.12, Gaut. 22. 3, Manu XI 72, Yāj. III. 248, if a ksatriya intentionally killed a brāhmaṇa he may at his will enter a fight and if he were killed by his opponents who knew that he was a brāhmaṇa murderer or even if he was wounded and left unconscious on the field but subsequently recovered he should be free from the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.

(3) According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 9.25.13, Vas. 20. 25-26, Gaut. 22.2, Manu XI 74, Yāj. III. 247, he may cut off with an axe his hair, skin, blood, flesh, muscles, fat, bones and marrow and offer them into an ordinary fire kindled by him for the purpose and offer these eight offerings into it for Death<sup>215</sup> (Mṛtyu) as the deity and then throw himself into fire (thrice with head downwards, according to Manu XI 73). This penance is for intentional murder of a brāhmaṇa by a ksatriya acc. to the Madanapārijāta and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 95 a.

(4)—(8) The murderer of a brāhmaṇa may perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice or Gosava or Abhijit or Viśvajit or the threefold Agnistut (Manu XI 74). The Aśvamedha could be performed only by a king or an emperor (samrāj). The others could be performed by any one belonging to the three higher classes. This applies only where the murder was unintentional as stated by Kullūka following the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.<sup>216</sup> Viṣṇu

215. अग्नीं सक्तिर्भक्ष्यमक्षिरवच्छातय । यौ. 22.2; अपि वा लोमानि त्वं मांसमिति हवयित्वाग्निं ययिष्येत् । आप. ध. I. 9. 25.13: अणुहास्त्रिद्वयसमावाच उद्धवादेताः । लोमानि चतुर्धोर्जुहोमि लोमभिर्धुत्सु वासप इति प्रथमाह ।...मज्जां चतुर्धोर्जुहोमि मज्जाभिर्धुत्सु वासप द्वयद्वयीह । वसिष्ठ 20.25-26. When य. III. 247 prescribes that he should utter लोमयः स्वाहा, the देवता is धृत्सु and लोम, त्वह् and all others are the अणुहोमि.

216. तदुक्तं मयिचयपुराणे-स्वजितादेव कर्तृर कामनां पूतनपते । अणुहासं द्विजानीनां यवे क्षमतिर्होमे । कुल्लूक on मनु XI.74. For the Aśvamedha, vide H: of Dh.



dharmasūtra (chap. 35 last verse) states that all persons guilty of any of the mahāpātakas are purified by the performance of *Aśvamedha* or by going to all the *tirthas* on the earth.

(9) Manu XI. 75 provides that for the removal of the sin of *brahmahatyā*, the sinner may walk one hundred *yojanas*, subsisting on limited food, controlling his senses and reciting one of the four Vedas. Kullūka says that this applies only where the killing is unintentional and the victim is a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (i. e. has not studied the Veda &c.). For *yojana*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 note 185.27.

(10) Manu XI. 76 provides that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa may make a gift of all his wealth to a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda.

(11) Manu XI. 76 and Yaj. III. 250 provide that the murderer may donate to a worthy brāhmaṇa (who has studied the Veda and whose character is good) as much wealth as would suffice to maintain the latter throughout his life and a house with all paraphernalia. This is the view of Govindānanda. But the Mit. on Yaj. III. 250 appears to hold that Nos. 10 and 11 are not separate penances. It combines the two into one, viz. that if the murderer has no offspring then he was to donate all his wealth or if he had offspring he was to donate a house with paraphernalia. This explanation is certainly preferable. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 105) states that if the murderer is devoid of qualities but is well-off he may give a house and lands sufficient for the maintenance of a worthy brāhmaṇa or he may donate a house with appurtenances or if he be childless all his wealth.

(12) Manu XI. 77<sup>28</sup> and Yaj. III. 249 provide that the murderer subsisting on sacrificial food (such as *nivāra*, milk or

(Continued from the last page)

vol. II. 1228-1237. The *Viśvajit* and *Abhijit* are *ekāhas* and the first and last rites of the *Aśvārātra* and *Abhijit* follow the procedure of *soma* sacrifice. Vide Jai. VI. 7. 14 and VIII. 1.16 and Āśv. Sr. VIII. 5.13. In the *Viśvajit* one has to make a gift of all his wealth: vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1212 n. 2644. For *Gosava* and *Agnisūta* vide note 133 above.

217. एतत् च अविष्वदुराजोऽवमेव स्तोत्रः पठितः स्वाकृतस्य-जातिनाम् यदा विद्मन्वाहुमसिदुर्गन्धम् । देवविद्याभिदोमी च तदा तस्य अवेदिदम् । कुल्लूक on मनु XI.75.

218. अविष्वदुस्त्वाहुतरेऽमसिजोतः सपरवतीम् । मनु XI.77: मेवातिवि comments: 'इतिवत् कुल्लूक जीवारादि ब्राह्मणमपि यजोह्वादि । मसिजोतः जोतः जोतः यति यजन्ति

(Continued on the next page)

ghes) should follow the course of the (holy) river Sarasvatī in all its branches. This, acc. to the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and Kullūka, applies where a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (without Vedic learning) is killed intentionally by a man who is himself rich but has no vedic learning. The words 'pratisrotāḥ sarasvatīm' have been variously explained. Medhātithi explains as above. Aparārka, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa and Raghavananda explain that the murderer should follow the course of the Sarasvatī in the opposite direction from the sea to its origin. This appears to be a better explanation, since it brings out the force of 'pratisrotāḥ' more clearly.

(13) It is provided by Manu XI. 77 and Yāj. III. 249 that the murderer should recite in a forest thrice the *samhitā* text of the Veda, while subsisting on limited food. The express mention of *samhitā* text precludes the *pada* text or *krama*. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and Kullūka hold that this penance is proper where a mere brāhmaṇa by birth (without Vedic learning) is killed unintentionally.

Manu XI. 79, Yāj. III. 244 and 246, Vas. 20. 27-28 and Gaut. 22. 7-8 and 11 mention three more penances, but they are not independent ones (as is made clear by Śaṅkha). If a murderer, while undergoing the 12 years' penance, fights him who attacks a brāhmaṇa and saves him (or fights for the king, acc. to Vas.) or dies in the attempt, he becomes at once free from the sin and if he lives after the fight he had not to continue the penance for the whole period. The same applies to the saving of 12 cows by the murderer by putting his own life in danger<sup>219</sup>. Similarly, if a murderer fights a marauder depriving a brāhmaṇa of all his wealth and restores the wealth to a brāhmaṇa or dies in the attempt or is severely wounded (thrice acc. to Yāj, Vas. and Gaut.) and is unable to restore the wealth to the brāhmaṇa he becomes free from the grave sin of brāhmaṇa murder.

(Continued from the last page)

सरस्वत्याः क्षीतानि ताम्रमण्डपानि ॥. अपरार्क p. 1060 says 'सरस्वतीं प्रति क्षीतोऽन्ताहार-  
ज्योत्स्नं वाचस्पतिं नवा ह्युपति'; सर्वज्ञानारायण explains प्रतिक्षीतः प्रभासमारण्य इत्ययम-  
व्याप्तं यत्र यत्र सरस्वती तत्र तत्र क्षीतो लक्ष्मीकृत्य तीर्थेण नमनम् ॥. The मित्त. on वा. III  
249 explains ह्यन्तात् प्रवचनाद्वारण्य पक्षिभोज्योः प्रतिक्षीतः क्षीतः प्रति सरस्वतीं इत्या नवा.  
For the sacredness of the Sarasvatī, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 13-15 and  
later on under *śirṭhas*.

219. अन्तरादे वा प्राकृत्यं नोक्षयित्वा नवा वा द्वादशानां परित्राणात् । इति । मङ्ग  
सू. by हरकृत on नो. 22.14 and मित्त. on वा. III.244.

Manu XI. 82, Yaj. III. 244, Śaṅkha and Gaut. 22.9 lay down that if the murderer of a brāhmaṇa announces his sin when the king and priests have met together for the ceremonial bath after the Aśvamedha sacrifice and being permitted by them bathes along with them, he becomes free from the sin.<sup>220</sup> According to Haradatta this is an independent penance, while according to the Mit. on Yaj. III. 244, Aparārka p. 1057 and others it is not so but is to be performed while undergoing the 12 years' penance.

Yaj. III. 245 provides that if the murderer treats and cures a brāhmaṇa or a cow (or cows) lying helpless on the public road suffering from a long-standing and serious ailment he becomes free from the sin.

Parāśara (XII. 65-67) prescribes for *brahmahatyā* the penance of going to the sea and Rāma's bridge, begging and declaring on the way one's sin, walking without an umbrella or shoes and residing in cowpens, forests, *tīrthas* and river streams; on seeing the *setu* he was to bathe in the ocean and on return to feed brāhmaṇas at a dinner and to donate 100 cows to learned brāhmaṇas.

There are other penances for *brahmahatyā* mentioned by Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa and others quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1064-1065) and others which are passed over here for want of space.

If a brāhmaṇa killed his own father, mother, full brother, his teacher of the Veda, a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda or has consecrated sacred Vedic fires, he had to undergo penance till his last breath (acc. to Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 13 quoting Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, Pr. V. pp. 70-71, Smṛtī-muktāphala Pr. p. 873 quoting Dakṣa III. 27-28 and Āp. Dh. S. I.9.24). If a man killed a priest that was engaged at a *soma* sacrifice the penance was double (Yaj. III. 252). The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 13) says that this means that the murderer should perform 12 years' penance and then donate cows<sup>221</sup> in proportion to the difference between his

220. अश्वमेधावसृष्यं गत्वा तत्राशुजातः स्नात्वा सद्यः पुनो भवति । शाङ्ख्ये by मिता. on यज. III. 244. अपरार्के p. 1057 (on यज. III 244) and प्राय. सा. p. 33 combine the two sūtras of Śaṅkha into one.

221. तथा च भविष्यपुराणम् । मातरं पितरं इत्या सोऽर्घ्यं आतरं तथा । पुत्रं इत्या ओत्रिर्घ्यं च आदित्याग्निमयापि च ॥ आ उत्तमाहुःपुत्रासाह् इतं जीर्णो विमुक्तयति । अथ येन सङ्कलनायां जीवन्कालरक्षानियतत्वाद् विनात्युत्तरं सतं परमायुरेव ब्रह्मणम् । तेन ब्राह्मणपरिषद् कृत्वा पञ्चकालादूर्ध्वं विंशत्यधिकतमस्य पादद्वयमितं तावत्परिमाणं ब्राह्मणपरिषदाकृष्या वेनका द्वातम्याः । प्राय. मन्. p. 13.

age at the time of finishing twelve years and 120 years (which is regarded as the highest limit of life). If a person strikes a brāhmaṇa intending to kill him but only injures him he should perform the *vrata* for *brahmahatyā* (acc. to Yāj. III. 252, Gaut. 22.11). The Mīt. explains that this is an extension (*atideśa*) of the rules about *brahmahatyā* and so the penance is a little less than the full one (i. e. 9 years). Where certain sins are said to be equal (*sama*) to *brahmahatyā* or *surāpāna*, the penance for them is half of what is prescribed for the latter. If a person intending to commit suicide by entering water or fire or by hanging himself or by taking poison or by falling from a precipice or the dome of a temple or by cutting his belly with a weapon or by fasting, does not die, but luckily lives, he has to undergo a *prāyaścitta* for three years (acc. to Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 15). Vas. 23.18-19 and Parāśara XII.5-8 prescribe other *prāyaścittas* for such persons (who are styled '*pratyavasita*'). Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 15) and Pr. V. (p. 75) quote two verses of Yama<sup>221</sup> for nine kinds of *pratyavasita* and prescribe Cāndrāyana or two Taptakṛcchras for them.

If a kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra intentionally and directly killed a brāhmaṇa, the expiation was death, but otherwise each had respectively to undergo twice, thrice or four times as much *prāyaścitta* as a brāhmaṇa sinner would have had to undergo for killing a brāhmaṇa.<sup>222</sup> Conversely, if a brāhmaṇa killed a kṣatriya or vaiśya or a śūdra the sin was only an upapātaka (acc. to Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), unless the kṣatriya or vaiśya victim was engaged in performing a soma sacrifice (Śamavidhāna Br. I. 7. 5, Yāj. III. 251, Vas. 20. 34) when the penance was heavy. Yāj. III. 266-267, Manu XI. 126-130 and Āp. Dh. S. I.9.24. 1-4 prescribe other penances for killing a kṣatriya, a vaiśya or a śūdra. The penance for a kṣatriya

221. अलाग्नुश्च मृत्युदण्डः यज्ञस्यानात्मकश्च्युतः । विषयतन्मायककथाद्वयताय वे ॥ नयेते मरयसिताः सर्वलोकपहिण्णताः । चाग्नायमेव ह्युपयन्ति तप्तकृच्छ्रवेन वा ॥ वम, verses 22-23, बृहस्पत 3-4, मारकपुराण. These include those who give up *sannyāsa* and those who sit down at the door of another for killing themselves (मय).

222. माय. मम. p. 16 says: तत्र क्षत्रियादीनां साक्षाद्व्यवहारे विशेषाभ्यन्तात् मायात्मिकमेव । इतरत्र तु यद् माह्वयस्य मज्जायमे मायमिदं तत् क्षत्रियवैश्यसूत्राणां पञ्चक्रमं हिंसेनं हिंसेनं चतुर्दशमिति बोद्धव्यम् ।...तथा च मज्जायव्यवहारोऽङ्कितः । परिचया 0 (vide note 195 for the quotation); vide the माय. वि. p. 75 (which quotes मन्त्रिपुराण that quotes the verses of अङ्कित, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 105. स्मृतिह. (म.) p. 873. परा. मा. II part 2 p. 74 and मा. प्रकाश (folio 94 a) quote a verse of यमायति 'हिंसेनं हिंसेनं चैव चतुर्दशमिति वा । क्षत्रियसूत्रादीनां माह्वयस्य यमे इतरं ॥')

killing a *kṣatriya* is a little less (i. e. by  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) than the penance for a *brāhmaṇa* killing a *kṣatriya*. Vide the verse '*vipre tu sakalam deyam*' quoted above (note 192).

Women victims were placed on the same footing as *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *sūdra* males (Yaj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), except the cases where the woman was an *Ātreya* or pregnant or in her monthly illness (Gaut. 22.17, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 5 and 9, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1.10, 12-13, Vas. 20.34, Vispu Dh. S. 50. 7-9) or the wife of a twice-born performing a soma sacrifice, when the penance was heavy (like the one for *brahmahatyā*). The period of soma-yāga was reckoned from the *Dikṣāniyā* istī to the *Udavasāniyā* (acc. to the Mit.) or up to the end of *avabhṛtha* bath (acc. to Aparārka). For killing women guilty of adultery the penances were higher and varied according to the caste of the paramour and of the woman (vide Gaut. 22.26-27, Manu XI. 138, Yaj. III. 268-269).

Manu (XI. 208 = Vispu Dh. S. 54.30) and Yaj. III. 293 prescribe that for threatening to beat or strike a *brāhmaṇa* the penance is *kṛcchra*, for striking him it is *Ati-kṛcchra*, for shedding his blood a *Kṛcchra* and *Atikṛcchra*. The *Samavidhāna Br.* I. 7. 4 prescribes other penances (i. e. recitation of certain *sūman* texts) for these.

Gaut. 23.1, <sup>223</sup> Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 25.3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 21., Vas. 20.22, Manu XI. 90-91, Yaj. III. 253 and Brhaspati prescribe that if a *brāhmaṇa* drinks intentionally spirituous liquor prepared from flour even once he has to undergo a penance that ends in death, viz. he has to drink that liquor boiling hot or to drink boiling hot cow's urine, milk, ghee, water or liquid cow-dung, and when his body has been completely scalded thereby and he dies he becomes free from that sin. Some like Haradatta on Gaut. 23. 1 hold that this horrible penance is meant for one who knowingly and repeatedly drinks *sura* (manufactured from rice flour). Manu XI. 92 and Yaj. III. 254 prescribe another penance in place of the one ending in death viz. that the sinner should eat during one year (during three

223. दुरापोऽग्निस्पर्शा दुरा विधेत् । अप. व. द. I. 9. 25. 3, दुरापस्य माङ्गलस्यो-  
प्यामासिच्छेदुः दुरापाने दुरा विधेत् । नो. 23. 1; दुरापाने कामकुले जलत्नीं वा विनिक्षिपेत् ।  
हृषे वरा विनिर्गन्धे दुराः क्षुद्रिग्वाम्बुपात् । दुरापस्य q. by मित्रः ॐ वा. III 253, अवरार्क  
p. 1071; माव. प्रक. p. 43; मायेन दर्मसाक्षेपु सर्वदेव नराविष । मत्स्ये दुरापाने कामाग्निक  
दुराद्वक्तुः । वैदिकाने दुरा विनिर्गन्धे वा दुरापान । मत्स्यद्वक्तुः q. by दीपकसिद्धा ॐ वा.  
III. 253.

years, acc. to Yāj.) once (a day) at night the (boiled) small grains of rice, or oilcake, should wear clothes made of cow's hair, should have matted hair on his head and carry a flagstaff (with a wine cup thereon). The same rules apply to a ksatriya or vaiśya drinking *surā* (manufactured from rice flour). Only they have as stated above (in note 192) to undergo three-fourths and one-half respectively of the penance for a brāhmaṇa sinner. This penance was to be undertaken after vomiting the contents of the stomach. According to the Madanapārijāta (p. 818), Pr. V. p. 104, Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 43, Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24) and other works the twelve years' penance is meant for one who drinks *surā* (made from flour) through ignorance or force. According to Gaut. 23. 2-3, Yāj. III. 255, Manu. XI. 146, Atri 75, for drinking intoxicants or human semen, ordure or urine through ignorance a person of the three first classes had first to undergo the penance called Taptakrechra and then his *upanayana* was again performed. Vasiṣṭha 20.19 prescribes for drinking any intoxicant unintentionally the penances of Krechra and Atikrechra, the drinking of ghee and the performing of *upanayana* again. There is great divergence of views about Manu XI. 146 and Yāj. III. 255 which is passed over here. Brhaspati <sup>224</sup> quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and others prescribes that a brāhmaṇa who drinks *surā* prepared from raw sugar, flour and honey (or madhūka flowers) should respectively undergo Taptakrechra, Parāka and Cāndrāyana. This light penance is restricted acc. to the Mit. and others to cases where *surā* is drunk for curing a malady which no other medicine could cure. If a brāhmaṇa drank *surā* (not manufactured from flour) or any other intoxicant, various easy penances were prescribed for him (such as undergoing Cāndrāyana on a river falling into the sea, feeding brāhmaṇas and donating a cow and a bull to the brāhmaṇas, Parāśara XII. 75-76). Vide Yāj. III. 255 and the Mit. thereon. Kṣatriyas and vaiśyas incurred no sin by drinking intoxicants other than *surā* (made from flour) and the śūdra incurred no sin even by drinking *surā* of the

224. गौडी वेदी तथा भार्गवी पीत्वा विषः समाचरेत् । तप्तकृच्छ्रं पराकं च चान्द्रायण-  
मनुकमात् ॥ इत्यस्ति q. by मित. on वा. III. 254. अथर्वकं p. 1073, परा. म. II part 2 p.  
84, मध. वा. p. 821, माध. सा. p. 42. The मित. comments: यत्तु वीधायनीयं त्रैमासिक-  
ममया हुरापाने कृच्छ्राव्यापारं करित्वा पुनरुपमनमिति, यच्च वार्यं 'हुरां पीत्वा द्विजं हत्वा  
रुक्मं हत्वा द्विजमनः । संयोगं पतितेर्गत्वा द्विजचान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥' इति, यदपि भार्गवस्य  
'गौडी...क्रमत् ॥' इति तद्विज्ञापनमप्यन्यैश्च साध्याभ्युपगमाच्च पाने वेदितव्यं शपथभिरसत्पा-  
त्यत्वात् ।

paistī variety. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) holds that since Manu XI. 93 generally forbids the drinking of *surā* on the part of brāhmanas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas the prohibition applies even to boys who have not undergone the rite of *upanayana* and girls who are not yet married and adds that for drinking *surā* the child has to undergo only one-fourth penance (for 3 years) if the offence was unintentional and double of that (6 years) if it was intentional (vide also Pr. prakaraṇa p. 48). The Kalpataru, it appears, held, relying on Gaut. II. 1 ('before upanayana a child may do as it pleases as regards behaviour, speech and eating'), that no sin (*doṣa*) was incurred by a child before *upanayana* and by a girl before marriage for drinking *surā*. The Pr. V. (p. 104) and Pr. Prakāśa criticize the Kalpataru for this view.<sup>225</sup> As Brhaspati states (vide n. 188 above) the license allowed by Gautama is limited by the Mit. and other digests to the partaking of sour or stale drinks and the like and is not extended to drinking *surā* which is a mahāpātaka. Jātūkarṇya<sup>226</sup> (q. by the Par. M.) provides that if a boy whose upanayana has not been performed drinks an intoxicant (*madya*) through foolishness, his father, mother or brother should perform three kṛcchras as an expiation for him. Angiras (Jiv. p. 557), Āpastamba-smṛti III. 7, Laghu-Hārita 34-35, Brhad-yama III. 1-2 also provide that a *pratinidhi* (brother, father, friend) may undergo an expiation for a boy who is himself unable to do so or is less than eleven and above five years of age.

The Āśv. gr. (I. 22.22-26)<sup>227</sup> prescribes what is to be done and what is to be omitted in *punar-upanayana*. It provides that the rites of the cutting of the hair and the production of intelligence are optional, there are no express rules about giving the person in charge (of the deities) and as to the time, and the verse to be recited as the *Savitri* is Rgveda V. 82.1 instead of the usual *Gāyatrī* (*tatsaviturvareṇyam*, Rg. III. 62.10).

225. अत्राहुर्नीतमाहुणकुमारान्द्विजाहुणकुमारिकयोः सुरापाने दोषानाहः सुरां पीत्वा द्विजो मोहादित्यादि प्रायश्चित्ते द्विजग्रहणादिति कल्पतकस्य तस्माद् बाहुणराजस्य इति मनुवचनात् सुरापाननिषेधोऽयं जात्याश्रय इति स्थितिः । न पिबेद् बाहुणो मद्यं निषिद्धमपि चापरम् ॥ इति कुमारवचनाच्च द्विजग्रहणस्य आसुपलक्षणार्थत्वात् । प्राय. वि. pp. 104-105.

226. अनुपेतस्तु यो बालो मद्यं मोहादपिबेद्यद्वा । तस्य कृच्छ्रं च कुर्वाण्माता जाता तथा पिता ॥ जातृकर्ण्यं q. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 80.

227. अधोपेतस्यैव । कृताकृतं केशवर्णनं मेधाजननं च । अनिवर्तकं परिह्वानम् । कालञ्च । तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यमहे इति सावित्रीम् । आश्व. सू. I. 22. 22-26, q. by मद्. पा. p. 821.

Vasiṣṭha 20.18 quotes Menu XI.151 on this point<sup>228</sup> and Viṣṇu (Dh. S. 51.4-5) in prose is to the same effect. Viṣṇu (Dh. S. 51. 2-3) provides Cāndrāyana for drinking any of the (twelve) unclean excretions of the body (Manu V. 134) or any of the several kinds of intoxicating drinks and for eating garlic or onion or red garlic or any plant having a similar flavour or the flesh of village pigs, of tame cocks, of apes and of cows and then adds (in sūtra 4) that they (the sinners) must undergo fresh *upanayana* also. The smṛtis provide different *prāyaścittas* for various lapses about drinking and eating such as drinking water from a pot which had already been used for holding *surā*, for drinking water from the water vessel of a *cāṇḍāla* or of a washerman or from a *śūdra*'s house or for drinking milk which should not be drunk (Gaut. 17.22-26, Yaj. I. 170, Manu V. 8-10), for eating forbidden food, which must be passed over here, because<sup>229</sup> they are too many and too various and depend on circumstances for their application as observed by the Pr. V. and because they are now of academic interest alone. Some reference, however, may be made to show how some of these lapses were treated. Śāṅkha states that there are many articles that are allowed or forbidden to men, particularly to *brāhmaṇas* and in cases of transgressions the decision rests with the *śiṣṭas* (the *pariṣad* of respectable people). Bṛhaspati<sup>230</sup> (quoted by Aparārka) prescribes that in the case of the partaking of things that should not be licked or drunk or eaten or in case of taking in human semen, urine or ordure, the penance of a *cāndrāyana* is the purification. Some of the sages such as Samvarta, Śāṅkha-likhita took a lenient view, prescribed Cāndrāyana even for eating cow's flesh and human flesh.<sup>231</sup>

228. मानवं चात्र श्लोकद्वयमस्ति । वपने मेकला वृक्षो भैक्षचर्या व्रतानि च । एतानि तु निवर्तन्ते पुनः संस्कारकर्मणि ॥ इति । बसिष्ठ 20. 18. The verse is मनु XI. 151.

229. यानि चाप्यानि मुख्यतरोक्तानि अभक्ष्यभक्षणे अवेद्यमाने सुखलज्जामाद्यभित्तानि तानि कामाकामकृतसङ्कटदयासापेक्षया योजयानि इत्याणामानभ्यात्मनिरपि अमहत्त्वमभिधातुमशक्यमिति तत्सूत्रव्यवसायेवावगन्तव्यम् । शिष्टाचार्याश्च । यथा शङ्खः । भक्ष्याभक्ष्याप्यनेकानि जातान्यपि विशेषतः । तत्र शिष्टा यथा ब्रह्मस्तथा कार्यो विनिश्चयः ॥ q. by प्राय. वि. p. 339. The verse is quoted by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 462.

230. अलेख्यानामवेद्यानामभक्ष्याणां च भक्षणे । रेतोवृषपुरिषाणां क्षुद्धिश्चाप्यायणं स्मृतम् ॥ इह- q. by अपरार्क p. 1164, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 367.

231. योमांसं मांसुषं चैव हनिहस्तास्तमाहृतम् । अभक्ष्यं तज्जवेत्सर्वं भुक्त्वा चाप्यायणं चरेत् ॥ संवत् 197 q. by अपरार्क p. 1165, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 367; शृगालकुक्षुद-दंष्ट्रि-कण्याद-वानर-करोह-गजवाजि-विह्वराह-योमानुचर्मांसभक्षणे चाप्यायणम् ॥ शङ्ख-लिखित q. by अपरार्क p. 1166, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 368; vide मी. 23. 4-5, बसिष्ठ 23. 30, मनु XI. 156, विष्णु 51. 3-4 for similar provisions.



The general rule stated by the Sāma. Br. I 5.13, Manu XI. 160 and others is that one desirous of inner purity should not eat forbidden food, that if he eats it through ignorance he should make efforts to vomit it and if that is impossible he should quickly take some *prāyaścitta* (which is slight in the case of ignorance). It may be mentioned that even from very ancient times exceptions were recognised to the prohibitions against the partaking of forbidden food. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad (I. 10)<sup>232</sup> narrates the story of Uṣasti Cakrāyana, who when the country of the Kurus had been devastated by hailstones (or by locusts), begged (along with his very young wife) of a chief eating beans and took from the latter the beans that had been put away for the chief (and so were *ucchiṣṭa*), but when asked to take water for drinking meant for the chief replied that if he drank of it he would be drinking what was unclean, since he could get water whenever he liked. This Vedic passage indicates that even unclean things may be eaten when there is distress (*ūpad*) or danger to life, but that when there is no distress or danger even one who has knowledge of *brahmadevyā* should not violate the injunctions of *śāstra* about eating. The Vedāntasūtra (III.4.28) has an aphorism on this incident. Manu X.104 provides that he who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever is not tainted by sin as the sky is not tainted by mud. Manu then refers (X.105-108) to the stories of Ajigarta who, when famished, approached for slaying his own son, of the sage Vāmadeva who when tormented by hunger desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life and did not sully himself, of Bharadvāja who when distressed by hunger along with his son in a lonely forest accepted many cows from the carpenter Vṛdhu (Brbhu ?) or of Viśvāmitra who, well knowing what was right or wrong, proceeded, when tormented by hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, receiving it from the hands of a Cāṇḍāla.<sup>232a</sup>

232. स हेतुं कुलमाश्लावन्तं विमिश्रे त होवाच नेतोऽपे विद्यान्ते यच्च ये न ह्यन उपनिहिता इति । एतेषां मे देहीति होवाच तानस्मै यद्वदौ ह्यमनुपानमिरुच्छिष्टं वै मे धीतं दयादिति होवाच । न विदेतेऽपुच्छिष्टा इति न वा अजीविष्यमिमाकं कादमिति होवाच कामो न उद्धयानमिति । छा. उप. 1. 10. 2-4; सर्वाकाशमतिश्च प्राणारपये वदन्मनात् । वेदान्तसूत्र III 4.28; on this शाङ्करभाष्य observes: तदेतदुच्छिष्टोच्छिष्टपद्विधितभक्षणं वर्ज्यपण्याः क्षुतेराज्ञयातिशयो लभ्यते प्राणान्तरयमसङ्गे प्राणसम्भारणावाभ्ययमपि अज्ञायितव्यमिति । स्वस्था-वस्थायां तु तत्र कर्तव्यं विद्यावतापीत्यनुपानमिरुच्छिष्टाणां वदन्मने ।

232<sup>a</sup> For the legend of Ajigarta, vide Aitareya Br. VII.13-16 (or 33.1 ff) and H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 563-64, 660, 663. In Rg. VI 45.31-33 Brbhu is described as the carpenter of the Panis and his liberality is highly praised. For Viśvāmitra trying to steal from a hamlet of cāṇḍālas a dog's leg, when famished, vide Śāntiparva 141.26-96

For eating the flesh of various birds Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 29 and 31 and others prescribe fasting for three days or one day and also for eating several varieties of fish (Viṣṇu 51.21).

We may now revert to the penances for the other Mahāpātakas. It has already been seen how the thief that had stolen a brāhmaṇa's gold of a certain weight was to approach the king with a club (p. 73 above). Even Āp. Dh. S. 1.9.25.4 refers to this and prescribes as an option (Āp. Dh. S. 1.9.25.6-7) entering into fire as an expiation for theft or starving oneself by reducing the intake of food. Therefore, the penance for the theft of brāhmaṇa's gold of the weight of 80 *raktikās* or more (Manu VIII. 134 and Yāj. I.363) was death for the offenders of all varṇas, except a brāhmaṇa offender, who clad in rags (or bark garment) was to undergo a penance in a forest for twelve years of the same kind as for brāhmaṇa murder (Manu XI. 101) or for the drinking of *surā* prepared from flour (Yāj. III. 258). The offender may also give as much gold (if he is rich) as his own weight or as much wealth as would be required for the maintenance of a brāhmaṇa's family for the latter's lifetime (Yāj. III. 258 and Mit. thereon). The Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.8 provides the observance of the penance of Kṛcchra for one year (as defined in Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.27. 7-8) and quotes a verse "those who have committed a theft (of gold), drunk spirituous liquor, or had connection with a *guru's* wife, but not those who have slain a brāhmaṇa, shall eat every fourth meal-time a little food, bathe thrice a day, pass the day standing and the night sitting; after the lapse of three years they cast off their sins."<sup>232b</sup> The digests contain numerous and varying expiations for theft depending upon the weight of gold stolen, upon the qualities of the man robbed and of the thief, upon the caste of both, upon whether it is a first offence or a repeated one, on the price and nature of the thing stolen and on the time and place and so on. Vide Pr. V. pp. 117-127, Pr. Sāra p. 49, Madanapārijāta pp. 828-834, Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 108-109, Smṛtimuktāphala pp. 883-885. These have to be passed over here for reasons of space.

If the gold stolen (even from a brāhmaṇa) was less than 80 *raktikās* or if gold of any weight was stolen from a kṣatriya

232 b. दृष्ट्वत्सर्वस्वम् वा चरेत् । अथानुवाक्यम् । त्वेवं कृत्वा दुरा पीत्वा दृष्ट्वत्सर्वम् वा नत्वा अक्षय्यायामकृत्वा चतुर्थकाला मितमोज्ज्वाः स्तुरयोन्मेषुः सन्मामुक्त्यम् । स्थाना-  
सनायां विहरन्ते एते त्रिभिर्वर्षेभ्यः पापं मुह्यन्ते । आथ. अ. सू. I. 9. 25. 8-10.

or any other non-brāhmaṇa, the expiation would be as one for an upapātaka. Manu (XI. 162-168 = Matsyapurāṇa 227. 41-47) and Viṣṇu 52. 5-13 prescribe various penances such as kṛcchra for a year for the theft of corn or cooked food or wealth; cāndrāyana for abducting men and women (slaves) or for appropriating a field or house and the water of wells and cisterns; sāntapana for thefts of objects of small value; pañcagavya for stealing eatables of various kinds or a vehicle or a bed or a seat or flowers or roots and fruits; fasting for three days and nights in the case of theft of grass, wood, trees, dry food, molasses, clothes, leather (or armour) and flesh; subsisting for twelve days on small grains of rice for stealing gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, bell-metal or stones; subsisting on milk alone for the theft of cotton, silk, wool, animals with cloven hoofs (cows &c.) or uncloven hoofs (horses &c.), birds, perfumes, medicinal herbs or a rope (used for drawing water). It must be remembered as stated above (p. 74) that the thief had to restore to the owner the thing stolen and then undergo a penance (Manu XI. 164 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 52.14) and Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 164) adds that if he is unable to restore the thing (or its price) the penance is to be double. Besides, in certain cases of theft if corporal punishment or death was not inflicted by the king, the thief was fined eleven times the price of the thing stolen (Manu VIII. 321, 323, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 5.82).<sup>233</sup>

*Steja* (theft) is of two kinds, by force (such as robbery and dacoity and called *sāhasa*) and by clandestine means. In the former case the penance goes on increasing (twice, thrice) according as the offender is a kṣatriya or vaiśya (*parādyā brāhmaṇānām*, quoted above, Par. M. II part 1 p. 231). In the case of theft by clandestine means if the owner whose gold or wealth is stolen is a brāhmaṇa and the thief a kṣatriya or vaiśya, then also the penance must be higher than for a brāhmaṇa thief (since, as, Nārada says in his chapter on *sāhasa* verse 16, the wealth belonging to idols, brāhmaṇas and kings is the best). But conversely, if the owner of stolen property is of lower class than the thief then the verse of Brhad-Viṣṇu ('vipre tu sakalam deyam,' quoted above in note 192) will apply.

233. विप्रादिमावात्मकहेमहरणं तु क्षत्रियादिहेमहरणवपुष्पात्मकमेवेति युक्तम् । किं च सुवर्णचतुर्नपरिमाणहेमहरणे शयश्चित्तान्तरोपदेशाच्चत्वारिमाहरणैव हेम्नो हरणे मरणान्तिकादि शयश्चित्तमिति युक्तम् । तथा चोक्तं बद्धिहस्त्येति । निता. on वा. III 257.

The penance for incest with the *guru's* wife was prescribed from very ancient times as follows: Gaut. <sup>234</sup> 23. 8-11, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25. 1-2, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 14-16 (almost in the same words as in Gaut), Vas. 20. 13-14, Manu XI. 103-104 prescribe that the offender shall confess his guilt and then extend himself on a red-hot iron bed or embrace the red-hot iron image of a woman or having himself cut off his organ and testicles and having taken them in his joined hands may walk straight towards the south or south-west until he falls down dead and that he becomes purified by death. According to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 the three are not distinct penances, but that two of them, viz. embracing the red-hot iron image of a woman and sleeping on a bed of red hot iron form one penance. The words of Yāj. no doubt convey that the two together are one penance ( viz. sleeping on red hot bed and clinging to a red hot image). Others like the Madanapārijāta ( p. 837 ), Medhātithi <sup>235</sup> on Manu XI. 103 do not accept this interpretation. The latter moreover relies on Gautama who employs the word 'vā' (or) in the two latter of his three sūtras on this point. The Pr. V. ( p. 138 ) points out this difference between Gaut. and Yāj. Manu XI. 58 and 170-71, Yāj. III. 231, Samivarta 159 regard sexual intercourse with a friend's wife or a maiden of a higher caste and the wives of one's son or of sagotras and women born of the same womb (sister &c.) or with an *anyaja* woman as equal to *gurutalpaganama* and the penance is only a little less than for the latter. Manu XI. 105 and Yāj. III. 260 prescribe a penance (other than one ending in death), viz. that the sinner should dwell in a tenantless forest, allow his beard to grow, should wear tattered garments and practise Prājāpatya Kṛochra for one year (three years acc. to Yāj.). The commentators say that this was meant where the sin was committed by mistake. Manu XI. 106 and Yāj. III. 260 provide another penance viz. Cāndrāyana for three months, Manu prescribing that the sinner should subsist on sacrificial food (fruits, roots or *nivāra* grain) or on barley gruel and Yāj. adding that he should recite for the three months the Vedasambhita. The commentators say that this applies in cases where the *guru's* wife is of a lower varṇa or of the śūdra class.

234. तस्मै लोहस्यवने ह्युक्ततल्पवः कर्षति । हस्ती वा भिक्षवेऽज्जलन्तीद् । लिङ्गं वा सङ्घर्षणमुत्कृष्टाञ्जलाभाधाय हस्तिनाम्नीचीं हनेद्दक्षिणामा करीरयात्ताद् । औ. 23.8-10.

235. आचार्यार्जी नत्वेद्दं मायाधिसम्पदा नत्वेव । समानजातीयगमने ह्यमानि व्रीथि मायाधिसानि कल्पन्ते । मेधातिथि on मनु XI.103.

Parāśara (X. 10-11) provides three different *prāyaścittas*, viz. excision of the organ, three *kṛcchras* or three *cāndrāyamas* if a man commits incest with his mother, sister, or daughter and in X. 12-14 prescribes other penances for adultery with other near female relatives. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 quotes Śaṅkha for twelve years' penance for all four kinds of Mahāpātakas, which applies acc. to it to intercourse with guru's wife of the same class. It is not necessary to quote further *smṛti* passages which vary greatly as to the extent of the penance. Manu XI. 178 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 53. 9 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 41), Śānti 165. 29 state that the sin which a twice-born man commits by sexual intercourse for one night with a *vr̥ṣālī*<sup>236</sup> (a *cāṇḍāla* woman) is removed by him by the penance of subsisting on alms for three years and reciting mantras (like the Gāyatri). Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 11 has a somewhat similar verse about a brāhmana's intercourse with a *śūdra* woman<sup>237</sup>. Yāj. III. 233 prescribes for women death as a legal penalty and the same *prāyaścitta* as for a male if a man has sexual intercourse with his paternal or maternal aunt, or daughter-in-law, maternal uncle's wife and others (enumerated above) with their consent. Manu XI. 175 (= Laghu-Śītātapa 155 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 38) holds that a brāhmana, who has sexual intercourse with a *cāṇḍāla* woman or *mleccha* woman or dines with *cāṇḍālas* or *mlecchas* or accepts gifts from them, has to perform penance as if he were *patita* if he unknowingly did these things, and becomes like them by committing these sins knowingly. Compare Vasistha 23. 41, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 53. 5-6.

If a woman be guilty of a Mahāpātaka the general rule stated by Manu XI. 176 (latter half), Kātyāyana and Brhaspati<sup>238</sup> was that whatever penance was prescribed for a male in cases of adultery with other's wives the same was to be administered to women in case of adultery with males. In this parti-

236. वृषली in मनु XI.177 is explained as वण्डाली by कुल्लुक and मिता. on या. III. 260, which quotes a *smṛti* verse 'वण्डाली वण्डकी वेदया राजःस्था या च कम्पया । ऊढा या च सगोत्रा स्वाहृदयः पञ्च कीर्तिताः ॥' झूलपाणि understands वृषली as झुड़ी, vide Fr. Prakāśa folio 111 b for this difference.

237. यदेकरात्रेण करोति पापं कुल्लुक् वर्जं ब्राह्मणः सेवमानश्चतुर्थकाल उदकाभ्यवापी त्रिभिर्वर्षैश्च पश्यति पापम् ॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 11. ज्ञानिपर्व 165.29 reads 'निकृष्टवर्ण' and 'श्चानासनाभ्यां विहरन् ब्रवी स त्रिभिर्वर्षैः क्षमयेद्वात्मपापम् ॥'.

238. चतुर्दशः परदारैश्च समानेषु वर्त चरेत् । अभिचारान् मृत्युः की तदुत्थं समाचरेत् । सूत्र. q. by अवतारक p. 1124, भाव. वि. p. 371 ; एवं दोषश्च झुडिश्च पतितानाहुताहुता । कीनापि मृतकानामेव एव विधिः स्मृतः । कारवा. q. by मिता. on या. III. 260.

cular case the rule about half penance being prescribed for women did not hold good when a woman with full knowledge committed adultery and half penance was to be prescribed only where the adultery was through mistake. A similar rule was laid down by Āngiras<sup>238a</sup>. If a woman became *patita* and did not undergo *prāyaścitta* she could be excommunicated by the process called *ghaṭasphoṭa* (described in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 615-616 and 1009). But there was a difference between a male and a woman in this respect. A woman, however, was not to be altogether abandoned on the street and left to fare for herself, though she be *patita*, but she was to be lodged in a cottage thatched with grass near the house and was to be guarded against further lapses and given bare maintenance (enough to keep body and soul together) and (dirty) clothes (Yāj. III. 296, Manu XI 176). There were certain acts, however, which were specially condemned in women (Yāj. III. 297) viz. sexual intercourse with a man of a lower class, causing abortion and killing the husband. Vas. 21.10 provides<sup>239</sup> that four classes of women may be altogether abandoned (and not given even starving maintenance &c.) viz. a woman who has sexual intercourse with (her husband's) pupil or with his *guru* or one who kills her husband or one who sexually approaches a man of a lower degraded class. Women, however *patita* they may be, were to be dealt with as stated in Yāj. III. 296 even if they did not perform any penance. Vas. 21.12 states that women of the *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* classes, if guilty of sexual intercourse with a *sūdra* can be purified by penance if they do not give birth to a child, but not those others (who give birth to a child born of the condemned connection). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 946-949 for penance and other matters in relation to adultery by men and women.

It is now necessary to turn to the penance for association with those that are guilty of grave sins (*mahāpātakas*). Manu XI. 181, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.1, Yāj. III. 261 provide that whoever associates with (for a year, acc. to Yāj.) a person guilty of one

238a. ब्रतं यश्चोदितं दुर्तां पतितस्त्रीनिषेवणात् । तच्चापि कारयेन्मूढां पतितालेवणात् क्षिप्यम् अङ्गिरसः q. by माय. वि. p. 372.

239. चतस्रस्तु परित्याज्याः क्षिप्यमा युवना च वा । पतिग्री च विरोधेन जुह्वितोपगता च वा पतिष्ठ 21.10 q. by the मिता. on य. III. 297 and अपराधे p. 1208 on य. I. 72. The मिता. attributes the verse to व्यास and explains जुह्वित as 'मलिलोमजधर्मकारादिः'. The दीपकलिका explains as 'कुत्सितः 'मलिलोमजः'. The माय. वि. p. 374 interprets it to अङ्गिरसः and explains 'जुह्वितः कुत्सितो हीनवर्णः'.

of the four mahāpātakas has to undergo the *vrata* (the observances) prescribed for that grave sinner in order to free himself from the sin of association. Kullūka, the Pr. sāra (p. 61) and others state that the penance here referred to is the one for twelve years and not death since it is the word *vrata* that is employed by Manu and *vrata* does not ordinarily convey the idea of death.<sup>240</sup> If the association was due to ignorance the penance was half. Vyāsa prescribed <sup>211</sup> for the knowing associator  $\frac{1}{2}$  the of the penance provided for the sinner himself. According to the Pr. V. (p. 171) there was no difference in the extent of the penance for association with a sinner in the case of a brāhmaṇa <sup>212</sup> and a śūdra, though in other cases penance was reduced by one quarter for each varṇa. If the association was for less than one year, then the penance was proportionately reduced. Not only was the *patita* condemned but even his son born after he became *patita* and he was excluded from inheritance. But the daughter of a *patita* was treated differently and she could be married without any stigma being attached to the husband. Vide Vas. 13.51-53, Yāj. III. 261, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 73-74, Hārta q. by Pr. V. p. 174 and Pr. prakaraṇa p. 110 and H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 614-616.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. (chap. 36) speaks of certain sins as *anupātakas* which are declared by Manu (XI. 55-58) and Yāj. (III. 228-233) to be equal to or like one or other of the mahāpātakas and provides that those guilty of them become pure by Aśvamedha sacrifice or by resorting to pilgrimages. It has also been seen that such sins are removed by the penances that are slightly less (i. e. by  $\frac{1}{2}$ th) than those for the mahāpātakas themselves.

The penances for *upapātakas* must now be briefly dealt with. The number of upapātakas is very large and it is of no practical importance to deal with each of them separately. First of all, some general rules about them will be stated and

240. अत्र च ब्रह्महादिषु यथापि कामतो मरणान्तिकमुपदिष्टं तथापि संसर्गिण्यस्तत्कालि-  
विषयते । स तस्यैव ज्ञतं कुर्वाणिति ज्ञतस्यैवातिदेशात् । मरणस्य च ज्ञतकाव्यवाचकाभावात् ।  
अतोऽत्र कामकृतेऽपि संसर्गे द्वादशवार्षिकमकामतस्तु तदर्थम् । मित. on वा. III. 261; vide  
also मद्. पा. p. 853.

241. यो येन संबन्धेहर्षं सोऽपि तत्समतामिवात् । पादहीनं चरेत्सोऽपि तस्य तस्य ज्ञतं  
द्विजः ॥ व्यास q. by the मित. on वा. III. 261, कुल्लूक on मद्. XI. 181.

242. अतः संसर्गिणि ब्राह्मणे ब्रूते च न प्रायश्चित्ते विरोधः । तथा निरन्तरसंबन्धसंसर्गे  
यत् प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तं तस्य च संबन्धसंसर्गसंभूतौ भागहारः कार्यः । तथा च ब्रूयस्वतिः । चाण्मासिके  
तु संयोगे याजनाश्रयणादिना । एकत्रासनश्राव्याभिः प्रायश्चित्तार्थमाचरेत् । प्राय,  
pp. 171-172.

a few of them that are of some importance will be dealt with individually. The *Sāmavidhāna* <sup>243</sup> Br. (I 5.14) states that on committing several upapātakas a man becomes pure by reciting thrice the whole of the veda while fasting. Manu XI. 117, Yāj. III. 265, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37.35 prescribe that purification from all classes of upapātakas (except the sin of the *avakīrṇin*) is effected by the same penances that are prescribed for *govadhā* or by *cāndrāyana* or by subsisting on milk alone for a month or by *Parākā* or *Gosava*. The digests prescribe that *Parākā* is meant for him who is strong enough to undertake it, *Cāndrāyana* for him who is weak, *Gosava* for him who repeatedly commits the same upapātaka or is guilty of several at the same time (vide Pr. Prakāśa, folio 122 a).

*Govadhā* stands at the head of upapātakas in Manu, Yāj., the *Agnipurāṇa* (168. 29-37). Several *smṛtis* provide different penances for the sin of killing a cow. Gaut. 22. 18 prescribes<sup>244</sup> the same penance for *govadhā* as for killing a *vaiśya* (Gaut. 22. 15) viz. staying for three years in a forest, subsisting on alms, observing celibacy and donating one hundred cows together with a bull. In Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 for killing a milch cow or a full grown ox the penance is said to be the same as for killing a *sūdra*. Vas. 21. 18 provides that if a man kills a cow he should cover himself with the raw hide of the cow (that is killed) and should observe *Kṛcchra* or *Atikṛcchra* for six months. Manu<sup>245</sup> XI. 108-116, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 50. 16-24, *Saṃvarta* 130-135, *Parāśara* VIII. 31-41 (q. in *Smṛtimuktāphala* p. 875, *prāyaścitta* section) prescribe elaborate observances as penances for *govadhā*. Yāj. (III. 263-264) provides four separate *prāyaścittas*, viz. (1) the killer of a cow should control his senses for a month, should subsist on *pañcagavya* (cow's urine, cow-dung, milk, curds and ghee), should sleep in a cowpen, should follow the cows so penned (by day) and at the end of a month donate a cow; (2) or he should perform *Kṛcchra* penance while sleeping in a cow-pan and following cows by day; (3) or should perform an *atikṛcchra* in the same way; (4) or should fast for three days and donate ten cows together with

243. बहुमुपपत्तीनां कृत्वा त्रिभिरनहन्यारावर्णे दूतो भवति । सामविधानम् । I. 5. 14.

244. नां च वैश्यवत् । गो. 22. 18; वेधनदूतोश्चाकारणात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 26. 1.

245. अग्निपुराण 169. 5-7 are the same as मनु XI. 108-110; संवर्त 130-134 are quoted (with slight variations) by विश्वरूप on या. III. 262.



one bull. Śaṅkha provides<sup>246</sup> that the killer of a cow should fast for 25 days and nights subsisting on pañcagavya, should tonsure his head together with the top-knot, should wear as an upper garment cow-hide and should follow cows, lie down in a cow-pen and donate a cow. Some of the smṛtis and digests declare that the penance differed according as the cow that was killed belonged to a learned brāhmaṇa or to a mere brāhmaṇa by caste, to a ksatriya or vaiśya or sūdra. For example, Devaḷa (q. by Pr. V. p. 202) states that if a cow belonging to a brāhmaṇa were killed, then the sinner should wear as upper garment that cow's hide for six months, should bring fodder for cows, should imitate cows, should subsist on barley gruel, should move among cows and then he becomes free from the sin. Śāśatapa (q. by Pr. V. p. 203) states that one killing the cow of a vaiśya should subsist on pañcagavya for a month, should recite the Gomati-vidyā<sup>247</sup> and stay in a cowpen for a month. Viśvā-mitra (Pr. V. p. 203) says about the killer of a cow belonging to a sūdra that he should undergo four kṛcchras if he kills intentionally and two if unintentionally. The Gomati-vidyā as quoted by Aparārka (p. 1102), the Madana-pārijāta (p. 862) and Pr. T. p. 522 (which takes it from the Prāyaścitta section of the Kalpataru that takes it from Yama) is a laudation of cows: 'cows always emit fragrance, they have the smell of guggulu (bdellium), they are the support of beings, they are a great blessing; cows are (yield in their milk) the best food and the best offerings for gods; they are purifiers of all beings and offerings ooze from them; they please the gods in heaven by the offerings (of milk and ghee) that are rendered pure by the mantras recited over them; in the agnihotra (keeping up the sacred fire) of sages cows help

246. गोघ्नः पञ्चगव्याहारः पञ्चविंशतिरात्रमुपवसेत् सक्थिं वपनं कृत्वा गोचर्मणा माहृतो गान्ध्यायुगच्छन् गोद्वेषयो गां च दध्यात् । शङ्ख q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 262, मित्त. on या. III 264, हरदत्त on गो. 22. 18, अपरार्क p. 1094. The मित्त. and हरदत्त ascribe the passage to both शङ्ख and प्रवेत्तत्.

247. गोमतीविद्यामाह मायश्वितकाण्डकल्पतरी यमः । गोमतीं कीर्तयिष्यामि सर्वपाप-प्रणाशिनीम् । तां तु मे गदतो विभोः शृणुष्व सुसमाहिताः ॥ गावः सुरभयो नित्यं गावो ह्युच्छ्र-गन्धिकाः । गावः प्रतिष्ठा धृतानां गावः स्वस्त्ययनं महत् । अस्मेव परं गावो देवानां हविस्तमम् । पावनं सर्वधृतानां क्षरन्ति च हवींश्चि च ॥ हविषा मन्त्रपूतेन तर्पयन्त्यमरादृष्टि । क्षणीजामग्नि-होत्रेषु गावो होमप्रयोजिकाः ॥ पावनं सर्वधृतानां गावः क्षरणमुत्तमम् । गावः पवित्रं परमे गावो मङ्गलमुत्तमम् । गावः स्वर्गस्य सोपानं गावो धन्याः संजातनाः । नमो गोभ्यः श्रीमतीभ्यः सौरभेयीभ्य एव च । नमो ब्रह्मसुताभ्यश्च पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः । ब्राह्मणाभ्येव गावश्च कुलमेकं द्विधा कृतम् । एकत्र मन्त्रास्तिष्ठन्ति हविरग्नयश्च तिष्ठति ॥ गावः तत्र pp. 522-523, अपरार्क and श. प्रकाश folio 1166 with some variations such as 'सर्वधृतानां रक्षन्ति च वहन्ति च.' अपरार्क p. 1102 quotes the verses from गावः सुरभयो to पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः ।

to bring about *homa*; cows are the holy and eminent protection for all beings; cows are extremely holy and most auspicious; cows are blessed; salutation to cows that abound in wealth and are called *saurabheji* salutation to the cows that are holy and the daughters of Brahṁā. Brāhmaṇas and cows are (really) one family divided into two parts, in one (brāhmaṇas) reside the (vedic) *mantras* and in the other reside offerings (to Gods of ghee &c.)." The Pr. prakaraṇa <sup>248</sup> (p. 33) says that Kātyāyana, Gautama, Saṁvarta, Parāśara and other sages prescribe differing penances for *govadha*, which are to be explained away by reference to the killing being intentional or unintentional or to the fact of the cow being owned by a brāhmaṇa engaged in a *soma* sacrifice or by a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda with the six auxiliary śāstras, or by the fact that the cow was useful for the *homa* of a brāhmaṇa possessed of good qualities or was a pregnant cow or of the *kapilā* (brown or tawny) variety. It adds the important statement that in its days such cows being not found in ordinary life it is not necessary to expressly assign to each of those texts its appropriate subject matter.

Yāj. III. 284, <sup>249</sup> Saṁvarta 137, Agnipurāṇa 169.14 provide that if a cow or bull dies while being treated with medicine or while an attempt is being made to help the cow in delivery, or being branded (as a treatment) there is no sin. This applies as an exception in all cases of injury or death of brāhmaṇas, cows or other animals. Parāśara (IX. 4 ff.) and Āṅgiras (q. by Pr. T. pp. 526-527) prescribe  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the *prāyaścitta* for killing out-right a cow, if the death is due to putting an obstacle in the cow's or bull's free movement or to tying it up or to yoking it with thongs. Before undergoing a penance for *govadha*, the sinner had to make good the price of the animal to the owner, according to the Brahmapurāṇa and Parāśara. <sup>250</sup>

248. यत्पुनः कात्यायनेन...पराशरादिमुनिभिरेपि गृह्यधिकप्रत्यक्षितान्युक्तानि तानि कामकामकृत-सर्वमर्थ-श्रोत्रिय-कृद्बुधेहाध्यायि-ब्राह्मणसम्बन्धिषुजबद्धोभयेन-गमिणी-कपिलशिवशिवशिवयानि यथाशेख्यं व्याकवेयानीति । इदानीं तु तथाविधगवाभवेन व्यवहारानङ्ग-त्वात् पर्येकं विषयव्यवस्थया व्याकृतानीति । प्राय. प्रक. p. 33.

249. क्षिपमाणोपकारे तु मृते विधे न पातकम् । विपक्षे गोवृषाणां तु भेदजाग्रद्विषाह  
य. III. 284; पश्वने गोविधिकेस्तार्थे मृह्यगर्भविमोचने । यदि तत्र विपक्षिः स्यात् स  
पापेन लिप्यते । संवर्त 137 q. by the mīta, on य. III. 284, प्राय. प्रकरण p. 33.

250. गोवधे तु स्वामिने गोमूल्यं दत्त्वा कर्तव्यं करणीयम् । आदौ गोपतये दत्त्वा गोमूल्यं  
साधुकल्पितम् । इति ब्रह्मपुराणम् । न खैतद्व्यवहारे दोषः । ...तथा च पराशरः । प्रमाणे  
माणभूतां मृद्यात् प्रतिरूपकम् । तस्यानुकूलं मूल्यं वा वृथादित्यमवीन्मनुः । प्राय. त. ११ p.  
513. The verse प्रमाणे is quoted as कात्यायन's (792) by the परा. मा. III. p.  
425 and वि. र. p. 284.

The Sāmavidhāna Br. (I 7.8.) prescribes that on killing any animal (except a cow or bull) the guilty person should fast for one night and recite the sāmaveda verse 'Agnis-tigmena' (I 1. 3. 2). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9.25.14) provides for killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a *chakravāka*, *hansa*, *bhāsa*, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog the same penance as for killing a śūdra. Gaut. 22. 19-22, 24-25, Manu XI. 133-137, Yāj. III. 269-274, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 50.25-32, Parāśara VI. 1-15 prescribe several penances for killing an elephant, a horse, a tiger, a monkey, a cat, a serpent and numerous other animals, which are passed over here. Some smṛtis such as Samvarta 10 and Paithīnasi make a difference between *grāmya* and *āraṇya* (forest) animals, in each class seven being specified by Paithīnasi.<sup>251</sup> The great concern of the sages for anything possessed of the principle of life or growth went so far as to prescribe the penance of reciting one hundred ṛk verses if a man cut off big trees (like mango or jack-fruit tree) or shrubs and creepers, except for purposes of sacrifices or agriculture <sup>252</sup> (Manu XI. 142, Yāj. III. 276, Vas. 19. 11-12). These provisions tended against wanton destruction of trees, shrubs and forests that are so beneficent to humanity and lend a charm to the landscape.

It is remarkable that in case a man was bitten by a harlot or a monkey or an ass or by a dog or jackal or a camel or a crow he had to perform (in addition to the pain of the bite) *prāṇāyāma* while standing in water and to drink ghee for purification (Manu XI. 199, Yāj. III. 277, Vas. 23. 31). Parāśara V. 1-9 prescribe elaborate rules of purification for bites by wolves, dogs and jackals (such as a bath and *japa* of Gāyatrī &c.).

**PĀRADĀRYA** (adultery with another's wife)—is a minor sin (acc. to Yāj. III. 235, Manu XI. 59). This excludes intercourse with *guru's* wife and other intercourse declared to be like *gurutalpaganana* or with *cāṇḍāla* women (Manu XI. 170-172, 175, 178, Yāj. III. 231-233, Vas. XX. 15-17 and XXIII. 41). Āp. Dh. S. I. 10.28.19 is very severe on a male adulterer who transgresses his vow of loyalty to his wife; one who proves false to his wife shall put on the skin of an ass with the hair turned

251. ग्रामारण्यपशुविके पेटिगतिः । ग्रामारण्यान्धतुर्वक्षः । शीतविरजोऽन्धोऽन्धतरो गर्दभो मनुष्यश्चेति सप्त ग्राम्याः पक्षवः । मण्डिवानरक्षससरीषवकवृक्षतक्षणाश्चेति सप्तारण्याः पक्षवः । माघ वि. p. 233. Even the तै. सं. VII. 2.2. 1 says 'सप्त ग्राम्याः पक्षवः सप्तारण्याः'.

252. पुष्पफलोपकात्याक्षयाज हिंसात् । कर्षणकारणार्थं चोपहृत्वात् । वसिष्ठ 19.11-12.

outside and beg at seven houses saying 'give alms to him who played false to his wife'. This should be his livelihood for six months". Conversely, Āp. (I 10.28.20) provides that if a wife plays false to her husband she should perform for as many months (i. e. six months) the twelve night krochra penance. In another place Āp. Dh. S. (II 10. 27. 11) states that if a brāhmaṇa commits adultery once with a married woman of equal class he shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for an outcast. Gaut. (22. 29-30, 34) provides penances for two years generally and three years if the woman be the wife of a learned brāhmaṇa. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 quotes numerous texts dealing with the penance for adultery that does not amount to a mahāpātaka and tries to evolve order by assigning to each its proper province. This is passed over here. A woman guilty of adultery with a male of the same or higher caste than herself had to undergo the same penance as a male adulterer (Manu XI. 176 and Bṛhaspati), but if she committed adultery with a male of lower caste, then the penances differed as stated above (vide Vas. 21. 1-5 and Saṁvarta 167-172). Bṛhadyama IV. 48 states that adultery in the inverse order of classes is a grave sin, but adultery in the *anuloma* order of classes entails different penances for purification from it.<sup>253</sup>

*Vrātyatā* (failure to have upanayana performed at the right time)—A person whose upanayana is not performed at the proper time is called *vrātya* or *patitasāvitrika*. Vide Āsv. gr. I. 19. 5-7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 22-26, Baud. gr. III. 13. 5-6, Vas. XI. 71-75, Manu II. 38-39, Yāj. I. 37-38. The penances also such as the performance of *Vrātyastoma* and *Uddālakavrata* (Vas. XI. 76-79, Gaut. 19.8) are prescribed by some of these works, while Manu XI. 191 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 26-27 = Agni-purāṇa 170. 8-9) prescribes a milder penance of three *kṛcchras* and then *Upanayana* is to be performed again. Vas. XI. 77 describes Uddālakavrata as follows: 'for two months he should subsist on barley gruel, for a month on milk, for half a month on *amikṣā*, for eight days on ghee, for six days on food obtained without begging or asking for it, for three days on water and he should observe a complete fast for one day.' Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.1. 24-27) prescribes another penance for *vrātyatā*. For *vrātya* or *patitasāvitrika*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 96, 376-379. Haradatta as

253. संवर्त 167-168 are q. by माघ. वि. p. 358 and परा. मा. II part I p. 330; संवर्त 169 is q. by विश्वरूप on मा. III. 254 p. 132; बृहस्पति IV.48 is मातिलोभ्ये महत्प्रायश्चित्तं मनीषिणः। प्रायश्चित्तं चाबुलोभ्येन भवत्येव चाग्रयणं ॥

quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 379 appears to hold that even if generations before the great-grand-father of a man had been without *upanayana*, still proper penance should be prescribed and the man taken in the fold of Hinduism. But there were others who stuck literally to the words of Āp. and Parāśara and hold that if all the generations from the father of the great-grand-father of a man were without *upanayana* then nothing could be done for that man.<sup>253a</sup>

*Vratalopa* (non-observance of the vow of celibacy on the part of a brahmachārin). A Vedic student who has sexual intercourse with a woman is technically called *avakīrṇin*. The Tai. Ā. II. 18 contains the penance for *avakīrṇin* first promulgated by Sudeva Kāśyapa<sup>251</sup>. Āp. Dh. S. (I 9. 26. 8-9) provides<sup>255</sup> that such a student shall offer to Nirṛti (goddess of Hell or death) an ass according to the manner of *Pākuyajñas* and that a śūdra shall eat the remainder of the offering. Jaimini (VI 8. 22) provides that the offering is to be made in the ordinary fire (*laukikāgni*) and not in the consecrated Vedic fire.<sup>256</sup> Vas. (23. 1-3) prescribes 'if a Vedic student approaches a woman, then he should offer an ass to the goblins (*rakṣas*) in a forest where four roads meet, kindling an ordinary fire or he may offer an oblation of boiled rice to Nirṛti and throw into the fire four oblations of that food saying 'To lust, *svāhā*; to him

253a. इदं व्याख्यातं हरद्वयेन भाष्यकृता । ... यस्य प्रपितामहस्य पितुरास्य मातुस्येत्येव उपनयनं तस्य प्रापश्चित्तं नोक्तमिति । तथा च संस्कारस्य त्रिपुरवर्धनमपि व्याख्येयं कथमपि संस्कारस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति कलितम् । प्राय. मुद्राबली folio 80 a.

254. यो ब्रह्मचार्यवकीर्यवकीर्यस्य सप्तमस्य त्रिपुरवर्धनमपि व्याख्येयं कथमपि संस्कारस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति कलितम् । प्राय. मुद्राबली folio 80 a.

255. गर्भमेनावकीर्णं निर्वर्तति पाकयज्ञेन यजेत । तस्य सप्तः प्राणीयात् । आप. ध. ह. I. 9. 26. 8-9; ब्रह्मचार्योऽवकीर्यवकीर्यस्य सप्तमस्य त्रिपुरवर्धनमपि व्याख्येयं कथमपि संस्कारस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति कलितम् । प्राय. मुद्राबली folio 80 a.

256. गर्भमेनावकीर्णं निर्वर्तति पाकयज्ञेन यजेत । तस्य सप्तः प्राणीयात् । आप. ध. ह. I. 9. 26. 8-9; ब्रह्मचार्योऽवकीर्यवकीर्यस्य सप्तमस्य त्रिपुरवर्धनमपि व्याख्येयं कथमपि संस्कारस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति कलितम् । प्राय. मुद्राबली folio 80 a.

257. गर्भमेनावकीर्णं निर्वर्तति पाकयज्ञेन यजेत । तस्य सप्तः प्राणीयात् । आप. ध. ह. I. 9. 26. 8-9; ब्रह्मचार्योऽवकीर्यवकीर्यस्य सप्तमस्य त्रिपुरवर्धनमपि व्याख्येयं कथमपि संस्कारस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति कलितम् । प्राय. मुद्राबली folio 80 a.

258. गर्भमेनावकीर्णं निर्वर्तति पाकयज्ञेन यजेत । तस्य सप्तः प्राणीयात् । आप. ध. ह. I. 9. 26. 8-9; ब्रह्मचार्योऽवकीर्यवकीर्यस्य सप्तमस्य त्रिपुरवर्धनमपि व्याख्येयं कथमपि संस्कारस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति कलितम् । प्राय. मुद्राबली folio 80 a.

who follows his lust, *svāhā*; to *Nirṛti svāhā*; to the deities called *Rakṣas, svāhā*. Gaut. 23. 17-19, Manu XI. 118-123, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 35-43; Yāj. III. 280, Agnipurāṇa 169. 15-18, Pār. gr. III. 12 contain similar provisions, Gautama adding that he shall beg for a year at seven houses with a red vessel (earthen) in his hand and proclaim his misdeed. The Baud. Dh. S. and Pār. gr. furnish elaborate details. The former states that the *Paśupurodāśa* may be offered to *Rakṣas* or to *Yama* or he may offer on the *Amāvāsya* at night two offerings of clarified butter in fire after performing the preparatory rites of a *darvi-homa* and that he may then invoke fire with the verse (Tai. Ā. II. 18) 'Sam mā ciñcantu marutaḥ &c.' (may the Maruts grant me long life and strength).

If an ascetic reverted to the life of a householder, *Samvarta* (171-172) prescribes the penance of *krechra* for six months<sup>257</sup>. Such a man is called *pratyavasita*. The *pratyavasitas* are said to be of nine kinds<sup>258</sup> by *Yama* (22-23), *Brhad-Yama* (3-4) and others viz. those who turn back from water, fire, halter (by means of which they wanted to kill themselves), those who revert back from the stage of *sannyāsa* or from a fast (unto death), or from poison, precipice or sitting *dharma* and those who (desiring to commit suicide) strike themselves with a weapon (but are not killed); these nine are called *pratyavasita* and are beyond commerce with people, become pure by the penance of *Cāndrāyana* or two *Taptakṛccras*. *Vṛddha-Parāśara* quoted by *Par. M.* and *Prāyascitta-anukṛtāvali* provides that *sannyāsins*, who revert to the life of the householder, are to be treated as *cāṇḍālas* even after undergoing penance and their children born after they fall from the ascetic stage are to be made to dwell among *cāṇḍālas*. This explains the harsh treatment alleged to have been meted to the great saint *Jñāneśvara* and his brothers at *Paithan* in the 13th century. A person who after becoming a *sannyāsīn* reverts to another *āśrama* or acts contrary to the

257. संवस्य पुनरिति कश्चिदपरार्थं सिद्धं ब्रजेत् । कुर्वाकृच्छ्रं समानं तत्पन्मासा-  
स्तद्वन्तरम् ॥ संवर्ते 171-172, quoted in परा. मा. II part 2 p. 129 (reads प्रत्यापत्तिं  
ब्रजेद्यदि । स कुर्वाकृच्छ्रमध्यास्तः पन्मासांश्च वन्तरम्) and प्राय. सा. p. 123 (reads  
प्रत्यापत्तिं चिकीर्षति) । 'सर्वेषु प्रायश्चित्ते तु सधर्माः परित्राजका वर्हिता इत्याह वृद्धपराशरः ।  
तु सधर्मस्तु आम्बालाः परित्राजकतायसाः । तेभ्यो ज्ञाताप्यवस्थानि आम्बालेः सह वासयेत् ॥  
इति । प्राय. सुक्तावली folio 73 b, परा. मा. II part 2 p. 11.

258. जलाग्न्युद्वेगधनज्जहाः प्रज्जगानाशकच्युताः । विषवतनमायज्ञाज्जातहताश्च ये ॥  
पथे प्रत्यापत्तिताः सर्वलोकप्रद्विष्णुताः । आम्बालयेन सुध्वस्तं तप्तकृच्छ्रद्वयेन वा ॥ यम 22-23  
q. by प्राय. सा. p. 126.

rules of his āśrama is called *ārūḍhapāṭita* also (vide Par. M. II. part. I. p. 373 quoting *Hārīta*).

Elaborate purifications are prescribed for removing the taint of touching certain men, unclean objects like bones (Manu V. 87), women in their monthly illness or within certain days after delivery and animals (like dogs, village pigs, cocks, crows). They have to be passed over here for reasons of space. But a few passages may be cited by way of sample. Gautama<sup>259</sup> (14, 28) provides that on touching *patita*, *cāṇḍāla*, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse, or on touching any one who has touched any one of these or any one who is the third in contact, the purification is brought about by a bath with the clothes on. Manu V. 84 and Yāj. III. 30 contain similar provisions. The Pr. V. (pp. 495-499) discusses the question whether *sparsa*<sup>260</sup> (touch) means direct touch or includes even indirect touch and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that indirect touch also is included and cites *Āpastamba-smṛti* in support that if a *brāhmaṇa* and a *cāṇḍāla* or the like are both seated on the same branch (without actually touching each other) the *brāhmaṇa* can become purified only by a bath. A verse quoted as Yājñavalkya's by Pr. Prakaraṇa<sup>261</sup> p. 110 (not found in the printed text) states: 'on touching a *cāṇḍāla*, *pukkasa*, *mleccha*, *bhilla*, a *pūrasika* (one coming from Persia) and the like and persons guilty of grave sins one should bathe with the clothes on.' The *Śat-triṃśan-mata*<sup>262</sup> provides 'on touching

259. पतितच्छण्डालं क्षतिकोदकया वा वस्तुक्षितस्तु हृद्यपर्यग्ने सचैल्लोकस्यार्जनाप्युपयेत् ।  
शौ. 14. 28. The *mita*. on Yāj. III. 30 reads it as सचैल्लोको and हरदत्त observes that the latter is the better reading.

260. उवस्पर्शो यद्यपि न स्पर्शश्च तस्यार्थः तथाप्यत्र वचनादेकावयविद्वारा परम्परा-  
स्पृशेति श्रावः । तथा आपस्तम्बः । एकशालां समास्य व्याण्डालादिवर्जं वा भवेत् । ब्राह्मणस्तत्र  
निवसन् स्नानेन शुचिर्भवेत् । आदिभ्यश्चानुदक्यादीनां ब्रह्मण्यः । शास्त्राग्रहणमेकावयपु-  
षलक्षणार्थं तेनैकपावा गादेरि ब्रह्मण्यः । याव. रि. p. 496. The verse is आपस्तम्बस्मृति  
VII. 14 (reads somewhat differently). It is quoted in या. प्रक. p. 111 also.

261. तत्र याज्ञवल्क्यः । चण्डालपुत्रसंस्लेष्टभिक्षुपारसिकादिकान् । महापातकिनश्चैव  
स्पृष्ट्वा स्नानात्सचैल्लोकः । या. प्रक. p. 110. This verse is quoted as हृद्ययाज्ञवल्क्य's  
by अपरार्क p. 923.

262. वद्विकान्तम् । वीद्वाभ्यामुपतांश्चैव लोकायतिकान्तिकान् । विकर्मस्थानं  
हिजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचैल्लोकं जलमाविशेत् । चैत्यहृत्कामितिर्युपव्याण्डालः सोमविक्रयी । एतास्तु  
ब्राह्मणः स्पृष्ट्वा सचैल्लोकं जलमाविशेत् । या. प्रक. p. 110, and स्मृतिच. I. p. 118 (which  
reads पाण्डुपतनं जैवान् लोकायतिकपापिलान्). The first verse is quoted as from  
the *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa* by the *mita*. on Yāj. III. 30 and by स्मृतिच. I. p. 118  
(reads जैवान् पाण्डुपतनं स्पृष्ट्वा and ज्ञवान् for स्पृष्ट्वा) and the 2nd is ascribed to  
परशर by अपरार्क p. 923.

Bauddhas, Pāsupatas, Laukayatikas, atheists and those who follow forbidden actions, one should plunge in water together with the clothes on. On touching a *cāitya* tree (such as a fig tree round which a platform is built), a funeral pile (or brick altar prepared in the *śrauta* rite called *Agnicayana*), a sacrificial post, a *cāṇḍāla*, one who sells the soma plant, a *brāhmaṇa* should enter water with the clothes on.' *Samvarta* <sup>263</sup> requires a *dvija* to sip water on touching a shoemaker, a washerman, a *veṇa* (Manu X. 19, 49, one who beats drum &c.), a fisherman, a dancer (*naṭa*) and *Śātātapa* <sup>264</sup> provides that if any limb of a *dvija* (except the head) is touched by one who colours clothes, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a *thaka* (*Thug*), an actor, one who allows sexual intercourse in the mouth, a dog, a prostitute allowing men of all *varṇas* to visit her, an oil-grinder, the keeper of a tavern, an executioner, a village pig or cock, he should wash the limb with water and perform *ūcamana*. If the head is touched by any one of these, then he should bathe. In this connection it may be noted that Hemādri quotes (on p. 38) the *Garudapurāṇa* and (on p. 316) *Parāśara* for the 16 castes in a village that were treated as *cāṇḍālas* in the matter of touch, speech or sight. Devala (q. by Hemādri on *prāyaścitta* p. 312) says that *Cāṇḍāla* and *Turuṣka* (Turk) are equally low. The chapter on untouchables in the 2nd vol. of the H. of Dh. pp. 165-179 may be consulted in this connection. On pp. 175-176 of the same work references are given to verses of Atri, Śātātapa, Bṛhaspati and others stating that no purification is required on the ground of untouchability in the case of religious festivals and marriage processions, in battle, in the case of fire or invasion and similar calamities. By no stretch of imagination can these verses be restricted to the untouchability arising from death or birth as some propose

263. चर्मरं रजकं वेणं धीवरं नटमेव च । एतान् स्पृष्ट्वा द्विजो मोहादाद्यामेत् प्रयतोऽपि सन् ॥ संवर्तं q. by प्राय. वि. pp. 472-473.

264. रजकश्चर्मकुक्षीव व्याधजालोपजीविनो । निर्णेजकः सौनिकश्च ठकः शैलूचकस्तथा ॥ हुक्षेभगस्तथा च वनिता सर्ववर्णना । चर्मी ध्वजी वधपवाती ग्राम्यशूकरकुटो । एभिर्विचङ्गं संस्पृष्टं शिरोवर्जं द्विजातिषु । तोयेन कालम् कृत्वा आद्यान्तः क्षुधितामियात् ॥ ज्ञातात्प q. by प्राय. वि. p. 473 and स्मृतिच. I p. 119. The word ठकः explained by प्राय. वि. as धूर्तः may be noted as the original word for the modern word 'Thug'. The स्मृतिच. reads नटः for ठकः and explains as जातिविशेषः. रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो वुरुड एव च । कैवर्तमेहमिलाश्च स्वर्णकारश्च सौनिकः (सौनिकः ?) ॥ काचको लोहकारश्च शिलाभेदी तु नापितः । तक्षकस्तिलवर्णी च वृषश्चर्मी तथा ध्वजी । एते बोद्धव्या मोक्षाश्चाण्डाला ग्रामवासिनः । ग्रहवपुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (on मा. p. 38 and also ब्रह्मर on p. 316.)



to do. The words are too sweeping for this explanation and there being no untouchability on birth for any one except the mother and persons in mourning not being likely to join religious festivals and marriage processions those verses cannot be so construed.

The smrtis were very keen on keeping a high ideal before brāhmanas as regards receiving gifts. The Sāma. Br. (I. 7. 1-2) prescribes that if a brāhmana receives a gift from a ksatriya when not in distress (or difficulty) he should eat only one meal by day for a month and recite the Sāma verse 'mahat tat samo mahiṣāścakāra' (Sāmaveda I. 6. 1. 5, 10, No. 542) for one month, while standing in water and if he accepts a gift from any one else from whom he should not accept it, he should undergo *krccra* penance and recite the sāma verse 'trikadrugesu' (Sāmaveda I. 5. 2. 3. 1, No. 457). Yaj. I. 140 provides that a brāhmana should not accept a gift from a king who is parsimonious (or greedy) and acts against the dictates of sāstra and Manu XI. 194 (= Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 54. 24) provides that a brāhmana becomes free from the sin of the acceptance of a thing which should not be accepted or of the acceptance of a gift from a condemned donor by reciting the Gāyatri three thousand times (in a month) or subsisting on milk alone or staying in a cowpen for a month. It may be noted that Manu X. 102-103 and Yaj. III. 41 allow a brāhmana when in distress to accept a gift from anybody or to take food from anyone whatever or to maintain himself by teaching any one whatever and state that he is not tainted by sin in so doing, since he is like fire and water (like that of the Ganges) and since it is unreasonable (or impossible) to assert that what is pure can be sullied. Manu X. 109, however, regards acceptances of a gift from an unworthy (or low) person as worse than teaching an improper person or officiating for him. A brāhmana was not to sell things declared to be unfit to be sold by him such <sup>264 a</sup> as sesame, oil of sesame, curds, bees' wax (ksaudra), salt, grapes, wine, cooked food, female or

264 a. अन्नाधिक्यविक्रयप्रवृत्तानि । सङ्कलितानि । न विक्रियादधिक्येयानि । तिलतिलवर्षिकैश्चलवणैश्चकामद्यमांसकुताकलीपुच्छहस्त्यश्चक्षुष्यमृदुसौमकुण्डाजिनसोमोदकनीलीविक्रयात् सद्यः पतति ब्राह्मणस्तत्र अपश्चितमकामवासी कामकृतेऽप्येकं पतितं ब्राह्मणमुद्धरेत् । संवत्सरं तमकुच्छमाचरेत् । कुतवापनः क्षुधिर्योऽप्युपेयात् त्रिकैर्वासाः काष्ठमौनी वीरासन्मसीत राज्ञे विशालिष्ठेऽथकोशिः कार्यपरः (शिकार्यपरः ?) सावित्रीं सयनायुजं अपेत्यायं ब्रतमभ्युपगम्य कुक्षीरवासा मौली मेकली इन्ध्री पवित्रपाणिर्हविष्यं वा अपयेद्धवं मेकमकुष्ठं वा वात्रिकमग्नीचात् द्वाद्विंशत्यं चोपवासी ब्राह्मणतपेण तृणाद्विकमिरप्यं पयवाप्यं यथा पतितः सिद्धैर्लभ्यतः क्षुब्धमिति । वा. प्रकाश folio 127b.

male slaves, elephants, horses, bulls, fragrant substances, liquids, silken cloth (kṣauma), black antelope hide, soma plant, water, indigo; by selling these he at once incurs sin. As penance he should practise *Tapta-kṛcchra* for a year after tonsuring his head, he should enter water thrice, wear only one wet piece of cloth, should observe silence, should practise the *Virāsana*, should sit up at night and stand by day, should recite the *Gāyatri*.

One important matter dealt with by a few of the *smṛtis* and some of the digests is the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those who were converted by force by the invading *mlecchas*. About the meaning of the word *mleccha*, there is some divergence of views. From the *Sat. Br.* (III. 2.1. 23-24) it appears that the *mlecchas* spoke a degraded and corrupt speech (such as saying 'heḷavaḥ' for 'heṣrayaḥ'). *Parāśara* (IX. 36) refers to the *mlecchas* as the eaters of cow's flesh. The *Pr. T.* (p. 549) quotes a *smṛti*<sup>265</sup> text to the effect that a *mleccha* is an eater of cow's flesh and talks much that is contradictory, and cites a passage from the *Harivamśa* for the manner of the dress and of the trimming of hair in the case of *Śakas*, *Yavanas*, *Kāmbhojas*, *Pāradas*, *Pahlavas* &c. Vide for *mleccha* and for the return to the Hindu fold of those that were forcibly carried away as slaves by *mlecchas* and robbers or made to kill cows or to eat the flesh of asses, camels, village pigs, H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 92, 383-385, 389-392 (where verses of *Devala* ascribed by some like the *Mit.* to *Āpastamba-smṛti* are set out), 973-974. A few matters not dealt with there may be added here. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*<sup>266</sup> *purāṇa* (II. 73. 203-206) provides that when persons are kidnapped by *mlecchas* or raiders or persons passing through forests are so treated and return to their own country, the penances for purifying them from the sin of eating forbidden food are to be prescribed after considering their class (*varṇa*), viz. that a

265. गोमांसखादको यश्च विरुद्धं बहु भाषते । सर्वाचारविहीनश्च स्तेय्य इत्यभिधीयते ॥ बोधायन q. by मा तत्त्व p. 519; रायसुकुट as q. by प्रायः सुकृतावली (folio 104 b) reads गो. ... भक्षको यस्तु अपराधं च भाषते । सर्वाचारविहीनश्च ॥ सगरः स्वां प्रतिज्ञां च सुरार्वाक्यं निशम्य च । धर्मं जपान् तेषां वै देशागम्य च कार ह ॥ अथ शकानां शिरसो मुण्डं कृत्वा व्यसर्जयत् । यवनानां शिरः सर्वे काम्बोजानां तथैव च ॥ पारदां युक्तकेशाश्च पङ्कजाः श्लक्ष्णधारिणः । निःस्त्रायायवक्त्रकाराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना ॥ शका यवनकाम्बोजाः पारवाश्च शिरसापते । कौलिस्पर्षा समहिषाः दायाश्चोलाः सकेरलाः ॥ सर्वे ते क्षत्रियास्तात धर्मस्तेषां निराकृतः । हरिवंश, हरिवंशपर्य 14.15-19 q. by प्रायः तत्त्व p. 549.

266. स्तेय्येष्टुतानां चौरैर्वा काण्टारे वा प्रवासिताम् । भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविबुद्धार्थं तेषां बध्नामि निवृत्तितम् ॥ पुनः प्राच्य इत्येवं च वर्णानामनुपूर्वशः । कृच्छ्रस्यार्थे ब्राह्मणस्तु पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ पादोनामन्ते क्षत्रियस्तु अधोर्ध्वं वैश्य एव च । पादं कृत्वा तथा शूद्रो दानं दत्त्वा विष्णुपूजति ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73. 203-206.

brāhmaṇa should undergo half kṛcchra penance and should have the Upanayana performed again, a kṣatriya should undergo three-fourths of Kṛcchra (and also upanayana), a vaiśya one-fourth Kṛcchra and a śūdra becomes pure by undergoing only ½ of a kṛcchra and by making a gift. In view of the fact that Manu VIII. 169, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII. 6-7, Yaj. II. 89 declare that what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force and what is caused to be written by force and all transactions whatever that are brought about by force are void, and the burning desire of many people forcibly converted in times of disturbances to return to the Hindu fold and to the religion of their forefathers, the movement now called *buddhi* should be encouraged by all interested in the well-being and stability of Hindu society. It is better to call this return by the name of 'parāvartana'. A model but brief rite for the *parāvartana* of those who were forcibly converted or for those who voluntarily left the Hindu fold but want to return to it is given in the Appendix. The same *prayoga* with suitable changes may be employed for taking into the Hindu fold any one who was not born a Hindu. In ancient times such people appear to have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of *Vṛātyastoma*. For this latter, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 385-387 and for the spread of Hinduism in Java, Bali, Sumatra, Siam and other countries of South-East Asia, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 934-935. Recently, through the kindness of Dr. J. M. Unvala, I had an opportunity of reading several inscriptions of the 18th and 19th centuries at the fire temple called Jvālāji at Suruhani near Baku, the capital of Russian Azerbaijan, situated on the northern shore of the Caspian sea, which were inscribed by Hindu pilgrims or visitors, that begin with obeisance to Ganeśa and in one of which occurs the verse quoted below.<sup>267</sup>

Manu XI. 124 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 38.7) prescribes the penance of Śāntapana for committing with full knowledge any of the deeds described above as *jātibhramakara* and the penance of Prājāpatya for doing it unintentionally. For doing any of the deeds called *saṅkarikarṇa* or *apātrikarṇa* described above, Manu XI. 125 prescribes the penance of cāndrāyana for a month and for doing any of the deeds called *malāvaha* prescribes that the perpetrator should scald himself with barley gruel for three

267. श्लोकः। देवयज्ञे ब्रूते तीर्थे सत्पात्रमङ्गभोजने। पिबन्माद्ये जदीहस्ते धनं ब्रजति धर्मताम्॥

days. Those two verses of Manu occur in Agnipurāṇa (170, 23-25). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (39.2, 40.2, 41.5) prescribes somewhat different penances for saṅkarikaraṇa, apātrikaraṇa or malinikaraṇiṇya deeds. Vide also the Mit. on Yaj. III, 290 for the penances prescribed for these deeds by Yama and Bṛhaspati. About miscellaneous *pātakas* the rule laid down by Manu XI, 209, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 42.2, Yaj. III, 294 and others is that the penance should be prescribed by the brāhmanas after taking into account the nature of the deed, the ability of the perpetrator and other circumstances of time and place &c.

Some of the digests prescribe certain times for the performance of penance. The first rule is laid down by Hārīta that having done something sinful or improper through trustfulness, affection, greed, fear or heedlessness one should resort to purification at once. Dakṣa<sup>268</sup> II, 73 also states that all *naimiṭṭhika* and *kāmya* matters must be performed as they fall due and no delay should be caused. If more than a year is allowed to pass after the sin is incurred the penance would have to be double of what it otherwise would have been, according to Devala and Manu.<sup>269</sup> The Pr. T. (pp. 474, 512) quotes a verse from the Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi<sup>269</sup> and an astrological work to the effect that a penance or ordeal should not be administered on the 8th or 14th *tithi* of a month, nor should an ordeal or marriage take place on a Saturday or Tuesday. The Prāyaścittendusekhara (p. 15) says that according to respectable people (*śiṣṭas*) the *saṅkalpa* (declaration of undergoing a penance) should be made on the 14th *tithi* and the actual rite should be performed on the *amāvāsya*. If the guilty person is in mourning he may perform penance after the period of mourning is over.

The procedure for undergoing penances for sins and lapses prescribed by the assembly of learned men has varied in details from time to time. The Gaut. Dh. S. 26.6-17 prescribes

268. नैमित्तिकानि काम्यानि नियतानि यथा यथा । तथा तथा हि कार्याणि न कालं तु विवक्ष्येत् ॥ दक्ष II, 73 q. by मा. तत्त्व p. 512.

268 a. यथा स्मृतिसानेरे देवतः । कालान्तरेके द्विष्टुणं यावन्निश्च समाचरेत् । द्विष्टुणं राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा क्षुद्रिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ कालान्तरेके संवत्सरान्तरेके । संवत्सरान्तिष्ठान्तरेके द्विष्टुणो दण्डः । इति मनुवचने ० । मा. तत्त्व p. 474. This is मनु VIII.374.

269. 'तस्माद्विजग्म्यात् स्नेहात् लोभाद्भयमादादा अक्षुब्धं कृत्वा सद्यः शीघ्रमारभेत्-इति हारीतेन सद्यःकरणमुक्तम् । अत्रापि 'यवहारचिन्तामणी विशेषः । नाहम्यां न चतुर्विद्यां यावन्निश्चपरिक्षिणे । न परीक्षा विवाहश्च क्षान्तिमौघिने तथा ॥ मा. तत्त्व p. 474. The words 'तस्मात्...चरेत्' (for आरभेत्) are quoted from हारीत by मनु प. 703-704.

the method of performing Kṛcchra penance. It is briefly as follows: The sinner desiring to be free of sin quickly should stand by day and sit up by night (i. e. should take sleep in a sitting position and not lie down), he should speak the truth and should not hold conversation with *amārgas* (śūdras &c.), should bathe thrice in the day, should perform *mārjana* (splashing or sprinkling water on the head and other limbs by means of *kuśas* dipped in water after repeating sacred mantras) with the three verses 'āpo hi śthā' (Rg. X.9.1-3), with the verses called Pavitravati and with the eight verses beginning with 'hiranyavarnāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6.1.1-8). Then he should perform the *tarpaṇa* <sup>270</sup> (satiating with water) with thirteen mantras beginning with *namaḥ* and ending with *namaḥ* (each respectively containing 6, 4, 4, 13, 2, 2, 6, 5, 2, 2, 6, 2 names of deities). This constitutes for him the worship of Aditya (the Sun) and he offers oblations of clarified butter with these thirteen mantras and, after he passes twelve days in this way, on the 13th he offers nine oblations of boiled rice to Agni, Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, the *Viśve Devas*, Brahman, Prajāpati, Agni Svīstakṛt. Then he serves dinner to brāhmaṇas. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 6.15.9 states <sup>271</sup> the general rule that in all religious observances one should give dinner to brāhmaṇas that are pure (in conduct) and that have studied the Veda. The Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1. 95-99) prescribes that in a kṛcchra penance one has to bathe thrice in the day, to lie down on the ground (not on a cot &c.), to wear only one piece of cloth, to shave one's hair on the head, the moustache and the body and to pare one's nails, and that the same mode is prescribed also for women (sinners) except the tonsure of the head. Manu (XI. 222-225) prescribes that in all penances there is *homa* with the *mahāvīhrtis* every day, the sinner has to practise *ahiṃsā* (non-injury to all sentient beings), truthfulness, absence of anger and straight forwardness, has to bathe thrice by day and thrice by night together with the clothes on, he should not talk with women, śūdras and *patitas*, he should stand by day and sit down at night or if unable to do so he should sleep on the ground (raised platform called *sthaṇḍila*), should observe celibacy and the rules of a student, such as wearing girdle of *mūñja* grass and carrying a staff (of *palāśa* &c.), should honour gods, brāhmaṇas and his elders, should always recite the Gayatri and sacred texts.

270. For the usual *tarpaṇa*, vide II. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 689-695.

271. *शुचीन्मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृतेषु भोजयेत्। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 9.*

Vas. 24.5 (a long prose passage) contains similar provisions. Yaj. III. 312-13 are very important. They prescribe the practice of certain virtues and rules of conduct called *yamas* (such as *brahmararya*, kindness, forbearance, truthfulness, *ahimsā* &c.) and *niyamas* (such as bath, silence, fasting, purity of body &c.) as necessary adjuncts in all penances. The Laugākṣigṛhya (V. 3-11) prescribes the procedure for all penances. Yaj. III. 325 holds that one should, while performing the penance of *kṛcchra* or *cāndrāyana*, bathe thrice daily, recite holy mantras (as stated in Vas. 28.11-15) and should eat balls of rice over which the Gāyatrī has been recited. Śāṅkha<sup>272</sup> (18.12-14) also summarises the different items that have to be gone through in undergoing a penance. The Madanapārijāta (pp. 781-784), Pr. V. (pp. 503-506), Pr. Sāra (pp. 21, 22 and 200-203), Pr. T. pp. 497-510, 523-524, Pr. Mayūkha pp. 18-21, Pr. Prakāśa (folios 38b to 43b), Prāyaścittendusekhara (pp. 15 and 88) and other works provide elaborate rules about the procedure of undergoing *prāyaścittas*. It is not possible nor necessary to set out these in detail here. Briefly put, on the day previous to the actual day of commencing penance the sinner should pare his nails, shave his head, bathe with clay, cow-dung, holy water &c., drink clarified butter, make a declaration of performing the penance indicated by the assembly of learned men. On the next day he should bathe, perform *śrāddha*, drink *pañcagavya*, should perform *homa*, give *dakṣiṇā* (gold, cows &c.) to the *brāhmaṇas* and feed them. Parāśara (XI.3) says that at the end of the rite of penance *pañcagavya* should be taken and one, two, three or four cows should be donated respectively by a *brāhmaṇa*, a *kṣatriya*, a *vaiśya* and a *śūdra*. Yama (verse 63) says that *brāhmaṇas* should be fed on the performance of a penance and a *dakṣiṇā* of one golden *māṣa* should be given to each *brāhmaṇa*. Jābali says that at the beginning and close of all penances the sinner should offer in the *smārta* fire oblations of clarified butter to the accompaniment of the *Vyāhṛtis*, perform *śrāddha* and offer *dakṣiṇā* consisting of a cow or gold. Vide Aparārka (p. 1230) and Par. M. II part 2 p. 195 for Jābali's verses. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 30a) adds that according to the Mahānava the number of *vyāhṛti-homas* should be 28 or 108.

272. सुष्ठुविषयव्यवसायी अथःशापी जितेन्द्रियः। श्रीशुद्धपातितानां च वर्जयेत्यवि-  
भाषणम्॥ पवित्राणि जपेच्छब्दा उद्धृष्टास्तैव शक्तितः। अथ विधिः स विज्ञेयः सर्वदुष्टैर्बु-  
त्तर्वदा। सूत्र 13. 12-14, which are almost the same as the last two verses of  
विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.

A few words may be said about the tonsure of the head (*vapana* or *mūṣṇa*). The Tai. Br. (I.5.6.1-2) states<sup>273</sup>: 'The Asuras first shaved the hair on the head, then the moustache and then the armpits; therefore they went down (or with face downwards) and were defeated, while the gods first shaved the armpits, then the moustache and then the hair on the head.' The Pr. Prakāśa quotes this passage in a mutilated form and then states that *vapana* is of three kinds, *daiva* (of the gods), *āsura* (of the *asuras*) and *mānuṣa* (of men), that the *āsura* method is condemned, that in consecrating the Vedic fires, in the *śāntis* and *soma* sacrifices the *daiva* method is ordained, while in *prāyascittas*, there being no special *vidhi*, there is an option. Tonsure of the head is enjoined on several occasions e. g. the Viṣṇupurāṇa provides: <sup>274</sup> 'Tonsure should be carried out at Prayāga when on a pilgrimage, and on the death of one's father or mother; one should not in vain (lightly) tonsure the head'. To these occasions may be added penances. The idea seems to have been entertained that whatever sin a man commits it becomes centered in the hair, as a verse quoted by the Madanaparijāta and Pr. M. states. <sup>275</sup> Gaut. (27.3), Vas. <sup>276</sup> (24.5), Baud. Dh. S. (II.1.98-99) and others provide for the tonsure of the hair on the head and lips (except those on the eye-brows, the hair on the trunk and the top knot). Exceptions were introduced to the rule about tonsure. Dakṣa<sup>277</sup> forbade tonsure, the offering of *piṇḍas* and the carrying of a corpse and all funeral rites to

273. तेषुरा ऊर्ध्वं पृष्ठेऽथो नावदधन् । ते केशानवेऽवपन्त अथ इमञ्चूणि अथोपयक्षी । तत्तरेऽन्वाञ्च आयन् पराभवन् । यस्मै च यस्मि अवाकंति ।...अथ देवा ऊर्ध्वं पृष्ठेऽथोऽवपन् । ते उपयक्षी अवेऽवपन्त अथ इमञ्चूण्य केशान् । सुवर्णं लोकाभायन् । तै. ब्रा. I. 5.6. 1-2 (about the vapana of a Cāturmāsya-yājīn); यस्मै त्रिविधं देवमासुरं मातृवं चेति । आसुरं निगृह्यत मातृवदेवयौर्विकल्पः । आशानेष्टिसोमेभु देवरय विहितत्वात् । प्रायश्चित्तेषु तु विशेष-विषयभावाद् विकल्प एव । प्र. प्रकाश folio 31 b.

274. प्रयागे तर्धयात्रायां पितृमातृविशोक्तः । कक्षानां वपने कार्यं न हृष्या विक्रयो भवेत् ॥ विष्णुपुराण q. by प्राय. तत्त्व p. 489.

275. यानि कानि च पापानि ब्रह्महत्यात्मनानि च । केशानाञ्चित्य तित्थित तस्मात्केशा-  
न्वाप्यहम् ॥ इति मन्त्रमुक्त्वा कशोपरयस्मिन्नावर्जं क्रमेण इमञ्चपपञ्चकेशात्पृष्ठकुक्षरथान्  
वापयेत् । यतिविधवादीनां सशिक्षं वपनम् । ब्रह्महत्यादिष्वपि सशिक्षं सर्वाङ्गलोभनां च । प्राय.  
प्र. p. 19.

276. कृच्छ्राणां व्रतकृपाणि इमञ्चकेशाः । वपेद्भुञ्जोक्षितोमक्षिन्नावर्जः । बसिष्ठ 24.4-5 ;  
कृच्छ्रे त्रिवक्त्रमुक्कोपयर्शनात् । अथः सपनम् । एकवक्त्राः । केशइमञ्चलोमनवापयन् । एतदेव  
क्षिपाः केशवपनवर्जम् । यो. च. द्. II. 1. 95-99. The Mitta. on वा. III. 325 reads  
बसिष्ठ as इमञ्चकेशादे वापयेत् कुक्षितोमक्षिन्नावर्जः । : should it not be अक्षितोम ?

277. मुञ्चनं पिण्डदानं च संस्कारं च सर्वज्ञः । न जीयिष्युः कुर्वाद् हविर्निषतिरेव  
चेति वक्षीयमिदं धरय रथयासविषयत्वाद् विधिरूपे निवेधानवकाशात् । प्र. प्रकाश folio 32a.

one whose father was alive and to a man whose wife was pregnant. But this prohibition did not apply to penances. The Baud. Dh. S. already referred to prohibits the tonsure of women in penances. Āngiras 163, Āpastamba-smṛiti I. 33-34, Brhad-Yama IV.16, Vṛddha-Hārta IX. 386, Parāśara IX. 54-55, Yama 54-55 provide <sup>278</sup> that in the case of married women whose husbands are alive and in the case of maidens all their hair should be held together and only two finger-breadths of hair should be cut off. In the case of widows and ascetics the entire head was to be shaved. It was further provided by Parāśara (IX 52-54), Śāṅkha (q. by Par. M. II. part I, pp. 290-291) that in the case of a king or prince or a learned brāhmaṇa tonsure of the head should not be insisted upon, but that they should have to undergo double the usual penance and the *daśśinā* would have to be double. <sup>279</sup> The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a verse of Manu <sup>280</sup> (not found in the printed text) 'tonsure of the head is not desired in the case of learned brāhmaṇas and kings except in the case of those guilty of mahāpātakas, of cow-killing or of being an *avakīrṇin*'. The Mit. (on Yāj. III.264) further quotes Samvarta <sup>281</sup> to the effect that when the penance prescribed is only a quarter then only the hair on the body below the throat is to be shaved, when half is prescribed then in addition the hair on the lips is to be cut, when three-fourths then all the hair on the body except the knot is to be cut and in the case of the full penance all hair including the *śikhā* (the top-knot) also are to be cut off. The Par. M. (II part I. p. 300) while describing cāndrāyana penance requires the cutting of the hair on all parts

278. सर्वाङ्गेशान् ससुक्ष्मस्य छेदयेदङ्गुलिद्वयम् । एवं नारीकुमारीणां शिरसो लुङ्घनं रक्षन् । न स्त्रियाः केशवर्णनं न दूरे शयनाशनम् ॥ पराशर IX. 54-55.

279. केशानां रक्षणार्थाय द्वियुगं व्रतमाचरेत् । द्वियुगं व्रतं आदिष्टे द्वियुगा दक्षिणा भवेत् । राजा वा राजपुत्रो वा ब्राह्मणो वा बहुशुतः । अकृत्वा व्रतं तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् । पराशर IX. 52-54, नारदपुराण, पूर्वार्धे 14.52-54; for the half केशानां, vide बृहदारण्यक IX. 387. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325, प्राय. वि. p. 503, प्राय. सार. p. 22, प्राय. पा. p. 782 quote these verses as हारित's in a different order and प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 519 ascribes almost similar verses to लघुहारित.

280. विहृद्विषयवर्णीनां नेष्यते केशवापनम् । ज्ञते महापातकिनो मोहन्तुश्चावकीर्णिनः ॥ मनु. q. by मित्त. on Yāj. III. 325, प्राय. सार. pp. 22-23 (as महर्षि). The प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 516 expressly refers to this text as cited by the मित्त.

281. पदेऽङ्गुलीमवयवं द्विपादेऽङ्गुलीद्वये च । द्विपादे तु शिखरार्धं सक्षिप्तं तु निपातने ॥ सर्वार्थ. q. by मित्त. on Yāj. III. 264, प्राय. सार. p. 14, मा. प्रकाश folio 31a, which remarks: 'शिखरार्धमिति शिखाध्यानेन तेन वतिविषयाङ्गीनां सर्ववपनमेव । वतिः सूक्ष्मं विषया सक्षिप्तं वपनं चरेदिति वचनात् ।'



of the body (including private parts).<sup>282</sup> The tonsure is to be performed by a barber and yet the *saṅkalpa* is 'vapanam karisyē' and not 'vapanam kārāisyē'. From Gaut. 27.3 (vapanam vratam caret) prescribing tonsure in cāndrāyana Haradatta and others infer that *rapana* is unnecessary in krochra penance.

Baths that are subsidiary to prāyaścitta are performed with ashes, cowdung, clay, water, pañcagavya and water in which *kūśa* grass has been dipped. *Mantras* that are to be recited at the time of bath are laid down in the *Linga-purāṇa*, the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* and elsewhere.

There are certain virtues to be cultivated as being common to all prāyaścittas whether secretly or openly undergone. They are called *yamas* and *niyamas* and have been set out above (p.121) from Yāj. III. 312-313. Atri (verses 48-49) sets them out somewhat differently. Manu IV. 204 (= Atri verse 47) refers to *yamas* and *niyamas* which Medhātithi explains as follows: viz. *yamas* are in the nature of prohibitions (e. g. a brāhmana should not be killed), while *niyamas* consist of what is to be done (such as one should always recite the Veda, as in Manu IV. 147).

While undergoing prāyaścittas certain rules about food and other matters were to be observed. For example, Hārita<sup>283</sup> prescribes that the person undergoing penance should omit on all days *māṣa* and *masūra* pulse, honey, taking food at the house of or belonging to others and sexual intercourse, should not speak at an improper time, should perform *ācamana* if he speaks with women or *sūdras* or those who are *ucchiṣṭa*. Yama ordains that one who is undergoing a penance should omit massaging the body or head with oil, the chewing of *tāmbūla*, applying unguents and every thing else that causes one to feel strength or sexual passion.

According to the Pr.<sup>284</sup> Prakāśa when undertaking a penance one should begin with the mantra 'Agne vratapate

282. धौर्म्यस्य सुपेतस्तु ब्राह्मणः सुसमाहितः । केशादमच्छन्नि लोमानि कक्षोपर्यं च वापयेत् ॥ q. by परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 300.

283. मावमसुरमधुपराकर्मैधुमानि ग्रस्यं वर्जयेत् । व्रतोपेतो नाकाले वाचं बिभृजेत् । क्षीयुद्वापिष्ठपामेमावण आचामेत् । हारित q. by अथर्वक p. 1230; नात्रागच्छं क्षिरोऽयं ताम्बूलमनुलेपनम् । व्रतस्यो वर्जयेत्सर्वं यज्ञायज्यत्तरामकृत् ॥ यम q. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 196.

284. व्रतनिवेदनविमोक्षणमञ्जो तैत्तिरीयशाखायां अग्रे व्रतपते व्रतं करिष्यामि तच्छ-  
केयं तन्मे रात्रपताय्, अग्रे व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं तद्व्याकं तन्मे रात्रि इति तु व्रतसमाप्ती ॥ या. प्रकाश  
follo 37 b; अग्रे... रात्रपताय् is ते सं. I 5.10.3 = यज. सं. 1.5 and अग्रे व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं  
is ते. सं. I.6 6.3 = यज. सं. II.28.

vrataṃ carisyāmi' (O! Fire, lord of vrataṃ! I shall perform a vrata) and when finishing a penance one should repeat the mantra 'agne vratapate vrataṃ-acāriṣam tad-aśakam tan-me rādhi' (O! Fire, lord of vrataṃ; I have performed the vrata, I had the strength to do it, may it be propitious for me &c.').

Prāyaścittas are of two kinds, *prakāṣa* (undergone openly) and *rahasya* (undergone secretly). A few words must be said about the latter. Gaut. (24.1-11), Vas. (25.1-3), Manu XI 248-265, Yāj. III. 301-305, Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 55 and other smṛtis lay down rules about secret prāyaścittas. Where a man's<sup>285</sup> sin is not known to anyone except himself he may perform secret expiation. In the case of adultery and in the case of association with one guilty of a grave sin, one may still perform a secret penance, even though the adultery is known to the adulteress and even though the man guilty of a mahāpātaka is aware of the association. Vas.<sup>286</sup> 25.2 states the general rule that secret penances are meant for those who have consecrated the Vedic fires, who are disciplined, old or learned and that the openly undergone penances are meant for others. If such a man is himself aware of the proper penance, he should perform it without going to an assembly (*parād*), but if he is not so aware he may consult some knowing person privately, asking him in a general way what the penance for a particular sin may be. Vas. 25.3 provides that those who are always intent on *prāṇāyāmas*, holy texts, gifts, *homas* and *japa* are released from sin. Manu XI.226 states that those whose sins have not become public may be purified by *homas* and *mantras*. Even women and śūdras can perform penance in secret, since, though they cannot perform *homas* and repeat Vedic *mantras*, they can, as the Mit. on Yāj. III.300 says, perform expiation by means of gifts and *prāṇāyāmas*. Gaut. 26.2 and Manu XI 253 prescribe that one who desires to receive a gift which he should not accept or who receives such a gift should recite in water (navel-deep according to some) the hymn of four verses beginning with 'tarat

285. हारीतोऽप्याह । अथ ब्राह्मणस्य सुतधर्मशास्त्रस्य रहस्यमनुकर्मिण्यामः । रहस्ये रहस्यं प्रकाशे प्रकाशमिति । माच. सा. p. 161, परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 153; vide मा. सार p. 161 and माच. रि. p. 500 for रहस्ये...प्रकाशमिति as from यम.

286. आहिताग्नेर्विनीतस्य ब्रह्मस्य विदुषोऽपि वा । रहस्योक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं दुर्योक्तमितरे जनाः ॥ मायाचारीः पवित्रेण ह्यग्नेर्होमेर्जवेस्तथा । नित्यबुद्ध्याः प्रमुच्यन्ते पातकोऽप्यो न संशयः ॥ वसिष्ठ 25. 2-3 ; the first verse is q. by अपरार्क p. 1212 as from अतुर्विनामित (reads इतरस्य तु).

sa mandī' ( Rg. X.58.1-4 ). For one who is guilty of brāhmaṇa murder Gaut. ( 24.6 ) prescribes that for the first ten days he should subsist on milk alone, on clarified butter for a further ten days, on water for another period of ten days, that he should partake of the articles specified only once in the morning, should wear wet clothes and should offer every day eight symbolic *homas* with clarified butter, of his hair on the body, nails, skin, flesh, blood, muscles, bones and marrow with the words 'I offer in the mouth of Death' added at the end.<sup>287</sup> Yāj. III.301 prescribes that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa should fast for ten days, should recite the Aghamarśana hymn ( Rg. X.190 ) while submerged in water, donate a cow yielding milk, while Viṣṇu prescribes that he should bathe for a month in a flowing stream or river, should perform every day 16 prāṇāyāmas, should eat only once a day sacrificial food and may then become purified. Viṣṇu provides that the drinker of *surā* becomes pure by observing the *vratā* ( as stated ) for brāhmaṇa murder and reciting Aghamarśana; while the thief of brāhmaṇa's gold becomes pure by fasting for three days and reciting the sacred Gāyatrī ten thousand times and one guilty of incest by the repeated recital of the hymn beginning with 'sahasraśīrṣā' ( Rg. X. 90 ).

The sages observed that some of the penances mentioned in old smṛtis were terrible and involved loss of life. Therefore, gradually more humane and easier penances came to be prescribed. For example, Harita<sup>288</sup> states 'brāhmaṇas who have studied dharmasāstra should prescribe a penance appropriate to the age, the time and the strength of the brāhmaṇa ( sinner ), the penance being such that he may not lose his life and yet may be purified; one should not prescribe an observance that will cause great distress ( to the sinner ). Āngiras also says that the *parṇad* should indicate the penance resolved upon by all the members which would not cause loss of life. Śaṅkha

287. हरदत्त on जी. 24.6 explains that he will have to say लोमानि आत्मनो हृत्वे सूर्योरास्ये जुहोमि स्वाहा नक्षत्राभ्यात्मनो हृत्वे सूर्योरास्ये जुहोमि स्वाहोरेचमकारा होमाः.

288. यथायथो यथाकालं यथाशक्ते च ब्राह्मणे । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं ब्राह्मणेर्धर्मपाठकैः ॥ येन क्षुद्रिमयाऽमोति न च प्राणैर्विजुज्यते । आर्तं वा मर्त्यं याति न चैतद् ब्रह्ममादिशेत् ॥ हारीत q. by परा. मा II. part 1 p. 235 ; पर्यस्तं चित्तं तत्तर्षं प्रायश्चित्तं विमिर्षिजेत् ॥ तर्षेण निश्चितं पत्न्याद्यञ्च शान्तान् न यातयेत् ॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by परा. मा. II part 1 p. 236, मद्. पा. p. 779.

declares:<sup>289</sup> 'a brāhmaṇa should never practise the performance of a penance in a forest full of thieves, ferocious beasts, elephants and other animals through fear of injury to life. The body that is the all in all (i. e. the only source) of (the observance of) dharma must be protected with efforts; just as water oozes down from the mountain, so dharma springs from the body'.

As times changed easier substitutes (called *pratyāmnūyas*) were found and prescribed. The word *pratyāmnūya* was used in this sense in the Āp. Śr. S. V. 20.18 (*yadyanāḍhyo-gñin-ādadhita kāmam-evaikām gām dadyāt sā gavām pratyāmnūyo bhavattī vijñāyate*), 6. 30.9 and Śān. Śr. S. 14.51.6 and other sūtras. Samvarta<sup>290</sup> states that if a sinner is unable to undergo the Prājāpatya penance, he may donate instead a cow yielding milk and if he cannot donate such a cow he may donate the full price of such a cow. Parāśara<sup>291</sup> (XII. 63-64) provides four substitutes for a Prājāpatya penance viz. the recital of the famous Gāyatri mantra (Rg. III. 62.10) ten thousand times or 200 *prāṇāyāmas*, or bathing twelve times in a sacred watery place after drying the head on each bath, or taking to a journey of two *yojanas* towards a holy place. From the words of Gaut. 19.16 and 18 (quoted above in note 120) it follows that gold is a substitute for a cow by way of penance. The Brahmapurāṇa<sup>292</sup> provides that in the absence of a cow a *nīṣka* or half *nīṣka*

289. तस्करश्चापहारीर्णे वहुष्पालसुवे वने । न व्रतं ब्राह्मणः कुर्वाण्यनयाधमयात्सवः ।  
शरीरं धर्मसर्वरक्षणीयं प्रयत्नतः । शरीरात्सर्वते धर्मः पर्वतात्सलिलं यथा । शब्द 17. 63 and  
65 q. by मव. पा. 728, अपराकं p. 1231 (which inserts one more verse between  
the two (सर्वतो जीवितं रक्षेजीवन्त्यायं व्यपोहति । व्रतैः कुश्चैस्त्वया दानैरित्वाह भववाच्यमः ॥).  
This is शब्द. 17.64.

290. राजापरयज्जगताती वेत्तुं वृक्षात्परिगृहीत् । जेनेरभावे द्वातर्षं तुल्यं मूल्यं न  
कंसवः ॥ सर्वतः q. by परा. भा. II. part 2 p. 197, भा. सार. p. 203, भाव. तत्त्व pp. 517  
and 541. The मिला. on वा. III. 326 quotes this verse as स्वरचम्बर and adds  
another half as 'मूल्यार्थमपि निष्कं वा तर्षं शकरयपेक्षया'. The verse is q. from  
मार्कण्डेयपुराण by अपराकं p. 1248.

291. राजापरयज्जगत्सर्वं चतुरः प्रत्याग्यानामाह कुष्मण्डलैश्चतुर्णाम् ।  
कुष्मण्डलैर्नाहंक्षिणः स्थानं द्वावहातेनयथा ॥ द्विचोऽग्ने तीर्थवाचा कुष्मण्डलैर्नाहं प्रकल्पितम् ॥ पराकार  
XII. 63-64 and परा. भा. II part 2 p. 47.

292. मूल्यं वा यज्जगताती वेत्तुं । अत एव बहुषुरागे न्यायभावे निष्कं दद्यात्तर्षं वाचमेव  
वा । परा. भा. II part 2 p. 197, भा. सार p. 203. The मिला. on वा. III. 326 quotes  
it without name.

or a quarter niṣka may be given. The Caturviṃśatimata<sup>293</sup> provides several *pratyāmnāyas* for Prājāpatya viz. recital of Gāyatri ten thousand times, standing in water, gift of a cow to a brāhmana—these four (including Prājāpatya) are equal, as also a thousand *homas* with sesame, recitation of the whole *samhitā* of the veda, feeding twelve brāhmanas, Pāvakeṣi are equal. The Caturviṃśatimata<sup>294</sup> stated that one should substitute the gift of one cow for Prājāpatya penance, of two cows for Śāntāpana, of three cows for Parāka, Tapta-krochra and Ati-krochra and eight for Cāndrāyana. The result was that from medieval times at least even in the case of mahāpātakas there was a sliding scale of penances ultimately ending in feeding brāhmanas or making monetary or other presents to them. For example, the Mit. (on Yaj. III. 326) says that in the case<sup>295</sup> of the twelve years' penance, optionally 360 prājāpatyas could be performed, each prājāpatya extending over twelve days, that if a man was unable to undergo this he should donate as many (i. e. 360) milch cows; if that was impossible he may donate their price or 360 niskas or even half or quarter thereof &c. Yaj. III. 309 provides (a lakh of) *homas* with sesame to the accompaniment of the Gāyatri or making brāhmanas recite the Veda by the gift of sesame. Vas. 28.18-19 (= Atri VI. 7-8) and Viṣṇu Dh. 8.90.10 state that by feeding seven or five brāhmanas on the Full moon of Vaiśākha with sesame and honey a man becomes free of all sins. These provi-

293. कृष्णोऽमुत च मायया उदवासस्तथैव च । वेदवदानं विभय समनेतश्चतुष्टयम् । तिलोमसहस्रं तु वेदपाठपापमेव च । निमा द्वादश वा भोजयाः पावकेष्टिस्तथैव च । अथानि वा पवित्राणि समाख्याद्मन्त्रीभिः । चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 47 and also p. 196 (with some variations). मा. मयूक p. 26. The मित. on य. III. 326, मा. सार p. 204 ascribe the first verse to पराशर and the latter reads उपवासः for उदवासः. There are similar verses in the बह्विंशत्यमत also (vide मा. सार p. 204).

294. प्राजापत्ये तु गमेकां दद्यात्साम्तपने द्वयम् । पराकतवातिकुष्ठे तिस्रस्तिस्रस्तु वास्तथा ॥ अहो चाग्न्याग्ने देवाः स्यान्मायानेचो सदा । यथा विभक्तारय दानं दद्याद्वि-  
स्तुदये । चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 200, अपराक p. 1248, मा. सार p. 204 (first verse).

295. न च महापातकमनुकमिष्कृतिकं सम्भवाति कस्मादनुकमिष्कृतिकेभापे प्राजापत्यादयो योजनीयाः । तत्र द्वादशवार्षिककाले द्वादश द्वादश दिनाभ्येकैकं प्राजापत्यं परिकल्प्य मन्त्रमाने प्राजापत्यानां षष्ठ्याधिकसप्तत्रयं द्वादशवार्षिके वैकल्पिकमष्टौषं भवति । तद्वत्सको तावत्परो वा धेनवो द्यातव्याः । तद्वत्सम्यगे निष्कानां षष्ठ्याधिकसप्तत्रयं द्यातव्यम् । तथा स्तुत्यन्तरम् । प्राजापत्य ...मूलार्थमपि निष्कं वा तदर्थं शक्यपेक्षया । नवामभावे निष्कः स्वयंचतुर्थं पाद एव वा इति स्मरण्यात् । मित. on य. III. 326. The मा. बकास says 'हृत्पञ्चतुष्टयसमतेतलितं कृत्वं निष्क इत्यर्थः' (folio 62 b). This is the view of the Prāyascitta-muktāvalī (folio 17 a) which remarks, 'तथा च धरण-पुराण-कार्यापकाद्वैद्व्या अप्येवार्थं धर्तव्या भाव्यम्'.

sions are maintained in almost all medieval works such as the *Smṛtyarthasāra* pp. 149, 155, *Prāyaścittasāra* p. 203, *Pr. T.* pp. 517, 541, *Pr. Mayūkha* p. 18 &c. The same method is followed in penances for lesser periods. It is due to this provision in the *smṛtis* that in modern times men, when on death-bed, perform *prāyaścittas* for all their sins by donating a cow or more or by monetary presents to priests.<sup>295a</sup>

Some interesting sidelights are thrown on the prices of milch cows, cows and bulls by the medieval writers. The *Pr. V.* (p. 199) states that the price of a milch cow (*payasvini*) was 3 *purāṇas*, that of an ordinary cow (*go*) one *purāṇa* and that of a bull was five *purāṇas*. The *Pr. T.* (pp. 517-18) quotes *Kātyāyana* to the effect that the price of a cow (*go*) is 32 *panas* and that of a male calf one *purāṇa*, that a *pana* is copper weighing 80 *raktikās* or equal to 80 *varāṭakas* (cowries), that 16 *panas* were equal to one *purāṇa* (following *Bhaviṣya* and *Matsya purāṇas*), that by *niṣka* is not meant the one indicated by *Manu* (VIII. 137) but a *dināraṇiṣka* i. e. gold weighing 32 *raktikās*. The *Prāyaścittendusekhara* p. 7 follows *Yāj. I.365* and holds that *niṣka* is silver equal (in weight) to four *suvarṇas* or a *pala*. A *raktikā* weighs on an average 1·8 grains; so a copper *pana* of 80 *raktikās* would weigh about 144 grains. Therefore a *dhenū* was equal to 32 *panas* (or two *purāṇas*) i. e. about 26 *tolas* of copper (one *tola* being taken as equal to 180 grains). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 120-121 notes 161 and 162 for information about ancient coins and their weights. There appears to be owing to lapse of centuries some difference in the views of several writers. According to *Vijñāneśvara* four *suvarṇas* are equal to a silver *niṣka*. According to the *Līlāvati* 20 *varāṭakas* are equal to a *kākiṇī*, 4 *kākiṇīs* are equal to a *pana* and a *niṣka* is equal to 256 *panas*.

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<sup>295a</sup>. There was a parallel to this method of *pratyāmnāya* in Europe as remarked by Gibbon 'A year of penance was appreciated at 26 *solidi* of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich, at 3 *solidi* or nine shillings for the indigent; and these alms were soon appropriated to the Church which derived from the redemption of sins an inexhaustible source of opulence and dominion' *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. VII. p. 187 (Smith's ed. of 1862).

## CHAPTER V

### NAMES OF ALL PRĀYAŚCITTAS

Now all the prāyaścittas mentioned in the smṛtis and digests will be arranged in alphabetical order (Sanskrit, transliterated into English), excepting mere hymns, fasts, &c. and brief explanations and references will be added to each.

**AGHAMARŚANA**—(The hymn Rg. X.190.1-3).

This is prescribed as a penance for all sins by even the most ancient Dharmasāstra works such as Gaut. 24.11, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2.19-20, Vas. 26.8, Manu XI.259-260, Yāj. III.301, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.7, Śāṅkha 18.1-2 and others. They prescribe that if a man recites (for three days, according to Haradatta) the Aghamarśana hymn thrice in the day while immersed in water for a bath, he is freed from all sins and that this penance is equal in sanctification to the bath at the end of the Āsvamedha sacrifice. The Pr. Sāra p. 199 speaks of the Aghamarśana-vrata. He has to fast for three days and stand up by day and sit up by night and donate a milch cow at the end. Śāṅkha 18.1-2 and Viṣṇu Dh. S.46.1-9 prescribe the details.

**ATIKRCCHRA**—Vide under Kṛccra. Manu XI. 213 prescribes that this penance is constituted by eating only one morsel of food for three days in the morning only, for three days in the evening only, for three days eating one morsel got without asking for it and observing a complete fast for the next three days. Yāj. III.319, on the other hand, prescribes the eating of just as much food as would fill the hand (and not merely one morsel). The Mit., Pr. Sāra (p. 176) and others state that the rule of Manu applies to those who are able to undergo it, while that of Yāj. is meant for those who are unable (*atākta*). The Sāmavidhāna Br. I.2.6-7, Gaut. 26.18-19, Viṣṇu Dh. S.54.30, Laugākṣigṛhya V.12-13, Parāśara XI.54-55, Vas. 24.1-2, Baud. Dh. S. IV.5.8 also speak of this. Manu XI.208 (= Viṣṇu 54.30) prescribes this penance for striking a brāhmaṇa with a weapon or a cudgel. Gaut. 26.22 states that this penance purifies a man of all sins except the *mahūpātakas*.

**ATISĀNTAPANA**—See under Mahā-sāntapana. This is variously defined. According to the Agnipurāṇa 171.10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.21 it lasts for 18 days (3 times of the Mahā-sāntapana in which for six days one has to subsist on cow's urine and five

other things). The Mit. on Yaj. III. 315 quotes a verse of Yama according to which this penance lasts for 12 days.<sup>296</sup> The Pr. M. (p. 23) speaks of it as lasting for 15 days.

**ARDHAKṚCCHRA**—See under Kṛcchra. According to the Āpastamba-smṛti 9.43-44, this is constituted by taking food only once in the day for one day, only once in the evening for one day, taking food for two days without asking for it and completely fasting for two days<sup>297</sup> (in all six days). The Mit. quotes another variety of it, viz. subsisting for three days on food obtained without asking for it and thereafter observing a complete fast for three days.

**ĀSVAMEDHAVABHRTHASNANA**—the ceremonial bath in the sea or a holy river at the end of an Āsvamedha sacrifice. Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 36 (last verse) prescribes for those guilty of mahāpātakas and anupātakas the Āsvamedha sacrifice. It is only an emperor or a crowned king who is entitled to perform an Āsvamedha, at the end of which comes a ceremonial bath. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 1228-1236 for a description of the Āsvamedha. According to Pr. V. p. 65 only a kṣatriya could perform Āsvamedha and so this bath was a penance for him alone. But according to Kullūka (on Manu XI 92) and Pr. T. (both quoting a verse from Bhaviṣya-purāṇa) even a brāhmaṇa could participate in the bath at the end of the Āsvamedha and become free from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder if committed unintentionally.<sup>298</sup>

**AGNEYA KṚCCHRA**—According to the Agnipurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara if a man subsists for twelve days on sesame alone that is āgneya Kṛcchra.<sup>299</sup> Vide also Pr. Pr. (folio 48 b.)

296. यदा तु वर्णा सास्तपनद्वयान्तमेकैकस्व इच्छदुपयोगस्तदाऽतिसान्तपनम् । यथाह यमः । एताम्येष तथा देवाग्येकोक्तं तु इच्छदं इच्छदम् । अतिसान्तपनं नाम श्वाकमपि शोधयेत् ॥ इति । मिता. on या. III. 315, माच. सा. p. 191, अथराक्तं p. 1234 (reads इच्छदं इच्छदम्).

297. सास्तपनस्तथैवेकं दिनद्वयमवाचितम् । दिनद्वयं च जादनीयात्कृच्छ्रार्थं तद्विधीयते ॥ आपस्तम्बस्मृति 9 43-44 q. by मिता. on या. III. 318, मा. वि. p. 509, परा. मा. II part 2 p. 173, माच. सा. p. 172.

298. अश्वमेधमावचितं तु राज्ञ एव तत्र तस्यैवाधिकारात् । ...अश्वमेधावशुच्यस्नाने नियमाप्यधिकारः । तथा च कल्पतरुद्वयं भविष्यपुराणम् । यदा तु सुजगाम विमो हव्याह्नयं तु मिर्तुणम् । अकामतस्तदा जम्भेस्नानं शैवाश्वमेधिकम् । तत्तन्मावशुच्यस्नानं क्षत्रियविधयामिति शायचित्तविवेकोक्तं हेयम् । माच. तत्त्व p. 544. Vide माच. वि. p. 63 for the opinion referred to.

299. तिस्रिंशद्वक्षराज्जेन कृच्छ्रमाग्नेयमर्तिहृतम् । अग्निपुराण 171. 14; विष्णुधर्मोत्तर 9. 1/2 मा. यकाक्ष folio 48b (reads = त्रिचतुष्टये).



**RSICANDRAYANA**—According to Brhad-Visṇu quoted by Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 132 this penance requires that one should take only three mouthfuls of sacrificial food every day for a month.<sup>300</sup>

**EKABHAKTA**—According to Pr. Pr. (folio 48a) if one takes for a month only one meal a day it is ekabhaktaka.<sup>301</sup>

**KṚCCHRA**—This is the general word for several penances. The Sāma. Br. (I.2.1) starts<sup>302</sup> by saying 'we shall now expound three kṛcchras' and adds that one should eat sacrificial food for three days only by day and eat nothing at night, then for three days more one should eat at night only, then for three more days one should not beg or ask for food from others and should then observe a complete fast for three days. If he is in a hurry to purify himself he should pass the day standing and the night in a sitting posture. Gaut. (26.2-16) describes the procedure of the first Kṛcchra (called Prājāpatya by later writers), then Atikṛcchra (26.18-19), and then Kṛcchrātikṛcchra (26.20). Baud. Dh. S. (II.1.91) speaks of Parāka as Kṛcchra. Āp. Dh. S. (I.9.27.7) describes the Kṛcchra penances of twelve days. The Kṛcchra penance described by Gaut. 26.2-16 is one for twelve days and is called Prājāpatya by Manu (XI.211), Sāṅkha (18.3), Yāj. III.319 and others. Laugākṣi Gr. (5.3-11) describes Kṛcchra. According to the Par.<sup>303</sup> M. (II. part 1 p. 30) and Pr. Pr. (folio 64a) the word Kṛcchra without any qualifying epithet (*upapada*) means Prājāpatya. The Pr. T. (p. 481) states that the Kṛcchra described by Gaut. (26.1-5) is given the name of Prājāpatya by Manu (XI.211). Besides the rules about the intake of food, Gaut. prescribes certain other observances viz. speaking the truth, not holding conversation with

300. तथा बृहद्विष्णुः । त्रींशोऽन्विष्णुः समदनीषाजियतामा ददन्नतः । हविष्याकस्य वै माससुविच्छायायन् चरन् । प्राय. प्रक. p. 132. This verse is quoted as Yama's by Pr. V. p. 520, Pr. T. p. 544, प्राय. स. p. 196 (reads ब्राह्मन् for विष्णुः).

301. एकभक्तेन मासेन कथितं वैकभक्तकम् । नक्तकृच्छ्रं तु नक्तेन महस्त्वंवत्सराद्भवेत् । प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 48 a).

302. प्रातराशान् सुश्रुत्वा निजो रात्रीर्नीदनीयात् । अथापरं द्यहं नक्तं सुजीताधारं द्यहं न कञ्चन याचेदधारं द्यहमुपवसेत् तिष्ठेदहनि राजावासीत क्षिप्रकामः । साम. भा. I. 2. 1-4. नो. (26. 1-6) is word for word the same except that Gaut. omits the word जीत् in the first sūtra. अथातस्त्रीन् कृच्छ्रान् व्याकथयामः । हविष्यान् द्यहमनक्ताहवाहिवानी तत्तद्यहं द्यहमयाचितव्रतस्यहं जादनाति किञ्चनति कृच्छ्राद्वाकस्यस्य निधिः । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 7.

303. स्मृतिशास्त्रेषु निवचयद्वयं कृच्छ्रसम्बन्धस्य प्राजापत्यस्य एव प्राचुर्येण प्रयोगात् कृच्छ्रमिति प्राजापत्यमिति वेचलमवगाहः । परा. भा. II part 1, p. 30.

men and women that are *anūryas* (not of the three higher castes), always singing the *sāmans* called 'Raurava' and 'Yaudhājapa', bathing thrice in the day in the morning, the noon and the night, then performing *mārjana*<sup>304</sup> (sprinkling of water) with the three verses beginning with 'Āpo hi sthā' (Rg. X.9.1-3), with the mantras called 'pavitratvati' viz. those beginning with 'pavamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I.4.8.1) and the eight verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarṇāḥ' (in Tai. S. V. 6.1), he should perform *tarpaṇa* with water with 13 mantras (Gaut. 26.12); he performs the worship of Āditya (the sun) with the same mantra (i.e. after *tarpaṇa* with the 13 mantras, he is to perform the worship of the sun with the same thirteen mantras) and offers oblations of clarified butter with the same 13 mantras and then on the 13th day he cooks boiled rice and offers oblations into ordinary Agni ('svāhā' added at the end of each, such as 'agnaye svāhā'), Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, Viśve devāḥ, Brahman, Prajāpati and Agni Śviṣṭakṛt and then feeds the brāhmaṇas.

Kṛcchra-sainvatsara—Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.27.8 speaks of this as a penance in which Kṛcchras are undergone continuously in a cycle for one year.

Krochrāṭikṛcchra—Gaut. 26.20 and Sāma. Br. I. 2.8, Vas. 24.3 define it as a kṛcchra where only water is drunk on those days on which food is allowed and Gaut. 26.23 and Sāma. Br. I. 2.9 state that this penance frees a man from all sins.<sup>305</sup> Yāj. III. 320 (= Devala 86, first half) and Brahmapurāṇa q. by Pr. Pr. (folio 40 a) prescribe that in this one has to subsist on water alone for 21 days. This difference between the views of Yāj. on the one hand and of Gaut. on the other is reconciled by the digests by saying that the period depends on the capacity of the sinner. According to Pr. Pr. (folio 46b) and Aparārka p. 1238, Yama prescribed a krochrāṭikṛcchra for 24 days.<sup>306</sup> Vide Par.

304. For *mārjana* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 317, 812 n and for *tarpaṇa* the same vol. pp. 668-9, 689-695. Raurava Sāman is sung on the rk 'punānaḥ soma dhārayā' (Rg. IX. 107.4=Sāmaveda Nos. 511 and 675) and Yaudhājapa on 'Duhāna ūdhar' (Rg. IX. 107.5=Sāmaveda No. 676).

305. अन्नमस्तुतिर्यः स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः ।...तृतीयं चरित्वा सर्वस्यादेनसो मुच्यते । गौ. 26. 20, 23; कृच्छ्रोऽन्नमः स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः । वसिष्ठ 24. 3.

306. अहर्विंशतिवारं तु निषतात्मा जितेन्द्रियः । कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रं कुर्वीत एकस्थाने द्विजोत्तमः वन q. by अपरार्क p. 1238, मह. वा. p. 716; अपरार्क folio 182 explains: द्वर्षोक्तद्वारसहस्रावधितिकृच्छ्रद्वयेन एकः कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रो भवतीत्यर्थः ।

M. II part 1 p. 179 and Madanapārijāta p. 716. According to Manu XI. 208 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.30) when a person strikes a brāhmaṇa with a weapon and draws blood, he has to undergo this penance. The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 15) states that for those unable to undergo Kṛcchra, one milch cow is a substitute, for Atikṛcchra two milch cows and for Kṛcchrātikṛcchra four.

**GOMŪTRA-KṚCCHRA**—The Pr. Sāra p. 187 quotes a verse about this: one should make a cow eat to satiety grains of wheat mixed with barley and then may collect the yava grains that are to be found in her dung and then drink the gruel of those yavas cooked in cow's urine.<sup>307</sup>

**GOVRATA**—Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 132) quoting the Mārkaṇḍeya describes this as follows: One should bathe with cow's urine, should subsist on cow-dung, should always stand among cows, should sit down on cowdung, should drink water only when cows have drunk water; one should not eat when they have not eaten, should stand up when they stand, should sit down when they sit down. This should be continued for a month.

**CĀNDRĀYAṆA**—The word is derived in this way. That rite, where there is action by means of increase and decrease (in the intake of food) in imitation of the course of the phases of the moon, is cāndrāyaṇa.<sup>308</sup> The word occurs in Pāṇ. V. 1. 72 (pārāyaṇa-turāyaṇa-cāndrāyaṇam vartayati). From very ancient times Cāndrāyaṇa has been divided into two varieties, called Yavamadhya<sup>309</sup> (lit. being large in the middle like a grain of yava, and therefore tapering or thin at the ends) and Pipilikāmadhya (lit. having a middle like that of an ant, that is, slender in the middle and large at the ends). Baud. Dh. S. III. 8. 33 names these two varieties. According to Jabali<sup>310</sup> there are five

307. आ तुल्यस्वारयित्वा नां मोधूमांश्चामिजितान् । तान् मोमवेत्स्वान् संयुज्य विवेक्षेयून्-  
चाकन् ॥ q. by माय. सा. p. 187. This is quoted as from चमवाङ्मनस्य by महाजय-  
folio 185a (which reads एवेत् for विवेत्.)

308. चन्द्रायणमनिरायणं चर्यं यस्मिन् कर्मणि द्वास्तद्वर्जिण्यां तच्चायणमन् ।  
संज्ञायार्थीयः । मित्ता. on वा. III. 323. These very words are quoted in माय. साय.  
(p. 192), या. मकार (folio 50b) and other works. The word should be चन्द्रायण,  
but being a technical term the first syllable is lengthened.

309. तद्वैचक्रायण्यं पिपीलिकामध्यं विपरीतं यममध्यम् । जी. ध. III. 8. 33. 'यमत्  
मन्त्रचोरणीयो मध्ये च द्यवीय इति' माय. सा. p. 192. पिपीलिकायममध्यं द्विष्टं भवतीति  
पिपीलिकामध्यमिति कथयते' मित्ता. on वा. III. 323.

310. पिपीलिकामध्यमं च यतिचक्रायण्यं तथा । चक्रायण्यं तथा क्षेत्रं चतुर्थं सर्वतो-  
दुज्जम् । पञ्चमं त्रिकुण्डलं च दुष्टदुष्टकलेष्टकम् । आपाति q. by दीपकलिका on वा. 325,  
माय. वि. p. 517.

varieties of Cāndrāyana viz. *Yavamadhya*, *Pipilikāmadhya*, *Yaticāndrāyana*, *Sarvatomukha* and *Śiśucāndrāyana*. These will be described later on. Yājñavalkya says (III, 326) that where no specific penance is prescribed in the smṛti texts, cāndrāyana effects purification and cāndrāyana may be undergone not as a penance but for the purpose of accumulating merit and that in the latter case (when performed for a year) the performer enjoys the happiness of going to the world of the moon after death.<sup>311</sup> Manu XI, 221 and Gaut. 27.18 state the same view about cāndrāyana for accumulating merit. When the *vrata* of cāndrāyana is performed for the sake of merit, there is no tonsure (vide Gaut. 27.3 'vapanam vrataṃ caret' and Haradatta thereon). Gaut. 19.20 (= Vas. 22. 20) prescribes that Kṛcchra, Atikṛcchra and Cāndrāyana are the same penance for all sins (collectively for grave sins, for lesser ones separately, according to Haradatta and others). Compare Manu V. 21 and XI, 215 (= Baud. Dh. 8. IV, 5. 16). Manu XI, 27, Yāj. III, 323, Vas. 27.21, Baud. Dh. 8. IV, 5.18 and others define Cāndrāyana (of the Yavamadhya type) as follows: On the first day of the bright half of a month only one morsel of food (*grāsa* or *pinḍa*) is taken, on the second *tithi* two and so on; on the full moon (Paurṇamāsī) 15 morsels are taken; then on the first of the dark half 14 morsels, one being reduced on each succeeding day. So on the 14th of the dark half only one morsel is eaten and on the Amāvāsyā there is a complete fast. Here in the middle of the month of thirty days the largest number of morsels is taken (and so this is Yavamadhya) just as on the Paurṇamāsī day the moon becomes full and begins to wane from the next day. Here Paurṇamāsī is in the middle of the period of the observance as Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 47.6 says. If one begins the *vrata* on the first *tithi* of the dark half, he reduces one morsel on the 1st i. e. takes 14 morsels on that day, 13 on the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half and so on. On the 14th of the dark half he eats one morsel and on the amāvāsyā he eats nothing. Then on the 1st of the bright half he takes one morsel and goes on increasing the intake till on the Paurṇamāsī he takes 15 morsels. The month is taken in this latter case to be Pūrṇimānta. Here in the middle of the observance there is no food taken and a large number of morsels is taken at the beginning and at the end. So this is called Pipilikāmadhya. This latter is described by Vas. 23.45

311. अन्तर्दिष्टेषु केषुचिदुचित्वाप्यन्येन तु । कर्तव्यं चन्द्रेद्येतत्कृत्यैति सलोकताम् ॥  
या. III. 326: संवत्सरे चान्यथा चान्यथाः सलोककल्पन्यतेति । यौ. 27. 18.

and Manu XI 216. Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 47.5-6 say: *Yasyāmāmāvāsyā madhye bhavati sa pipilikā-madhyah yasya paurṇamāsī sa yavamadhyah*. If there are 14 or 16 tithis in any particular pakṣa (half of a month) then the number of *grāsas* must be regulated accordingly. There are other descriptions of *cāndrāyana*. Vide Haradatta on Gaut. 27.12-15. The Kalpataru appears to have held (explaining two verses of Jābāla) that on the first of the dark half of a month 15 morsels were taken, then one morsel less was taken on each succeeding tithi; so that on *amāvāsyā* one morsel was eaten, then on the first of the bright half two morsels were eaten and one morsel was added every day so that on the 14th of the bright half fifteen morsels were taken and there was a complete fast on *Paurṇamāsī*. But this seems to be opposed to the very idea of increase and decrease of the intake of food on the analogy of the waxing and waning of the Moon and to several *smṛti* texts such as Vas. 23.45 and *Parāśara* X. 2. Therefore the *Pr. Prakāśa* (folio 58b) finds fault with it.<sup>311a</sup> *Cāndrāyana* may be divided from another point of view into two varieties: (1) *MUKHYA* (in the primary sense, viz. following exactly the waxing and waning of the moon) and *GAUNA* (having a secondary or metaphorical sense). The former is either *yavamadhyā* or *pipilikā-tanumadhyā*, while the latter is of four kinds, viz. *sāmānya*, *ṛṣi-cāndrāyana*, *śiśucāndrāyana* and *yaticāndrāyana*. The last two will be described later. The *Sāmānya* (or *sarvatomukha*) consists in eating only 240 morsels of sacrificial food in a month of 30 days, distributing them according to one's choice (not necessarily in imitation of the phases of the moon) as stated by Manu XI.220, Baud. IV. 5.21, Yaj. III. 324 and the *Mit.* (on Yaj. III. 324), the *Madana-pārijāta* and other works. Here the penance, though it is not regulated by the phases of the moon, is called *Cāndrāyana* for the purpose of prescribing the same procedure and observances in it as in the *Cāndrāyana* which follows the phases of the moon. Here the *Mīmāṃsā* rule of *Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana* applies.<sup>312</sup> From the words of Gautama

311a अत्र कल्पतन्मयावधानम् । एकैकं ब्राह्मणम् यासमिति कुम्भयतिपदि पञ्चदशब्राह्मण-  
मारभ्य एकैकापञ्चवेनामावास्यायामेको यासः । तद्वत्तरं प्रतिपदि द्वौ यासौ २४ इन्द्रिकमेव  
चतुर्वेदया पञ्चदशब्राह्मणैः संपद्यन्ते पूर्वोक्तमस्यां चोपवास इति विधिकृतानुसङ्गं चाप्यवधानम् ।  
भा. वि. p. 519.

312. अर्वायं क्रमः । दिने दिनेऽष्टौ ब्राह्मणं भुञ्जीत, अथवा नञ् चतुरो विना चतुर  
इति । अथैकास्मिन्दिने चतुरोऽपरस्मिन् द्वादश तत्रैकपात्रमुपात्तवापरस्मिन् षोडश । षड् दिन-  
इत्युपोषधं तृतीयादिने द्वाविंशद्विंशतिवारानां मध्ये सार्वपेक्षया भुञ्जीतेति । अत्र तिथ्यपेक्षया

27.12-15 it appears that he envisaged a cāndrāyana of 32 days (piplikāmadhya) or 31 days, when he says that the performer should fast on the 14th of the bright half, eat fifteen morsels on the Full Moon day, then reduce it by one morsel, so that there is a total fast on the amāvāsyā and then on the first of the bright half one morsel is taken until on the full moon 15 morsels are taken. Thus from the 14th of the bright half (when there is a complete fast) to the full moon of the succeeding month there are in all 32 days and the penance is of the piplikā-madhyā type.

As regards the size of the morsels, different views are expressed. Gaut. 27.10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.2 prescribe that the size of a morsel shall be such as not to cause a distortion of the mouth (while swallowing it). Yāj. III. 323 allows that the morsels may be as large as the egg of a peahen, and Parāśara X.3<sup>313</sup> prescribes the size of a hen's egg and Sāṅkha that of an undried āmalaka fruit (*myrobalan*). The Mit. explains that Gautama's words apply to boys and young people and that the other sizes confer an option according to the capacity (śakti) of the man undergoing penance. The procedure of cāndrāyana is described in Gaut. 27.2-11, Baud. III.8, Manu XI.221-225, Vṛddha-gautama chap. 16 and other works. The one given by Gautama, being probably the oldest among Dharmasāstra works, is here set out.

The general rules prescribed for the Kṛcchra penance in Gaut. 26.6-11 are applicable to Cāndrāyana also. If it is performed as a penance the performer must tonsure his hair and observe a fast on the day preceding the Full Moon. He offers libations of water, oblations of clarified butter, consecrates the sacrificial food and worships the moon, reciting 'āpyāyasva' (Rg. I. 91. 17), 'san te payāmsi' (Rg. I. 91. 18). He shall offer clarified butter, reciting the four (ṛks) beginning with 'yad devā devahedaṇam' (Vāj. S. 20.14 or Tai. Br. II. 6. 6.1). These

(Continued from the last page)

यासन्निवमो नास्ति उपक्रमस्तु कुक्कुणपतिपक्षोरन्यतरत्र एव कर्तव्यः । मद्. पा. p. 743; च न तु चत्वारिंशदधिकशतद्वययासानां मासेन यथाकथञ्चिद्भक्षणं तत्र चन्द्रग्रस्तनुविधानाचरणभावेन चाग्नौपायणशब्दः कुण्डपायिनामयने अग्निहोत्रशब्दवत्तद्वर्त्मपाप्यर्थो गौण इति । प्रा. पकाश folio 56b. Vide मद्. पा. p. 743 for the maxim of the Agnihotra in Kundapāyinaṁayana and Jai. VII. 3. 1, where शबर says 'कुण्डपायिनामयने श्रूयते मास-मग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति । तत्रैतत्समधिगत् नैयमिकादग्निहोत्रात्कर्मान्तरमेतदिति । अधुना अग्निहोत्र-शब्दश्चिन्त्यते ।...नैयमिकस्याग्निहोत्रस्य ये धर्मास्तेऽस्मिन्नेन नाम्नातिदिश्येरन् ।'.

313. कुक्कुणपतिमानं तु यासं वै परिकल्पयेत् । पराशर. X.3; vide also प्राय. म. p. 21.

four together with the preceding are seven oblations of clarified butter that have to be offered. At the end of the offering of clarified butter he shall offer pieces of sacred fuel while reciting the (eight) texts beginning with 'devakṛtasya' (Vāj. S. VIII. 13). Each mouthful must be consecrated by (mentally) reciting one of the <sup>314</sup> following words 'om bhūh, bhuvah, svah, tapah truth, fame, prosperity, vigour, refreshment, strength, lustre, brightness, soul, dharma and śiva' <sup>315</sup>; or he may consecrate all of them at once saying 'adoration! svāhā'. The sacrificial food must be one of the following: boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley, grain separated from the husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. Among these each succeeding one is preferable to that enumerated earlier.

**JALA KṚCCHRA**—See under Toyakṛcchra.

**TAPTAKṚCCHRA**—There is great divergence of views about this penance. Manu XI. 214, Vas. 21.21, Visṇu Dh. S. 46. 11, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.10, Śāṅkha-smṛti 18.4, Agnipurāṇa 171. 6-7, Atri verses 122-123, Parāśara IV. 7 speak of it as of 12 days' duration comprising four periods of three days each. In this one drinks hot water, hot milk, hot ghee for three days each and then for three days there is a complete fast when he inhales hot vapour or atmosphere (acc. to Manu XI. 214). Manu adds that the performer has to bathe only once (and not thrice as in some other penances) and that he should practise self-control. Yāj. III. 317 (= Devala 84) speaks of this as of four days' duration, viz. he takes hot milk, hot ghee and hot water for one day each and observes a total fast on the 4th day. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 317 calls this *mahūtapta-kṛcchra* and also mentions a *taptakṛcchra* of two days, viz. on the first day the sinner takes all the three, viz. hot water, hot milk and hot ghee and observes a total fast on the 2nd day. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 50a) remarks that the authority for the two days' taptakṛcchra spoken

314. Haradatta says that on the days when the performer eats less than fifteen morsels, the counting is to be from the beginning and the later mentioned texts must be left out and that, while eating, the performer must employ the Prāṇāhuti mantras, viz. 'prāṇāya svāhā, apāṇāya svāhā' etc.

315. The words of the Mantras are 'ओं भूभुवः स्वस्तपः सत्यं यज्ञः श्रीकृतिर्ज्ञान-स्तेजो बर्चः पुण्यो धर्मः शिव इत्येतैर्वासाहुमन्त्रणं प्रतिमन्त्रं मनसा । नमः स्वाहेति वा सर्वान् ।  
गी. 27. 8-9; some MSS omit बर्चः.

of by the Mit. has to be found out. The Pr. Prakāśa refers to a *tapta-kṛcchra* for 21 days. It may be said, as done by the Pr. Prakāśa, that the penance of *tapta-kṛcchra* for twelve days is meant for great sins and that the one for four days is meant for lesser sins. The quantity of water, milk and ghee, that was to be taken is laid down by Parāśara <sup>316</sup> IV. 8, Atri 123-124 and Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Pr. V. p. 511) viz. that hot water, hot milk and hot ghee should be six *palas*, three *palas* and one *pala* respectively. The Brahmapurāṇa adds that water, milk and ghee are to be taken respectively in the evening, morning and noon.

**TULĀPURUṢA KṚCCHRA**—Jābāli speaks <sup>317</sup> of the duration of this penance as eight days; Śaṅkha (18.9-10) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.22 describe one of ten days where oil-cake, the foamy scum of cooked rice, butter-milk, water and barley meal are to be eaten, each respectively on one day, followed by a fast on the next day. Yāj. III. 322 (= Atri verses 129-130) describes one of 15 days where the above five ingredients are eaten for three days each. Yama on the other hand speaks of Tulāpuruṣa for 21 days, when the five things are separately eaten for three days (vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 322). Aparārka pp. 1239-1241, Par. M. II, part 2 pp. 184-189, Madanapārijāta pp. 718-727, Pr. Sāra pp. 179-181 set out at length the mode of the performance of Tulāpuruṣa as a penance. In this penance two images of the performer made of fragrant *uśira* grass were to be prepared and placed in the pan of a balance a span high made either of gold or silver or sandalwood and were to be weighed against pebbles and placed in another pan and worship was to be offered to Mahādeva and Umā and many other subordinate deities such as Agni, Vāyu, the sun,

316. दृष्टपलं तु पिबेद्दम्भक्षिपलं तु पयः पिबेत् । पलमेकं पिबेत्सर्पिलसकृच्छ्रं विधीयते ॥ पतञ्जल IV. 8 (B. S. series) vol. II part 1 p. 26. It may be noted that the Mit. on Yāj. III. 317, the Pr. Sāra p. 136 read पराशर's verse as 'अपं पिबेत् त्रिपलं द्विपलं तु पयः पिबेत् । पलमेकं पिबेत्सर्पिलसकृच्छ्रं विधीयते ॥' and that the Mit. explains 'त्रिरात्रमाहृतस्य पूरणे उष्णीदकषाण्यं पिबेद्विषयः' 1. The मद्. पा. pp. 735-736 contains both these verses and ascribes both to पराशर. According to Yāj. I. 363-64 a *pala* is equal to 4 or 5 *suvarṇas* and a *suvarṇa* is equal to 80 *kṛṣṇalas* (*guṇjas*) in weight.

317. तत्र जाबालिः । पिण्याकं च यथाचारं तत्रं बोद्धव्यकृतवः । त्रिरात्रमुपवासश्च तुलापुरुष उच्यते ॥ q. by या. सार p. 178, परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 183.



**TOYA-KṚCCHRA**—This is also called Varuṇa-kṛcchra by Yama (q. in Pr. Prakāśa, folio 48 a) and by Śaṅkha (q. in Pr. Śāra p. 182). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (46. 14) states <sup>318</sup> that subsisting on nothing but ground barley mixed with water for one month is called *Udakakṛcchra*. Since Varuṇa was regarded as the lord of waters even from the times of the Rgveda (e. g. in Rg. VII. 49. 3) and to mark the truth and falsehood among men, this Toya-kṛcchra was called Vāruṇa. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 47 b)<sup>319</sup> quotes Jābāla to the effect 'If a sinner remains immersed in water for a whole day and night without taking food and recites mantras (addressed to Varuṇa) he removes by the *jalakṛcchra* the sins which he may have committed for a year'. According to Yājñavalkya (q. in Pr. Śāra p. 187) this penance consists in observing a fast for a day and night standing up the whole day and passing the night without sleep in water and reciting the next day the sacred Gāyatrī mantra 1008 times. According to Śaṅkha (q. by Madana-pārijāta p. 737) this penance is constituted either by subsisting on lotus stalks grown in water or on *saktus* boiled in water.

**DADHIKṚCCHRA**—This is spoken of by the Pr. Prakāśa quoting from the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa as a penance in which the sinner subsists on curds alone for a month.<sup>320</sup>

**DEVAKṚCCHRA**—Yama quoted by Par. M. (II. part. 2 pp. 191-192) describes this as follows <sup>321</sup>: One should partake

318. उदकसक्त्वा मासाभ्यवहारेणोदककृच्छ्रः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46. 14 ; 'चितान्युदक-सिद्धानि मासमन्वीत संयतः । सक्त्वा सोदकान्मासं कृच्छ्रो वारुण उच्यते ॥' शङ्ख q. by चालम्भट्टी on या. III. 318, प्रा. सार. pp. 186-87.

319. अनदनजलमध्यस्थस्त्वहोरात्रं जपन्बुधः । संवत्सरकुतं पापं जलकृच्छ्रे व्यपोहति ॥ जाबाल q. by प्रा. सार p. 187, प्रा. प्रकाश folio 47 b, where it is said जपश्च वारुण-मन्त्राणाम् ; as to योगियाज्ञवल्क्य 'वायुभक्षो दिवा तिष्ठेद्वात्रं नीरान्पु क्षयं हृक् । सहस्राष्टाधिकं जप्त्वा गायत्रीं जलसंज्ञकः ॥', vide द्वितीयेष्टिं सूयं दृष्ट्वाष्टोत्तरसहस्रमापन्नजपं कृत्वा पारणं कुर्यादिति । प्रा. सार p. 187. This is q. by प्रा. प्रकाश folio 47 b. The first half is या. III. 311.

320. विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । दधना क्षीरेण तन्नेन पिण्याकाद्यामकैस्तथा । शाकैर्मसं तु कार्याणि स्वनामानि विचक्षणैः ॥ प्रा. प्रकाश folio 48a.

321. यवान् वायवं शाकं क्षीरं दधि घृतं तथा । इयं इयं तु माश्रीयाद्वायुभक्षस्यहं परम् । मरुद्भिर्गुप्ती वज्रैरादित्यैश्चरितं ब्रतम् । ब्रतस्यास्य प्रभातेन विरजस्का हि तेऽभवन् ॥ कृच्छ्रं देवकृतं नाम सर्वकल्मषनाशनम् । यम q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 pp. 191-192 and by प्रा. सार. pp. 183-184 (which omits the last verse मरुद्भिः). लौगाक्षियुक्त्वा VI. 3 reads 'यवान् ... शाकं पयः सपिः कुशोदकम् । इयं... इयम् ॥'. देवपाल explains 'यवान् रपासिततुषयः सम्पाद्या वेद्यमाया प्रसिद्धा वायकोपि तद्वत्स तु भक्तमायः कठिनः.'

of only rice gruel, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee each for a period of three days in succession and then should observe a complete fast for three days; this is called *Devakṛta* (performed by the gods) penance and destroys all sins. It was practised by the Maruts, the Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas. By the power of this penance they became free from *rajas* (impurity). Thus this penance lasts for 21 days. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 48 b) refers to another variety of it and quotes a long prose passage on it, which is passed over here for want of space.

**DHANADAKṚCCHRA**—See under *Vāyavya-kṛcchra*. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* <sup>322</sup> (q. by Pr. Prakāśa) this penance consists in subsisting for a month on food just sufficient to fill the extended but hollowed palm, mixed with gold (i. e. in which gold is rubbed or boiled).

**NITYOPAVĀSA KṚCCHRA**—The Pr. Prakāśa (p. 48 a) states that this is constituted by a man eating only twice in the day (in the morning and evening) for six years and not drinking even water between the two meals. <sup>323</sup>

**PAÑCAGAVYA**—For the various details connected with *pañcagavya* prepared from cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee, vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 773-774. *Pañcagavya* is to be offered into fire with the mantras 'Irāvati' (Rg. VII. 99.3), 'idam Viṣṇu' (Rg. I. 22. 17), 'mā nastoke' (Rg. I. 114. 8), 'Śam no devir' (Rg. X. 9. 4) and then the remainder is to be drunk. It is to be drunk with the middle of a sprig of three *Palāśa* leaves or with a lotus leaf. Manu. XI. 165 (= *Agnipurāṇa* 169. 30) prescribes this drinking of *pañcagavya* as the penance for petty thefts. Similarly, Yāj. III. 263 prescribes that one guilty of killing a cow should drink *pañcagavya* for a month. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 263 quotes *Viṣṇu* to the effect that one who kills a cow should perform one of three penances, viz. drinking three *palas* of *pañcagavya* every day for one month or undergoing the penance of *Parāka* or *Cāndrāyana*. <sup>324</sup> Though *Viṣṇu* 54. 7 and *Atri* (verse 300) state that a *brāhmana*

322. बाजप्रयुक्तिमयेकां कनकेन समञ्जिताम् । शुक्रानस्य तथा मांसं कृच्छ्रं धनद्वैतम् ॥  
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by प्रा. प्रकाश folio 48 b.

323. सायं यातश्च शुक्रानो नरो यो ज्ञानतरा पिबेत् । बहुभिर्बर्षैरिदं प्रोक्तं कृच्छ्रं नित्योप-  
पासिता ॥ प्रा. प्रकाश p. 48a.

324. मोहनस्य पञ्चगव्येन मांसमेकं पलत्रयम् । प्रत्यहं स्वात्पराको वा चाण्डायणम-  
थापि वा ॥ विष्णु q. by मिता. on प्रा. III. 263 and परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 243 (which  
reads मांसमेकं निरन्तरम् । प्राजापर्यं पराको वा ).

drinking *surā* and a *śūdra* drinking *pañcagavya* both went to hell (Mahāraurava, according to Viṣṇu), yet Devala (verse 61) and Parāśara XI 3 and 27 and medieval works like the Pr. M. (p. 13) and Śūdrakamalakara (p. 42) allowed *śūdras* to take *pañcagavya* without Vedic *mantras*. And women of all *varṇas*, being treated like *śūdras* for certain purposes, were also allowed optionally to do the same.

**PATRAKṚCCHRA**—Vide Parna-kūrca below.

**PARAKA**—Manu XI 215 (= Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.16), Yāj. III. 320 (= Śāṅkha 18.5 = Atri 128), Agnipurāṇa 171, 10, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46. 18 and Br. <sup>325</sup> prescribe that this penance is constituted by not taking any food for twelve days, while the performer controls his senses and remains vigilant, and that this penance removes all sins.

**PARNAKŪRCA**—This is a more severe type of *patra-kṛcchra*. Yāj. III. 316 (= Devala 83) and Śāṅkha-Likhita <sup>326</sup> define *Parnakṛcchra* as one where the leaves of *palāśa*, *udumbara*, *lotus*, and *bilva* are boiled separately on each day in succession and the decoction of each is drunk on each day separately and then water in which *kūśa*s have been dipped is drunk. Thus *parnakṛcchra* is a penance of five days. The Mit. on Yāj. III 316 quotes a verse of Yama to the effect that when a sinner fasts for three days and nights and thereafter he drinks together the decoctions of all the four and *kūśa* water on the same day then the penance is called *parnakūrca*. The Par. M. (II, part 2 p. 181)<sup>327</sup> regards *Parnakūrca* as a variety of *Parnakṛcchra*. Vasiṣṭha, Jābali and Atri (116–117) make *Parnakṛcchra* a penance of six days by adding the leaves of *Aśvattha* to the five mentioned above. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46. 23 mentions another variety of *Parnakṛcchra* for seven days. <sup>328</sup>

325. जपहोमरतः कुर्याद् द्वादशाहमभोजनम् । पराक एव विरुवातः सर्वपापमनाशनः ॥  
इह प. by माच. वि. p. 515.

326. शङ्खलिखितौ—एषाभिलषलशोदुम्बरकुशोदकान्येकैकमपस्तानि पर्णकुच्छः । मद्  
पा. p. 733, दीपकलिका on या. III. 317; while अपरार्ध p. 1234 reads  
एकैकमपस्तानि पर्णकुच्छः समस्तान्येतानि त्रिरात्रेणोपयुक्तानि च पर्णकुच्छः (0 कूर्चः ?)  
The मद्. पा. p. 734 reads पर्णकुच्छः.

327. तथा वसिष्ठः । पञ्चोदुम्बरपलाशविलाश्वत्थकुशानामुदकं पीत्वा च द्वादशैव  
ह्रियति । मा. प्रक. p. 128.

328. कुशपलाशोदुम्बरपञ्चशङ्खपुष्पीवदमृदुसुवर्चलानां पत्रैः कथितस्याम्भसः प्रत्येकं  
(प्रत्येकं ?) पानेन पर्णकुच्छः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46. 23. बालम्भट्टी on या. III. 316  
remarks on this 'इति विष्णुना सप्ताहसाध्य उक्तः' ; मद्. पा. p. 733 explains 'शङ्खपुष्पी  
लताविशेषः । मृदुसुवर्चला जाड्यविशेषः' ।

**PARNAKR̥CCHRA**—Vide Parnakūrca above.

**PADAKR̥CCHRA**—According to Yāj. III. 318 (=Devala 85) this is defined as a penance where a sinner takes food one day only once by day, only once by night, then once only (by day or night) but without asking for it from any one (a stranger, a servant or even his own wife) and observes a total fast for one day. Thus this penance lasts for four days. There was difference of view as to the number of mouthfuls to be eaten, Āpastamba (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 318) saying that the mouthfuls are respectively 22, 26 and 24 when food is taken only once in the evening or morning or without asking for it, while Parāśara states the number of mouthfuls to be 12, 15 or 24 respectively when food is taken only at night or in the morning or without asking for it. The Caturvimsatimata (q. by Par. M. II part 2 p. 172) puts them as 12, 15 and 10 respectively.

**PADONAKR̥CCHRA**—This lasts for nine days<sup>329</sup> only instead of the 12 days of the Prājāpatya and in it one eats by day only for three days, eats food once only for three days without asking for it from any one and observes a complete fast for three days (i. e. three days when food is eaten by night only are omitted here).

**PUSPAKR̥CCHRA**—According to the Agnipurāṇa 171. 12 and the Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 (quoting Markandeyapurāṇa) this penance is constituted by drinking for a month the decoction of flowers boiled in water.<sup>330</sup>

**PRASRTA-YAVAKA** or **PRASRTIYAVAKA**—Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 48 and Baud. Dh. S. III. 6 contain elaborate descriptions (which agree with each other in many respects almost *verbatim*) and so does Hārta (q. by Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 192-194) who has many sūtras and verses in common with Viṣṇu and Baud. Prasṛti means the hand with all fingers stretched out, the palm being hollowed. The yavas taken out were as many as could be placed on the palm of the hand thus stretched

329. सायं मातर्षिर्गार्प्यं दद्यात्पादोर्ध्वं नक्तवर्जितम् । आपस्तम्बस्मृतौ I. 14, q. by मिता. on या. III. 318, याव. सार. p. 172, परा मा. II. part 2 p. 173.

330. यथाह मार्कण्डेयः । कलेर्मासेन कथितः फलकृच्छ्रो मनीषिभिः । श्रीकृच्छ्रः श्रीकलेः श्लोकः पञ्चाक्षरपरस्तथा । मासेनामलकैरेव श्रीकृच्छ्रमपरं स्मृतम् । पत्रैर्मतः पत्रकृच्छ्रः पुष्पैस्तकृच्छ्र उच्यते । मूलकृच्छ्रः स्मृतो मूलैस्तोयकृच्छ्रो जलेन तु ॥ मिता. on या. III. 316, मद्. पा. p. 734. We should read कथितः for कथितः as मद्. पा. does, which remarks 'शरीरयात्रामात्रप्रयुक्तफलानि मासं भक्षयेत् तत्र सर्वेव्रतसाधारणेति कर्तव्यतापि कर्तव्या । तानि च फलानि कानीरयाकाङ्क्षायामाह श्रीकृच्छ्रः ॥'.

out and hollowed. Some passages from Baud. who is probably the oldest of the three authors may be set out here.<sup>331</sup> "Now if a man feels his conscience heavy with bad actions committed by himself, let him boil for himself, when the stars have risen, a handful of barley and prepare gruel with that. Let him not perform (the Vaiśvadeva) offering with (a part of) that nor a *Bali*<sup>332</sup> offering. Let him consecrate the barley before it has been placed on fire, when it is being boiled and after it has been boiled with the following mantras 'thou art barley, the king of grains, thou art sacred to Varuṇa and mixed with honey, the sages have declared thee to be an expeller of all sins and a means of purification.' Then there are five verses more invoking the barley grains to purify the performer from all sins whether due to deeds, words, or thoughts, to destroy distress and evil fortune, to free him from the food of *ganas* (guilds or multitudes of men), harlots, *sūdras*, or food offered at *śrāddhas* by persons in impurity due to birth or death, food of a thief, food at *navasrāddha* (i. e. on 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th days after death) or from dreadful mortal sins or from guilt against children and guilt due to serving in a royal court, from sin of stealing gold, sin of the violation of a *vṛata* or sacrificing for an unworthy person and sin of speaking ill of *brāhmaṇas*. Then Baud. proceeds "while the barley is being boiled he should guard it and recite 'Adoration to Rudra, lord of created beings; pacified

331. अथ कर्मभिरात्मकृतैर्गुरुनिवारमानं मन्येतात्मार्षं पशुतयाचकं अपयेदुक्षितेषु नक्षत्रेषु । न ततोऽग्नौ जुहुयात् । न चात्र बलिकर्म । अकृतं अप्यमाणं कृतं चाभिमन्त्रयेत् । यकोसि धान्यराजोसि वाक्यो मधुसंयुतः । निर्णदः सर्वपापानां पवित्रदुषिभिः स्मृतम् ॥... सर्वं पुनश्च मे यवाः ॥ इति । अप्यमाणे रक्षां कुर्यात् । नमो ब्रह्माय भूतधिपतये द्यौः ज्ञान्ता कृष्ण पाजः प्रसितं न पृथ्वीमित्येतेनाजुवाकेन । ये देवाः पुरःसदोऽग्निनेत्रा रक्षोहण इति पञ्चभिः पर्यायैः । मानस्तोके ब्रह्मा देवानामिति द्वाभ्याम् । कृतं च लघ्वदनीयात्मयतः पात्रे निषिध्य । ये देवा मनोजाता मनोजुजः सुरक्षा वक्ष्यितरस्ते नः पान्तु ते मोक्षन्तु तेभ्यो नमस्तेभ्यः स्वाहेति । आत्मानं जुहुयात् त्रिरात्रं मेधायी बह्वरात्रं पीत्वा पापकृच्छ्रदो भवति । सप्तरात्रं पीत्वा ब्रह्महन्तं शुभतत्त्व-गमनं सुवर्णसैन्धवं मुरापाणमिति च पुनाति । एकादशरात्रं पीत्वा पूर्वशुक्लकृतमपि वापं निर्जुहोति । अपि वा मोनिष्कातानां यवानामेकविंशतिरात्रं पीत्वा गणात्पश्यति गणाधिपतिं पश्यति विद्यां वदन्ति विद्याधिपतिं पश्यतीत्याह भगवान् बोधायनः । बौ. ध. सू. III. 6. The verses enulogising yava (यकोसि) are Band. III. 6. 5-10, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 48. 17-22 and Hārīta (q. in Par. M. II. part, 2 p. 193) with some variations and omissions. As to the rest Hārīta agrees closely with Baud. while Viṣṇu differs a good deal from Baud. as to the mantras. Viṣṇu has a verse referring to food licked by dogs and pigs and food defiled by leavings and the sin of disobeying parents, but omits two verses that occur in Baud. about *mahāpātakas*. Viṣṇu 48.6 prescribes Rg. IX. 96. 6 (ब्रह्मा देवानां) as the mantra to be recited at the time of guarding the grains that are being cooked.

332. For Vaiśvadeva and Bali, vide H. of Dh. II pp. 741-747.

is the sky'. He should recite the text beginning with 'Kṛṇusva pājah' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1), the five sentences beginning with 'Ye devā' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7. 1), the two texts 'mā nastoke' (Rg. I. 114. 8 and Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2) and 'Brahmā devānam' (Rg. IX. 96.6, Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2). "Then having sipped water he should eat a little of the boiled food after pouring it into another vessel. Let him offer it as a sacrifice to the soul reciting 'ye devā' (Tai. S. I. 2. 3. 1)."

Then Baud. prescribes: "one desirous of wisdom must perform this rite for three days and nights. A sinner who drinks it during six days becomes pure, he who drinks this during seven days becomes purified from the mahāpātakas, he who drinks during eleven days removes even the sins committed by his ancestors. But he who during 21 days drinks gruel of barley grains which have passed through a cow (i. e. cowdung) sees the *Gaṇas*, the lord of the *Gaṇas*, the goddess of learning and the lord of learning."

*PRĀJĀPATYA*—Vide under *Kṛcchra* above where it is shown that the word *Kṛcchra* without any qualifying epithet means *Prājāpatya*. *Manu* XI. 211, *Yaj.* III. 319, *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 46. 10, *Atri* 119-120, *Śaṅkha* 18. 3, *Baud. Dh. S. IV.* 5. 6 mention the word *Prājāpatya* and define it. This *Prājāpatya* has several varieties. The first is that described by *Manu* XI. 211 and *Vas.* 21. 20 viz. four periods of three days each following one another in which there is respectively eating once only by day, once only by night, eating once only without asking for it and complete fast. The second is that described by *Vas.* 23. 43, where on the first day food is taken only by day, on the 2nd only at night, on the 3rd day food got without asking for it is taken and on the 4th a complete fast is observed and where the same process is repeated for two periods of four days each. The first<sup>333</sup> is called *Prājāpatya* by 'sthānavivṛddhi' and the 2nd is called 'Dandakalita'. Further, both these are said to be made 'anulomyena' (by the proper and straightforward order). If the sequence described above is reversed i. e. if for three days there is first a total fast, then subsisting for 3 days on food got without asking for it, then for three days eating at night only

333. अयमेव पादकुण्डलः सधाकथंचिहणकलितवदावृष्या स्वस्थानविहृत्वा वा, तत्राद्याकुलोन्मयेन मातिलोन्मयेन वा तथा वक्ष्यमाणजपादियुक्तं तद्वर्हितं वा विरुध्यस्तः प्राजापत्योऽभिधीयते । मिता. on वा. III. 319. The मन्व. वा. p. 710 explains 'तत्राद्यं पक्षमाह मन्वः—इषई मातः...॥ अत्रैकभक्तादीनां स्वस्थान एवाभिहृत्वात् स्वस्थानवृद्धिः ।'.

and for three days eating by day only, it is Prājāpatya by 'prātilomya'. Further it may be performed with recitation of Vedic texts or without (for women and śūdras).<sup>334</sup>

**PHALAKRĀCCHRA**—Subsisting on fruits alone for a month. Vide the passage from Mārkaṇḍeya quoted above ( n. 330). Śrīkrācchra mentioned below will be also phalakrācchra. The fruits of Bilva and of Āmalaka and lotus seeds were the only fruits to be employed and they were to be eaten only for bare subsistence.

**BĀLAKRĀCCHRA**—See Śīśukrācchra.

**BṚHAD-YĀVAKA**—The Pr. Pr. (folio 49 a) quoting Brahmapurāṇa describes it as follows:—One should feed cows on plenty of yavas anointed with clarified butter. Then he should mix water with the dung of those cows and take out the grains of barley which are voided by them after eating them. He should then dry them in the sun, should grind them on a clean stone and cook them mixed with sesame and anointed with ghee in cow's urine on a fire brought on an altar. He should place the boiled holy grains in a vessel of gold or in a cup made of *palāśa* leaves and present them to the gods and *manes* and he may eat them. He should carry this on for twelve, twenty-four or thirty-six years for the removal of all sins. This is prescribed as a penance for killing one's *guru*, brother, friend or a near relative &c.

**BRAHMAKŪRCA**—The Mit. <sup>335</sup> on Yājñavalkya III. 314 states that when a man fasts on one day and on the next day mixes up the ingredients of pañcagavya with Vedic *mantras* and drinks it with *mantras* it is called Brahmakūrca. According to Śaṅkha cow's urine is taken with the Gāyatri ( Rg. III. 62. 10 ), cowdung with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām' ( Tai. Ā. X. 1 ), milk with 'āpyāyava' ( Rg. I. 91.16 ), curds with 'dadhikrāvṇa' ( Rg. IV. 39. 6 ), ghee with 'Tejosi' ( Vāj. S. 22. 1 ) and Kuśa water with 'devasya tvā' ( Vāj. S. 22. 1, Ait. Br. 37. 3 &c. ). Jābāla <sup>336</sup>

334. तस्माच्छुद्धं समासाद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थितम् । प्रायश्चित्तं यद्वा तत्त्वं जपहोमविभक्ति-  
तम् ॥ अङ्गिरस्य ५. by the मित्रा. on या. III. 319 and महार्णवः folio 182 a.

335. यदा पुनः पूर्वेष्वपराधेष्वपरेषुः समन्त्रकं संयुज्य समन्त्रकमेव पञ्चगव्यं पीयते तदा  
ब्रह्मकूर्च इत्याख्यायते । मित्रा. on या. III. 314. Vide लघुशास्त्रात् 156-166 for ब्रह्मकूर्च,  
which is the penance for all sins where no specific penance is prescribed.

336. अथैरात्रोचितो भूत्वा पौर्णमास्यां विशेषतः । पञ्चगव्यं पिबेत् प्रातर्ब्रह्मकूर्चविधिः  
स्मृतः ॥ जाबाल ५. by या. वि. p. 515, या. यकाशा folio 50a and प्राय. म. p. 22.

prescribes that when a man observes a fast for the whole day and night on a day and particularly on a Full Moon day and then drinks pañcagavya the next morning this is called the rite of Brahmakūrca. Parāśara (XI. 27-28) appears to hold that *Pañcagavya* and *Brahmakūrca* are synonyms. The Madanapārijāta p. 729 and Pr. Sāra. p. 189 state that the Sāntapana described by Yāj. (III. 314) is styled Brahmakūrca.<sup>337</sup>

**BRAHMAKŪRCCHRA**—Vide Hemādri's work on Prāyaścitta p. 964 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeya. It is a penance for 12 days on each of which one has to drink in the noon Pañcagavya in a temple or cowpen after offering it with mantras in fire; one has to contemplate on Viṣṇu till the evening and should sleep near an idol and give up tāmbūla and unguents.

**MAHĀTAPTAKŪRCCHRA**—Vide Taptakūrcchra.

**MAHĀSĀNTAPANA**—Sāntapana, according to Yāj. III. 314, Manu XI. 212 (= Baud. Dh. S.IV. 5.11 = Śaṅkha 18.8 = Brhad-Yama I. 13), Atri 117-118, Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 46.20, lasts for two days; on the first the sinner drinks together cow's urine, dung, milk, curds, ghee and kuśa water and on the second day he fasts altogether. Mahāsāntapana penance consists, according to Lau-gākṣiṅghya VII. 3, Yāj. III. 315 (= Devala 82 = Atri. 118-119), in drinking separately for six days in succession the six ingredients mentioned above and fasting on the next day (i. e. it lasts for 7 days). According to Śaṅkha 18.9, Baud.Dh. S.IV.5.17 and Jābāla<sup>338</sup> the Mahāsāntapana lasts for 21 days, each of the six ingredients referred to above being taken for three days and a fast being observed for three days. Yama speaks<sup>339</sup> of a mahāsāntapana for 15 days viz. when each of cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee is taken as subsistence for three days consecutively.

337. ततश्च योगीश्वरमिहितं सान्तपनमेव ब्रह्मकूर्चं इत्युच्यते । स एव ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवास इति । या. सार p. 189; vide also मद्र. पा. p. 729. The reference is to the verse 'यस्माद्यमितं पापं दहे तिष्ठति मानवः । ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवासस्तु दहत्यग्निरिवेन्दनम् ।' cited as पराशर's in या. सार p. 189, while पराशर (XI. 37-38 reads) यस्व...देहिनाम् । ब्रह्मकूर्चो दहेत्सर्वं मदीयमग्निरिवेन्दनम् ॥

338. षण्णामेकमेतेषां त्रिरात्रमुपयोजयेत् । इयं चोपवसेदन्त्यं महासान्तपनं विदुः ॥ जाबाल q. by अपराक p. 1234, परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 51.

339. इयं विधेः नोमूर्धं इयं वै नोमर्धं विधेः । इयं द्विधि इयं त्रिंशं इयं सर्पि-स्ततः क्षुचिः ॥ महासान्तपनमेतत्सर्वपापमनाशनम् । यम. q. by मिला. on या. III. 315, या. सार p. 191, परा. मा. II part 1 p. 31.



**VĀYAVYA-KṚCCHRA**—According to the Agnipurāṇa<sup>348</sup> and Viṣṇudharmottara this penance consists in subsisting for a month every day on food that will just fill the extended palm.

**VRDDHAKṚCCHRA**—VRDDHI-KṚCCHRA—This is a penance for eight days, according to Śāṅkha-Likhita<sup>349</sup> and Yama, in which one takes food only by day for two days, only by night for two days, without asking for food for two days and fasts for two days.

**VYASAKṚCCHRA**—This is the same as Maitra-kṛcchra,<sup>350</sup> for which see above p. 148.

**ŚISUKṚCCHRA**—also called Bālakṛcchra by Śāṅkha-Likhita and Pāḍakṛcchra by Devala and Prāyaścittamuktāvalī (folio 10 a) and is the same as Laghu-kṛcchra.<sup>351</sup> It lasts for four days, eating once only in the day, eating once only by night, eating food got without asking for it only once on one day and fast on one day. Vide Vas. 23.43 (q. by Haradatta on Gaut. 26.5), Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 92. Yāj. III. 318.

**ŚISU-CĀNDRĀYANA**—Manu XI. 219, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.19, Agnipurāṇa 171.5 state that when a brāhmaṇa eats (for a month) four mouthfuls in the morning and four after sun-set, that is Śisu-cāndrāyana (cāndrāyana for boys, old men &c.).

**ŚĪTAKṚCCHRA**—This is the reverse of Taptakṛcchra, as here all the articles are to be taken when they are cold<sup>351a</sup> and not hot (as in Tapta-kṛcchra). Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.12, Agnipurāṇa 171. 7 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 317. According to Viṣṇu quoted by Pr. Sāra (p. 185) and Madana-pārijāta (p. 736) this is a penance for 10 days (and not for twelve days as the Mit. states), viz. cold water, cold milk and cold ghee are drunk three days each and there is a total fast for one day.

348. मासं वायस्यकुच्छं द्यात्पाणिपूराक्षभोजनात् । अग्निपु. 171. 14; वायस्यं कुच्छकुच्छं तु पाणिपूराक्षभोजनम् । मासेनैकेन धर्मज्ञ सर्वकल्मषनाशनम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by मा. प्रकाश folio 48 a.

349. तत्र झङ्गलिक्षितौ । मातः सायमयाचितसुपवासद्वयहं इवहमिति माजापत्यं द्वयहं इवहमिति वृद्धकुच्छः, एकैकमिति बालकुच्छः । माय. वि. p. 511. The माय. सार p. 177 quotes a verse of यम to the same effect.

350. The मा. प्रकाश (folio 56b) cites a verse of अङ्गिरस् which is कविलावा...एष ग्यासकृतः कुच्छः श्वाकमपि शोधयेत् ॥

351. लघुकुच्छरथेयं शिशुकुच्छं इति नामान्तरम् । माय. म. p. 21.

351a. यदा तु शीतं क्षीरादि पीयते तदा शीतकुच्छः । इवहं शीतं विषेक्ष्य इवहं शीतं ययः पिबेत् । इवहं शीतं हृतं पीत्वा वायुमक्षः परं इवहम् ॥ इति यमस्मरणात् । मिता. on या. III. 317.

**ŚRĪKṚCCHRA**—According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.16, Agnipurāṇa <sup>352</sup> 171.12 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 (quoting Mārkaṇḍeya) this is constituted by subsisting on Bilva fruit or lotus seeds or amalaka fruit for a month. The Madanapārijāta (p. 737) quotes a verse of Śaṅkha to the same effect.

**SĀNTAPANA**—Vide Mahāsāntapana and Atisāntapana above. It is of five kinds, viz. the first for two days, the 2nd for seven days, the third for twelve (Atisāntapana), the 4th for 15 days and the fifth for 21 days.

**SURACĀNDRĀYANA**—The Agnipurāṇa defines it as one where somehow or other (and not in a rising or falling scale) a man partakes of 240 morsels of food in a month. Yāj. III. 324 speaks of it as a variety of Cāndrāyana. Viṣṇu. Dh. S. (47. 9) calls it 'sāmānyacāndrāyana'.<sup>353</sup>

**SUVARNA-KṚCCHRA**—Vide Hemādri on Prāyaścitta pp. 969-972 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, in which a *varāha* or a half of it or quarter of it had to be donated. A Varāha was equal to nine rūpakas and a rūpaka was one māsa of five *guṇjas* (of silver it seems). For killing a brāhmana secretly or for the guilt of incest one had to perform ten thousand or 40 thousand suvarṇa-kṛcchras and a lesser number for various other lapses.

**SOMĀYANA**—According to the Madanapārijāta pp. 744-746 (quoting Hārītadharmaśūtra and Mārkaṇḍeya) and Pr. Prakāśa (folio 60b) the penance lasts for thirty days divided into five periods of 7, 7, 7, 6, 3 days, in which the milk of all the four udders of a cow, of three udders, of two udders and of one udder is respectively drunk and for the last three days there is a complete fast. There is another variety which lasts for 24 days from the 4th tithi of the dark half of a month to the 12th of the bright half of the next fort-night; the 24 days are divided into eight periods of three days each; in the first four

352. बिल्वाभ्यवहारेण भीफलकृच्छ्रः पञ्चाक्षरी । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.16; कलेर्मासं कलं कृच्छ्रं चित्तेः श्रीकृच्छ्र इति । पञ्चाक्षेः स्वाक्षमलकैः पुष्पकृच्छ्रं तु पुष्पकैः । अग्निपु. 171.12. Vide note 330 above for मारकण्डेय.

353. यथा कथञ्चित्पिण्डानां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् । मासेन भक्षयेद्वैतसुरचान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ अग्निपु. 171.5-6. य. III. 324 reads the 2nd half as मासेनैवोपभुञ्जीत चान्द्रायणमथापरम् ॥ The Mit. explains यथाकथञ्चित् as 'प्रतिदिनं मध्याह्नेऽष्टौ ब्राह्मण, अथवा भक्तदिनयोश्चतुरश्वतुरो वा, अथैकस्मिन्चतुरोऽपरस्मिन्द्वादश वा तथैकरात्रयुयोपवापरस्मिन्बोद्धव्यं वेत्तादिप्रकाराणामन्यतमेन शक्यवाच्यपेक्षया युञ्जीत' । यथाकथञ्चित्पिण्डानां त्रिंशतीं मासेनाश्नीयात्स सामान्यचान्द्रायणः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 47.9

periods of three days each the milk of a cow's four udders, three udders, two udders and one udder is respectively drunk and then in the next four periods of three days each the milk of one udder, two, three and four udders is respectively drunk. Vide also *Prāyaścittendu-śekhara* p. 12.

**SAUMYAKRCCRA**—According to Yāj. III. 321 this penance lasts for six days, in the first five of which one subsists in succession upon oilcake alone, foamy scum of boiled rice alone, butter-milk alone, water alone and *saktus* (barley) alone and on the last day a total fast is observed. The *Mit.*, *Madanapārijāta* p. 717, *Pr. Sāra* p. 178 and other digests state that one has to partake of the five ingredients in quantities just sufficient to keep body and soul together. *Jābāla* (quoted by the *Mit.*, *Par. M.* II part 2 p. 183 and others) makes it a penance of four days' duration, in the first three of which one partakes successively of oilcake, *saktus* and butter-milk and observes a fast on the 4th day. *Atri* (128-129) also mentions it. The *Pr. Prakāśa* (quoting *Brahmapurāṇa*) speaks<sup>354</sup> of another variety of six days' duration, on the first of which there is a complete fast and on the last of which the sinner subsists on *saktus* alone and in the intervening four days he subsists on the thick gruel of barley cooked in cow's urine.

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354. प्रकारान्तरेण ब्रह्मः सौम्यकृच्छ्र उक्तो ब्रह्मपुराणे । यथमेष्टानि नाश्नीयात्सौम्य-  
कृच्छ्रेऽपि सर्वदा । गोमूत्रपायकाहारः कटे सकृच्च तत्समाप्तं ॥ इति । वा. प्रकाश. folio 46b.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONSEQUENCES OF NOT UNDERGOING PENANCES

If a sinner did not undergo a *prāyaścitta*, the *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas*, medieval digests declared that he had to suffer dire and far-reaching consequences. *Yāj.* III. 221 declares that men addicted to sins, who feel no repentance and who (therefore) do not undergo the proper penances, fall into painful and horrible hells. *Manu* XII. 54 ff and *Yāj.* III. 206 ff provide that those guilty of grave (and other) sins after having passed numbers of years in hells and suffered the tortures of horrible hells are born again in this world because of (the remnants of their) evil actions in different forms such as lower animals, insects, trees and shrubs &c. *Manu* XI. 53 ordains that one should always perform penance in order to free oneself from sins, since those who have not destroyed their sins (by means of *prāyaścittas*) are born again endowed with disgraceful marks (such as having bad nails, black teeth &c.). *Manu* XI. 48 also emphasizes that wicked men suffer mal-formations owing to their wicked deeds committed in this very life or in a former life. The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*<sup>355</sup> echoes the words of *Yāj.* III. 221. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* declares<sup>356</sup> that those (sinners) who do not undergo penances nor are punished by the king fall into hell and are born also as lower animals and even after attaining human bodies they become marked (with bodily defects). *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* (44. 1-10) prescribes<sup>357</sup> that evil-doers, having experienced the horrors of hell pass into animal bodies and that those guilty of *atipātakas*, *mahāpātakas*, *anupātakas*, *upapātakas*, *jāti-*

355. पापकृष्याति नरकं प्रायश्चित्तपराङ्मुखः । विष्णुपुराण IV. 5 21. q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 209.

356. प्रायश्चित्तविहीना ये राजभिश्चाप्यवासिताः । नरकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च ॥ मातृव्यमपि खासाद्य भ्रमन्तीह तथाङ्किताः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73. 4-5 q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 p. 210 and माय. वि. p. 120 (both of which read अद्विष्टताः for अवा-सिताः of the printed ed.).

357. अथ पापात्मनां नरकोन्मथुतदुःखानां तिर्यग्योनयो भवन्ति । अतिपातकिनां पर्वो-  
पेण सर्वाः श्वाश्वर्योनयः । महापातकिनां च कुमियोनयः । अनुपातकिनां पक्षियोनयः । उप-  
पातकिनां जलज्योनयः । कृतजातिभ्रंशकराणां जलश्वर्योनयः । कृतसङ्क्रियकरणकर्मणां वृग्यो-  
नयः । कृतापात्रिकरणकर्मणां पशुयोनयः । कृतमालिनीकरणकर्मणां मनुष्येण्यस्तुत्योनयः ।  
मकीर्णेषु मकीर्णां विंशाः कृष्याद्या भवन्ति । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 44. 1-10.

bhramśa-kara actions, saṅkarikarāṇa, apatrikarāṇa, malini-karāṇa and miscellaneous sins, respectively enter the bodies of all plants, of worms (or insects), of birds, of aquatic animals, of animals roving in waters, of deer, of cattle, of untouchables among men, of miscellaneous and cruel carnivorous animals (like tigers). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 45.1 provides<sup>358</sup> that sinners, after having undergone the horrors of hells and after having passed through the bodies of lower animals, are born as human beings with certain marks (indicative of their sins). So the teaching of these and other authorities comes to this that sins when not expiated by penances or by State punishment, lead to hell, that then, owing to some remnants of the evil deeds, to birth as lower animals and then as decrepit or diseased human beings.

It is now necessary at this stage to enter upon a historical though brief account of the idea of Hell and of its opposite Heaven.<sup>359</sup> There are in the Rgveda hardly any clear or express references to Hell. In Rg. II. 29.6 the sage prays to the Viśve-Devas 'save me from the pit, from falling down into it' (trādhvam kartād-avapado yajatrāḥ). In Rg. IV. 5. 5 it is said<sup>360</sup> that those men who are bereft of *ṛta* and *satya*, being sinful, create a deep place for themselves. In Rg. VII. 104.3 the poet calls upon Indra and Soma to strike down<sup>361</sup> into bottomless darkness evil-doers; and in VII. 104.11 the poet prays that whatever enemy desires to harm the poet by day or night may be deprived of his body and progeny and may be hurled below the three earths. Indra is implored in Rg. X. 152.4 by the sage to send down into darkness whoever attacks him and his people. In Rg. IX. 73.8 Soma is said to throw down in a pit those who do not observe Soma's ordinances and who are disliked by him. From these passages what emerges is that the sages of the Rgveda had some faint glimmerings of (or belief in) the idea of a dark

358. अथ नरकमिभूतदुःखानां तिष्ठन्नुत्पत्तिर्गर्जा मनुष्येषु लक्षणानि भवन्ति । विष्णु-धर्मसूत्र 45.1.

359. Vide for 'Heaven' and 'Hell' in Vedic Literature 'Vedic Mythology' by Prof. A. A. Macdonell, pp. 167-170; 'The religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads' by Prof. Keith pp. 403-410, Journal of American Oriental Society, Vol. 13 pp. ciii ff, Vol. 61 pp. 76-80, Vol. 62 pp. 150-156.

360. पापासः सज्जो अमुता असत्या इदं पदमजयता गभीरम् ॥ अ. IV. 5. 5.

361. इन्द्रासोमा दुष्कृतो वने अन्तरगारम्भे तमसि य विधत्तम् । अ. VII. 104. 3; परः सो अस्तु तस्या तमा च तिष्ठः दृष्टीरधो अस्तु विश्वाः । अ. VII. 104. 11; यो अस्मां अभिज्ञासत्यधरं ममया तमः । अ. X. 152. 4; विज्ञास विश्वा ध्रुवनाभिपश्यत्यवाजुह्वान् विधत्ति कर्ते अज्जातम् । अ. IX. 73.8.

deep pit below the earth to which wicked persons were relegated by the gods. But there is no mention in the Rgveda of the tortures of Hell. It is in the Atharvaveda that we find the clearest references to Hell (Naraka). Sorcerers and demons dwell in a house below (the earth), according to A. V. II. 14. 3. Atharvaveda V. 30. 11 asks a man to come out from death, from the deep and black darkness. In Atharvaveda<sup>362</sup> V. 19. 3 it is asserted that those who spat in the face of a brāhmaṇa or who imposed a levy of money on him remain biting hair in the midst of a river of blood. Atharvaveda XII. 4. 36 mentions 'Nāraka-loka'. In the Vāj. S. XXX. 5 the *Virahan*<sup>363</sup> (i. e. one who gives up or extinguishes the consecrated Vedic fires) is relegated to *nāraku* (*nārakāya viraham*). A *virahan* may also mean 'one who kills a valiant man' but that does not seem to be a proper sense in this passage of the Vāj. S. In the Śat. Br. XI. 6. 1. 4 we find a reference to torments of Hell, viz. men cutting up the limbs of others one by one for crimes committed. The Tai. Ā. I. 19 speaks of four *narakas* called Visarpin, Avisarpin, Viṣādin and Aṣiṣādin in the south-east, south-west, north west and north-east. From the Kathopanishad it appears that at that time there was a belief that those foolish men who do not know the Reality and who only believe in the existence of the mundane world alone have to be born again and again and fall into the hands of Yama<sup>364</sup> (II. 5-6). The same Upanishad (V. 7) states that after the death (of the body) some enter the womb in accordance with their actions and knowledge to have an embodied existence, while others go into fixed matter (the form of trees and the like). But that Upanishad says nothing about the torments of Hell. They were therefore probably not believed to exist in those days, at least, to the same degree as in the days of the Epics and Purāṇas. The very words at the beginning of the Katha Up. (I. 21 'devair-atrāpi vicikitsitam') indicate that there were even then various views about the fate of the departed. The Kausitaki Br. (XI. 3) propounds the remarkable proposition that

362. ये ब्राह्मणं प्रत्यक्षीयन्ते वास्मिन् शुल्कमीषिरे । अहन्ते मये कुल्यायाः केशान् खादन्त आसते ॥ अथर्व. V. 19. 3.

363. अथाहुर्नारकं लोकं निदग्धानस्य याचिताम् । अथर्ववेद XII. 4. 36; विरहा वा एष द्वेवानां योमिसुहृत्सपते । तै. सं. II. 2. 5. 5.

364. न साम्प्रदायः प्रतिभाति बालं प्रमाद्यन्तं विसमोहेन मृदम् । अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी पुनः पुनर्विशमापद्यते मे ॥ कठोप= II, 6; vide p. 94 above for कठोप= V. 7.

just as men in this world eat the (flesh of) beasts, so in the next world the beasts eat men.<sup>365</sup>

As regards the opposite idea of *svarga* (Heaven) the matter is much clearer. In certain Rk verses there are said to be three heavens (e. g. Rg. I. 35. 6, VIII. 5. 8, VIII. 41. 9, IX. 113. 9). The generous donor or worshipper is said to occupy heaven and to mix among gods; and gods like Mitra and Varuna are implored to give the worshipper immortality<sup>366</sup> (Rg. I. 125, 5, V. 63. 2, X. 107. 2.). Life in heaven is full of joys and delights and the denizen of heaven has all his desires fulfilled (Rg. IX. 113. 10-11).<sup>367</sup> In Rg. IX. 113.8 the poet prays 'make me immortal (in heaven) where dwells king Vaivasvata, where the sun is confined (i. e. where it never sets) and where the divine waters flow'. A person who neither offers sacrifices to gods, nor worships, and observes ordinances other than those of Indra is thrown down from Heaven<sup>368</sup>. A sage exultingly addresses Soma 'we have drunk soma, we have become immortal, we have reached Light (Heaven) and we have known the gods; what will an enemy or harmful person do to us who have been mortals so far?'<sup>369</sup> The pious dead become united in Heaven with their *Iṣṭūpārta* (merit due to sacrifices and charitable acts) and with their fore-fathers and become endowed with a refulgent body (Rg. X. 14.8). Those who practise *tapas* or those who perform sacrifices in which the fees run to thousands (of cows) reach Heaven (Rg. X. 154. 1-3)<sup>370</sup>, and Soma, ghee and honey flow for them there. Heaven is said to be the abode of Yama and there resounds the sound of flutes and of songs.<sup>371</sup> The Atharvaveda, being more popular in

365. तद्यथा ह वा अस्मिँल्लोके मनुष्याः पशून्मन्यन्ति यथैभिर्भुजत एवमेवाहुष्मिँल्लोके पशवो मनुष्यान्मन्यन्त्येवमेभिर्भुजते । कौषी. ब्रा. XI. 3.

366. नाकस्य पृष्ठे अधि तिष्ठति भित्तो यः पृणाति स ह देवेषु गच्छति । ऋ. I. 125. 5; उतो अस्मान्मृत्यवे दधातन । ऋ. V. 55. 4; इहि वा राधो असुतन्ममहे । ऋ. V. 63. 2; उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्त्युर्वे अश्वदाः सह ते ह्येण । ऋ. X. 107. 2.

367. यत्रानग्दाश्च मोक्षाश्च सुदः मनुष्य आसते । कामस्य यत्रासाः कामास्तत्र माममृतं कृषीन्त्रायेन्दो परिचव । ऋ. IX. 113. 11.

368. अग्न्यब्रतमाहुषमयज्जानमदेवयुम् । अथ स्वः सखा नुपुवीत पर्वतः सुदनाय वर्युं पर्वतः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 70. 11.

369. अपाम सोमममृता अधूमागन्त्य उयांतिरविदाम देवान् । किं नूनमस्माकृणवद्वरातिः किं धूर्तिरमृत मर्यस्य ॥ ऋ. VIII. 48. 3.

370. ये युच्यन्ते पधनेषु नृणां सो ये तनूत्यजः । ये वा सहस्रदक्षिणास्तान्निदेवापि गच्छताम् ॥ ऋ. X. 154. 3.

371. इदं यमस्य सादनं देवमानं यदुच्यते । इवमस्य धम्यते नास्तीरयं गीर्भिः परिष्कृतः ॥ ऋ. X. 133. 7.

character, contains much more information about Heaven. In Atharvaveda III. 29.3 it is said that a donor goes to Heaven where a weak man has not to render to the strong any contribution.<sup>372</sup> In Atharvaveda IV. 34.2, 5-6 it is stated that in the heavenly world there are beves of women (for the denizens), that there the dwellers get many edible plants and flowers and that there are ponds of ghee, streams of milk and honey, wine flows like water and lotus lakes surround the denizens. In Heaven the meritorious enjoy delight, their bodies being free from disease<sup>373</sup>. Atharvaveda VI. 120.3 and other verses express a yearning to meet one's parents, wife and sons (vide Atharva XII 3.17).<sup>374</sup> The Tai. S. is full of references to Heaven and so no quotation is cited here except one where it is said that he who offers the Adābhya cup in Jyotistoma goes to heaven while still living in this world.<sup>375</sup> The Tai. Br. appears to hold that those who offer sacrifices become shining stars in the firmament (I. 5. 2. 5-6)<sup>375a</sup>. The Śat. Br. (XI. 1. 8. 6) states 'that sacrificer who offers a sacrifice as this redemption is born in the next world (Heaven) with his body entire'.<sup>376</sup> Survival of the soul after death is emphatically asserted in the Tai. Br. III. 10. 11. These passages are enough to establish that the state of the pious after death and of heroes killed in battle was one of happiness in heaven, that there the food and material things (such as honey, ghee) that a person required in this world were also available in greater perfection and abundance. The remark of Macdonell 'Heaven is a glorified world of material joys as pictured by the imagination not of warriors but of priests' (Vedic Mythology p. 168) is not (in view of Rg. X. 154.3) quite accurate or justified. There is nothing to show

372. स नाकमग्यारोहति पञ्च शुल्को न क्रियते अश्लेन बलीयसे ॥ अथर्व. III. 29. 3.

373. नैवां शिक्षं प्र दहति जातवेदाः स्वर्गे लोके बहु ज्ञेयमेवान् ॥ इतह्रदा मधुप्लवाः सरोवकाः क्षीरेण पूर्णा उक्तेन दध्ना । एतास्त्वा धारा उप यन्तु सर्वाः स्वर्गे लोके मधुमत्पिण्डमाना । उप त्वा तिष्ठन्तु शुष्करिणीः समन्ताः ॥ अथर्व. IV. 34.2 and 6.

374. यत्रा सुहार्दः सुकृतो मद्गति विहाय रोमं तन्वः स्वायाः । अक्ष्रोणा अङ्गैरङ्गुताः स्वर्गे तत्र पश्येम पितरौ च पुत्रान् ॥ अथर्व. VI. 120. 3; स्वर्गे लोकमग्निं नो नयासि सं जायया सह दुत्रैः श्याम ॥ अथर्व. XII. 3.17.

375. किं तद्यज्ञे यजमानः कुरुते येन जीवन्मुवर्गं लोकमेतीति जीवग्रहो वा एष यद्व्याप्योऽमभिपुतस्य एङ्गाति जीवन्तमेवैनं सुवर्गं लोकं गमयति ॥ ते. सं. VI. 6.9.2.

375 a. 'यो वा इह यजते अमुं स लोकं नक्षते ... देवगृहा वै नक्षत्राणि' ते. ब्रा. I.5.2.5-6.

376. स ह सर्वतदूरेव यजमानोऽमुष्मिँल्लोके सम्भवति य एवं विद्वान् निष्कृत्वा यजते । शतपथ. XI.1.8.6.



that the warriors of Vedic times did not believe what the priests believed. In later times (as in the Bhagavadgītā II. 37 'hato vā prāpayasi svargam' or in the Raghuvamśa VII. 51) warriors killed in battle were supposed to go to heaven and were privileged to have the company of beautiful damsels. Heaven as a place or state of eternal bliss to which the spirits of the religious or meritorious people or warriors go, is an idea common to most ancient peoples and was probably based on the idea that the Earth was flat and the sky was a dome carrying various celestial objects. In the Brhadāranyaka Up. (IV. 3. 33) and Tai. Up. (II. 8) it is<sup>377</sup> stated that the joys of the world of gods are hundreds of times more delightful than those of the mortal world<sup>378</sup>. In the Kathopanishad (I. 12) it is stated by Yama himself that in Heaven there is no fear and no old age, that the denizen of Heaven is beyond hunger, thirst and sorrow and is in the midst of all delights. The Kauṣṭaki Br. Up. as quoted by Śāṅkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra I. 1.28 contains the statement that the abode of sinners is below this world or<sup>379</sup> the earth. The Chāndogya Up. in one place remarks<sup>380</sup> 'those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya or vaiśya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a cāṇḍāla'.

We have here a complicated blending of two theories. The original theory of early Vedic times was that of Heaven and Hell which is also that of most religions. Later on when the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* came to be universally believed in India the theory of Heaven and Hell came to be modified by holding that the pleasures of heaven and the torments of Hell both came to an end some time or other and the author of sins was born again as an animal or a tree or a human being suffering from diseases and defects.

377. तस्येवं पृथिवी सर्वा वित्तरस्य पूर्णा स्यात् । स एको मानुष आनन्दः । ते ये शत मानुषा आनन्दाः स एको मनुष्यगन्धर्वाणामानन्दः ।...ते ये शतं देवानामानन्दाः स एक इन्द्रस्यानन्दः । तै. उप. II.8.

378. स्वर्गे लोके न भयं किञ्च नास्ति न तत्र त्वं न जरया विभेति । उभे तीर्त्वा शानाया-  
विपासे शोकानिगो मोदते स्वर्गलोके ॥ कठोप. I.12.

379. एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति तं यमेभ्यो लोकेभ्योऽधो निनीयते । कौ. भा. उ III.9.

380. तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अग्याशो ह यस्ते रमणीया योनिमापद्येरन्नाह्वययोनिं वा  
क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वा । अथ य इह कपूयचरणा अग्याशो ह यस्ते कपूया योनिमापद्येरन्  
श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा श्वण्डालयोनिं वा । छान्दोग्योप. V. 10.7.

The fate of the departed soul after the death of the body will be touched upon in the section on Antyesti and Śrāddha, but in connection with the doctrine of Hell it is necessary to say something about Yama. In Rg. X. 58. 1 Yama is called Vaivasvata (son of Vivasvat, the Sun). Yama is at least an Indo-Iranian deity. Yama is eulogised in Rg. X. 14. He is called a king and is credited with the task of gathering together people (X. 14. 1); he is said to have been the first to make a way (to Heaven) which was followed by former ancestors of mankind (X. 14. 2 'Yamo no gātum prathamō viveda...yatrā naḥ pūrve pitarāḥ pareyuḥ'). The soul when departing from this world is told that when he follows the paths of the ancient ancestors he would see the two kings Yama and Varuṇa. In Rg. X. 14. 13-15 the priests are asked to press Soma for Yama, to offer oblations to him and it is said that *yajña* reaches Yama, Agni being the messenger. In Rg. X. 135. 1 Yama is stated to drink in the company of gods, he is the lord of men. Yama owns two dogs each having four eyes who guard the way, who are the spies of Yama and who move among men and mark their doings. In Rg. X. 97. 16 the sage prays 'May the plants release me from the (effects of the) violation of oaths, from the violation of the ordinances of Varuṇa, from the fetters which Yama claps on the feet of sinners and from all sins against the gods.'<sup>381</sup> In Rg. X. 165. 4 Yama is identified with Mṛtyu (death) and the owl (an evil omen) or a *kapota* is said to be the *dūta* (harbinger) of Yama. Rg. I. 38. 5 (addressed to the Maruts) appears to crave for something which is opposed to what other references to Yama state 'May not the singer of your praises go by the path of Yama'.<sup>382</sup> Thus, though in the Rgveda, Yama is a god and mostly a beneficent ruler of men, there is an element of fear associated with him as the two prying dogs that guard the way to heaven and his being called Mṛtyu would suggest. The Atharvaveda refers to Yama in several places in the same strain as in the Rg. In A. V. 18. 3. 13 it is said <sup>383</sup> 'serve the king Yama with offering, who was the first to die among men, who was the first to depart from this world and who, the son of Vivasvat, is the gatherer of men'. In Tai. S. V. I 8.2 and V 2. 3. 1 it is stated that Yama is the lord of all mortals and of

381. हृष्यन्तु मा क्षयन्त्याद्यो वरुणादृत । अथो यमस्य पङ्क्तिज्ञात् सर्वस्मादेकलिङ्घि-  
चात् ॥ अ. X. 97.16.

382. मा वो सुपो न वयसे जरिता भूद्विजोष्यः । यथा यमस्य गादुष ॥ अ. I 38.5.

383. यो ममार्थं प्रथमो मर्त्यानां यः प्रेषाय प्रथमो लोकमेतत् । वैवस्वतं सङ्क्रमन् जनानां  
यमं राजानं दृषिषा सपर्यत ॥ अथर्व. 18.३.13.

the whole extent of the earth. In Tai. S. III. 3. 8. 3-4 it is declared <sup>384</sup> 'Yama is indeed Agni and this (earth and altar) is Yami. When a sacrificer strews *Oṣadhis* on the Vēdi it is indeed tantamount to taking up a debt from Yama. If he (the sacrificer) were to go from this world without burning them they (Yama's men) might take him to the next world with fetters round his neck.' In Rg. X. 14. 10<sup>385</sup> the *pitrs* are said to enjoy delights in the company of Yama. In the Ait. Br. <sup>385a</sup> (XII. 3) Mṛtyu is credited with having fetters (*pāśas*) and wooden maces (*sthāpu*) for catching erring men. It has already been seen how Yama is said to have within his powers again and again foolish men who believe in the existence of this world alone and deny the existence of the next. Thus, from being a beneficent ruler of the departed souls in the very early Vedic times, Yama came gradually to be looked upon as a dreadful punisher of men.<sup>386</sup> The Purāṇas contain graphic descriptions of Yama's abode and of his assistants, chief among whom is Citragupta. For example, the Varāhapurāṇa <sup>386a</sup> chap. 205 contains a dialogue between Yama and Citragupta, in which the latter recommends the fate that a dead person deserves for his actions. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 371. 12 states that a sinner falls into horrible hells that are declared by Citragupta at the order of Yama.

384. अग्निर्वायवम इयं यमी कुसीदं वा एतद्यमस्य यजमान आदत्ते यदोषधीभिर्वेदिं स्तृणोति वद्वृषोपय प्रपायाद् वीषवद्धमेनममुष्मिँल्लोके नेनीयेत् । तै. सं. III. 3. 8. 3-4.

385. अथा पित्र्युविद्विर्जा उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं मवृन्ति । अ. X. 14. 10.

385a. स सर्वान्पाप्मान्सर्वान् स्थापयन् दुर्योरसिस्तृण्य स्वस्त्येवोदुहृत्ययत् । ऐ. ब्रा. XII. 3.

386. Vide an article in the Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. IV pp. 19-46 on 'Yama and the Pitrs' (where Vedic, Avestic and Norse evidence is led and a naturalistic explanation is given such as Yama being the light of dawn, pitrs as 'rays of light' and saramā 'light of twilight'). Vide Dr. R. N. Dasdekar in B. C. Law Presentation vol. I, pp. 194-209, where most of the theories of Western scholars about Yama are presented and examined. The naturalistic explanations have been in vogue from very ancient times, as the Kāthaka Sāmbhitā VII. 10 implies 'अहर्वावासीक राक्षी सा यमी क्षतरं दूतं नायुच्यत वा वद्वृष्यन् यमि कर्हि ते धातादुतेत्यद्येवोवाजयीत्'.

386 a. अयं दृष्टस्त्वयं तिर्यग्यं मोक्षं व्रजेत्तारः ॥...2 अयमावाधने क्षपुं हत्वा तु निधनं गतः । बाह्याण्येव नवार्थे वा राष्ट्रायं निधनं गतः । इक्ष्वाक्य इक्ष्वाक्यत्वा निवेद्यत मा क्षिरम् । verses 9-10 of chap. 205 of वराहपुराण ; अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातमीयं स्वकर्मभिः । मुक्तोय पापदुःखं सुखं धर्माय सङ्गतः ॥ यमाङ्गतेः किङ्करीस्तु पारयते नरकेषु च । अग्निपु. 203. 4-5 ; दृष्ट्वाति तत्क्षणायामे क्षरीरं चातिवाहिकम् । आकाशवायुतेजासि विग्रहातूर्ध्वगामिनः । ...यम इदृशं यमोक्तेन चित्रदुतेन चेरितान् । प्रागेति नरकान्त्रोद्धान् धर्मी क्षुभपर्येदिवश्च ॥ अग्निपु. 371. 9 and 12.

We must now turn to the ideas of Heaven and Hell contained in the post-Vedic Literature, sūtras, smṛtis, purāṇas and digests. The Nir. (I. 11) quotes<sup>387</sup> a quarter of a Vedic verse which means 'for fear that if we (women) acted crookedly (towards our husbands) we might fall into Hell.' The word Naraka is derived by it in two ways (*ni + araka*), viz. as meaning 'going below' (the earth) or (*na + ra + ka*) 'where there is not the slightest place for joy'. In another place, while deriving the word 'putra' (son) the Nir. (II. 11) declares that the son is called *putra* because he saves (the father) from the hell called *put*. The same derivation of the word *putra* is offered by Manu IX. 138 (= Ādiparva 229.14 = Viṣṇudharmasūtra 15.44). Gautama (13.7) promises<sup>388</sup> heaven to the witnesses in a cause if they speak the truth, but Hell (*naraka*) if they tell the opposite (of truth). After defining *putana* as loss of the capacity to perform the privileged acts of twice-born classes (such as Veda study &c.) and stating that by being guilty of sins a man does not in the next world reap the fruits of his good actions, Gautama states the striking view of other sages that *naraka* is nothing more than this loss of capacity and of the fruits of good acts, his own view however being that *naraka* is a particular place where a man has to dwell solely in distress and sorrow. It was the emphatic view of Gautama that men of the several *varṇas* and *āśramas* that are devoted to the actions prescribed as peculiar to each, enjoy after departing from this body, the fruits of their actions and then owing to some remainder of their total actions are born in bodies in appropriate circumstances as to the country, caste, family, appearance, length of life, learning, conduct, wealth, happiness and intelligence, while those who act contrariwise

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387. अथापि न हृष्येष्ट इत् इत्यनेन संयुज्यते परिभये नेजिह्वायन्तो नरकं पतन्ति इति । नरकं श्वरकं नीचैर्मनं नास्मिन्मरणं स्थानमल्पमव्यस्तीति वा । निरुक्त I. 11. Some editions give the whole verse हविर्भिरके स्वरितः सख्यन्ते सुख्यन्ते एके सवनेषु सोमान् । शचीर्मेवन्त उत वशिष्ठाभिर्मे । This is a *खिल* verse after Rg X. 106.1. विश्वरूप on Ya. III. 217 quotes नेजि० and explains 'जिह्वायन्त्यः कोटिल्येन प्रवृत्ताः कामकारप्रवृत्ता इति यावत् । अतश्चकामकृते नैव नरकप्राप्तिः' ; पुनः पुनः त्रापते निपरणाहो पुन नरकं तत्तज्जायत इति वा । निरुक्त II. 11.

388. स्वर्गः सत्यवचने विपर्यये नरकः । गौ. 13.7. द्विजातिकर्मभ्यो हानिः पतनम् तथा परत्र चासिद्धिः । तमेकं नरकम् । गौ. 21. 4-6, on the last of which हरदत्त remarks 'स्वमते तु विस्मिहे वेदे दुःशैकतानस्य वासो नरक इति' ; vide also अपराकं p. 1045 for the view of Gautama.

pass into all sorts of births and are ruined<sup>389</sup>. Āp. Dh. S. holds that a man becomes fit for Naraka if he follows activities solely dictated by sensual pleasures.<sup>390</sup> In another place Āp. Dh. S. affirms that *Naraka* is indeed one's lot when one transgresses one's *dharma*. It also states that rewards without end are denominated *svargya*. The Vedāntasūtra III. 1.13 makes it<sup>391</sup> clear that after enjoying the fruits of one's actions in the abode of Yama (*Saṁyamana*) evil-doers ascend to this mortal world. In Vedāntasūtra III. 1.15 the *narakas*<sup>392</sup> are said to be seven. Pāṇini VI. 2.38 teaches the accent of *mahāraurava*. In the Kāśikā com. on Pāṇini III. 2.88 a vedic verse is cited according to which one who kills his mother enters the 7th *naraka*. The Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 6.41 names seven hells, Tāmīra, Andhatāmīra, Mahāraurava, Raurava, Asipatravana, Kālasūtra and Avīci and (in II. 6. 2-5) names 26 *narakas*. Śaṅkha-Likhita as quoted by the Madanapārijāta pp. 694-695 mentions in detail the torments that evil-doers undergo in the hells called Kumbhipāka, Raurava, Mahāraurava &c. Manu IV. 88-90, Yāj. III. 222-224, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 43. 2-22, Agnipurāṇa 371. 20-22, Nārada (*prakīrṇaka* 44) enumerate 21 *narakas*. The names are almost the same in all these works, the variations being due mostly to the scribes having read certain letters differently. The 21 names are generally significant and may be set out from Manu as follows: Tāmīra (darkness), Andhatāmīra (blinding darkness), Mahāraurava, Raurava (abounding in paths with heated surfaces, according to Pr. V. p. 15), Kālasūtra (like the thread on the wheel with which the potter cuts off a raw earthen pot in two), Mahānaraka, Sañjivana (where one is made to revive and is again killed), Mahāvīci (where one is submerged in surging waves), Tapana (as burning hot as fire), Sampratāpāna (same as Kumbhipāka, according to Pr. V. p. 15), Saṅghāta (making many stay in a small place like the legendary Black-

389. वर्णाश्रमाः स्वस्वधर्मनिष्ठाः प्रेत्य कर्मफलमनुभूय ततः क्षेपेण निजिह्वदेशजाति-  
कुलकपातुः सुतद्वत्तन्निस्तुल्यमेवसो जन्म प्रतिपद्यन्ते। विष्वज्जो विपरीता नश्यन्ति।  
को. XI. 29-30, q. by शाङ्कर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 1.8

390. तदनुवर्तमानो नरकाय राधयति। आप. ध. सू. I.4.12.12; इहो वर्पति हसो  
धर्मनतिक्रामति धर्मातिक्रमे कलु पुनर्नरकः। आप. ध. सू. I.4.13.4; ततः परमनन्त्यं फल  
स्वर्गफलं भूयते। आप. ध. सू. II.9.23.12.

391. संयमने त्वदुभूयेतरेषामारोहावरोही लङ्गातिवर्जनात्। वेदान्तसूत्र III.1.13. शाङ्कर  
in his भाष्य relies on Kaṭhopaniṣad II. 6 and Rg. X.14.1 (both quoted above)  
in support.

392. अपि च ततः वेदान्तसूत्र III.1.15; अपि च ततः नरका दीरेवमनुका पुच्छतकलो.  
पञ्चमधूमित्वेन स्मर्यन्ते पौराणिकैः। शाङ्करभाष्य.

hole of Calcutta), Kākola (where one is preyed on by crows), Kuḍmala (where one is bound with ropes into a bundle, which looks like a closed bud), Pūtimṛtika (where the clay has a putrid smell), Lohaśaṅku (piercing one with iron nails), Rjīṣa (where boiled flour is thrown about), Panthāh (where one is made to walk constantly to and fro), Śālmali (where one is struck with thorns like those of the silk-cotton tree), Nadi (i. e. where one is carried away by a river such as the Vaitaraṇī), Asipatravana (where one is cut up by a forest of sword blades), Lohadāraka (which cuts up limbs with iron). Manu (XII 75-76) again mentions the Tāmīra, Asipatravana and Kumbhipāka narakas and Manu III 249 Kālasūtra. Kullūka (on Manu, IV. 88-90), Pr. V. (p. 16), the Dipakalikā (on Yāj. III. 222-224) and other commentaries say that the conditions in the hells may be read in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and other works. Vide Agnipurāṇa 203 and 371 (where Hells are said to be 144), Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 22 (which names 25 narakas and states what sinners fall into which of them), chap. 214 (verses 14-17 of which speak of 22 narakas and verses 51-103 contain harrowing descriptions of the horrible torments of hell), chap. 215. 83. ff. (for names and descriptions of several narakas).<sup>393</sup>

Brahma-vaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa chap. 29 which names 86 *narakakuṇḍas*<sup>394</sup> and chap. 33), Nārada-purāṇa, pūrvārdha 15.1-20 (for narakas and torments), Padmapurāṇa (Uttara, chap. 227 for 140 narakas and Pātālakhāṇḍa chap. 48 for several narakas), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (Brahmaparva, chap. 192.11-27 for torments of Hell and Uttaraparva Chap. 5-6 for sins and narakas). The Bhāgavatapurāṇa V.26.6 states that there are 28 narakas, though according to some there are 21. Vide also Viṣṇupurāṇa

393. Yāj. and Viṣṇu read 'avīci' for mahāvīci. Yāj. reads Sampratāna (throwing down in a pit) for Sampratāpana and adds Kumbhipāka separately, which latter means 'heating after placing inside a jar'. The printed Manusmṛti reads 'Pratimūrtikam', which is a misreading of some mss. Some Mss read 'Lohacāraka' which may mean 'being made to walk over red hot iron' or 'being fettered with irons' (Pr. V. p. 16). All the names are explained by Pr. V. (pp. 15-16) and by some of the commentators of Manu. According to Jamadagni quoted in Pr. V p. 16 Vaitaraṇī is a river in the nether regions which is full of foul smell and blood, which has hot water, is very rapid and has on the crest of its waves bones and hair. Saṅkha-Likhita (q. by Madanapārijāta p. 695) describes Vaitaraṇī as 'taptodakā' (having hot water).

394. नरकाणां च कुण्डानि सन्ति नानाविधानि च। नानापुराणभेदेन नामभेदानि तानि च। ...वदन्तीति च कुण्डानि संप्रमर्षा वसन्ति च। ब्रह्मवैवर्त, प्रकृतिलखण्ड 29. 4-6.

V. 6.2-5, Skandapurāṇa I, chap. 39 and VI 226-227. In the Markandeyapurāṇa (chap. 12) we have a description of several narakas like the Raurava, Mahāraurava, Asipatravana &c. and chap. 14 (verses 39-94) mentions the punishments meted out to perpetrators of various sins. In the Mahābhārata also narakas and the torments thereof are frequently referred to. For example, Śāntiparva 321. 32 speaks of Vaitaraṇī and Asipatravana, Anuśāsana (23.60-82) speaks of the actions that lead to hell (each verse having the refrain *te vai niraya-gāminah*) Anuśāsana 145.10-13. Svargārohanika-parva (2.16-26) describes the several horrible sights and torments of such hells as 'Asipatravana' (named in verse 23) and Kūṭasālmali (named in Svargārohanika 3.4). The Vṛddha-Hārta-smṛti (IX. 167-171) mentions almost the same 21 narakas as the Manusmṛti does. The craze for multiplying narakas went so far that the Brahmapurāṇa, the Viṣṇudharmottara<sup>395</sup>, the Garuḍa-purāṇa and others declared that there were thousands, lakhs and crores of narakas.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (46. 23-29) provides that those guilty of atipātakas, anupātakas, sankarikaṇa, who have not under gone prāyaścittas suffer respectively for one Kalpa,<sup>395a</sup> for one Manvantara, for four Yugas, for a thousand years in the 21 narakas in rotation and the other sinners for many years. Yama quoted by the Madanapārijāta p. 696 says that those guilty of Mahāpātakas stay in Hell with face downwards for a *yuga* and Yama has numerous other verses stating what sinners undergo which horrors of Hell.

Buddhists appear to have borrowed the doctrine about hells from Brahmanical writers. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's monograph on 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist perspective' (1925), pages 111-113, which refer to eight Mahānirayas and there are other lesser Hells. The eight Mahānirayas are Sañjiva, Kālasutta, Saṅghāta, Roruva, Mahāroruva, Tapa, Mahātapa and Avīci. It will be noticed how those names agree closely with Manu's list

395. लङ्घयन्निपातेऽथ निच्यन्ते पापकारिणः । नरकाणां सहस्रेषु लङ्घयन्ति तेषु च स्वकर्मोपाजितेर्दोषैः पीडयन्ते वनकिङ्करैः । महापुराण 215. 82-83 ; अष्टाविंशतिकोऽथ द्युर्धराणि नरकाणि ते । महापातकिनश्चात्र सर्वे द्युर्धराणिषु । आचम्यतारकं पावस्वी ज्वलन्ते विचिधैर्वधैः । अतिपातकिनश्चाग्रे निरणवकोटेषु । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे q. in दसुतिह. (पा.) p. 859 ; महापुराण (वेतलखण्ड) chap 3. 3 नरकाणां सहस्राणि वनंते इत्युक्तम् ।

395a. For Kalpa, Manvantara and Yuga, vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 890-891.

of hells. For the gruesome details of Hell and torments therein in ancient Jain works, vide *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (S.B.E. vol. 45 pp. 93-97) and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* I. 5 (S. B. E. vol. 45 pp. 279-286). Similarly, for the ideas of Heaven and Hell in Zoroastrianism, vide Mr. S. N. Kanga's 'Heaven and Hell and their location in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas' (1933).

The Buddhists held their penitential meetings (*Pātimokkha*), for which see S. B. E. vol. XIII. pp. 1-69 and for the 92 *pācittiya* (*Prāyaścittiya*) rules, vide pp. 32-55 of the same volume.

There are very glowing descriptions of Heaven (*svarga*) in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and other works. We have already seen how Heaven was supposed to be a place of delights in the *R̥gveda* and even in the *Upaniṣads* like *Kaṭha* (I. 12-13 and 18 'śokātigo modate svargaloke'). *R̥g. X. 107.2* affirms that those who give (large) *dakṣiṇā* stand high in the Heavens (as stars), those that donate horses go in the company of the Sun and those that donate gold become immortal. An<sup>396</sup> echo of this is found in *Vanaparva* 186.9. The *Kaus. Up.* 1.3 speaks of several worlds (*lokas*) of the gods such as those of *Agni*, *Vāyu*, *Varuṇa*, *Āditya*, *Indra*, *Prajāpati*, *Brahmā* and a similar gradation of higher worlds is described in *Br. Up.* III.6 (such as *Devaloka*, *Indraloka*, *Prajāpatiloka*, *Brahmaloka*). The *Br. Up.* I.5. 16 speaks of *manuṣyaloka*, *pitṛloka* and *devaloka* and holds that *devaloka* is the best of all worlds.<sup>397</sup> *Kaus. Up.* 1. 4 implies that in the heavenly world divine nymphs, garlands, collyrium, fragrant powder, garments wait upon the fortunate denizens. Śāṅkara on *Vedānta-sūtra* (IV. 3.4) says that the word 'loka' means 'a place for enjoying the fruits of one's actions' (*bhogāyatana*) and that *Hiranyagarbha* is the *adhyakṣa* of *Brahmaloka* (on *Vedānta-sūtra* IV. 3.10). In the *Vanaparva* (54. 17-19) it is stated that *svarga* is the place for those who die in battle. How *svarga* is like and what the pleasures of heaven are is described in *Vanaparva*, chap. 186.6-7, viz. that there are extensive lakes full of golden lotus flowers and fish and devoid of mud, that on the banks of those lakes dwell the meritorious honoured by *Apsarasas* who apply fragrant cosmetics to their

396. परं लोकं गोमदास्त्वाप्नुयन्ति दृष्ट्वा न दुर्हं सूर्यलोकं व्रजन्ति । वारो दत्त्वा चाप्यमसं तु लोकं दृष्ट्वा हिरण्यममरावमेति । वनपर्व 186.9.

397. च यो वाच लोका मनुष्यलोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रेणैव जटये मान्देन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठः । बृह. उप. I.5.16.



bodies, wear ornaments and have brilliant golden complexions. Similar pleasures enjoyed in the Nandana park are promised in Brahmapurāṇa, 225. 5-6. Vanaparva (chap. 261 verses 28-29) says that there is one great draw-back in going to heaven, viz. that there one simply enjoys the rewards of one's good actions, no new merit is accumulated there, one simply subsists on the accumulated principal or store of merit and that when that store is exhausted one has to fall down, the only good point about this being that one is born a man and that too in such a way that he enjoys<sup>398</sup> happiness. Anuśāsana (23. 84-102) sets out numerous actions whereby a man attains heaven (each verse having the refrain 'te narāḥ svarga-gāminah'). Similarly, in Brahmapurāṇa 224. 9-14, 18-25 and 30-37 we have the same refrain. Vide also Anuśāsana chapters 144 (verses 5-15, 19-26, 31-39) and 145. Śānti (99. 4-5) states that svarga is full of those fallen in battle, there are Gandharva damsels there for the brave (and there is hell for the coward) and that svarga yields all desires that one may entertain. The Śāntiparva (192. 8 and 21) states that svarga was in the North, that (Śānti 191. 13, 193. 27) there was neither hunger nor thirst nor weariness nor old age nor sin (in Heaven), that good men (Śānti 271. 24) are seen as stars (or become stars). In the Matsyapurāṇa (276. 17) it is<sup>399</sup> stated that he who performs Brahmāṇḍadāna (one of the 16 mahādānas) reaches the world of Viṣṇu and delights in the company of Apsarases. The Brahmapurāṇa (225. 6-7) assures us that a generous donor goes to heaven where he enjoys the best pleasures in the company of Apsarases and in the heavenly garden called Nandana and when he falls down from heaven he is born as a mortal in a rich and noble family. Vide also Garudapurāṇa II. 3.86-89. It is not necessary to multiply passages. There are two matters to be noted in connection with Heaven and its pleasures. One is the calculating or bargaining spirit which the smṛtis and purāṇas display viz. make this or that gift and then there is so much delight to be enjoyed in heaven, a sort of profit and loss account; and the second is that the highest

398. कृतस्य कर्मणस्तत्र भुज्यते यत्कलं द्विषि। न चाप्यत् क्रियते कर्म मूलभूतेन भुज्यते ॥ सोऽत्र दोषो मम मतस्तस्यास्ते पतनं च यत्। सुखस्याप्तमनस्कानां पतनं यच्च लुप्तल ॥ अयं स्वर्गो मुणः श्रेष्ठः पुत्रानां स्वर्गलो मुने। सुभासुमययोगेन मनुष्यैरूपजायते। तच्चादि स महाभागः सुखभागमिजायते। वनपर्व 261.28-29 and 33.

399. इत्थं य एतद्विहितं प्रवचोऽत्र कुर्याद् ब्रह्माण्डदानमथिनम्य महर्षिमानव्। निर्धूतकल्मषविह्वलहर्षरोसान्धकृत्यद्विषेति सहाप्सरोभिः ॥ मत्स्यपु. 276.17 व. by अपरार्क p. 323.

pleasures of Heaven have a time limit, i. e. they are to come to an end one day and the meritorious have to be born again in mortal bodies. The doctrine was gradually evolved that there is no final release from the cycle of births and deaths by the performance of meritorious deeds alone.

It is not necessary to set out at length the gruesome torments of Hell described in great detail in several smṛtis and purāṇas. By way of a sample, the following description taken from a Dharmasāstra work (viz. Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 43.32-45) will be quite enough. "Sinners guilty of having committed (one or more of the nine kinds of) sins have to endure terrible sufferings when they have left this life and reached the path of Yama. Being dragged hither and thither by the fierce servants of Yama they are led (to hell) by them with frightening gestures. (In Hell) they are devoured by dogs, jackals, crows, herons, cranes and other birds eating raw flesh, by snakes and scorpions that have fire in their mouths (i. e. that emit stinging poison). They are scorched by fire, pierced by thorns, divided into parts by saws and oppressed by thirst. They are afflicted with hunger and by terrible hordes of tigers and they faint away at every step on account of the stinking smell of pus and blood. Desiring to secure the food and drink of others they are beaten by the servants (of Yama) whose faces are similar to those of such horrible animals as crows, herons and cranes. In some places they are boiled in oil, in others they are pounded with pestles or ground down in iron or stone vessels. In some places they (have to) eat what is vomitted or pus or blood or excrements, and hideous meat smelling like pus. In one place they have to stay in terrible darkness, and are devoured by horrible worms having flames in their mouths. In some places they are overwhelmed by cold or have to pass through the midst of unclean things and in other places the departed devour each other, thus becoming most horrible. In some places they are beaten on account of their former deeds and are suspended in other places (from trees &c.) or are struck with heaps of arrows or are cut into pieces. In other places they have to tread upon thorns and they are encircled by the hoods of serpents, they are tormented with machines and are dragged by their knees. Their backs, heads and necks are fractured, they become terrible (to look at), their throats being reduced to the size fit for a cave shelter and they become unable to bear torments. Sinners are being tormented in this way and having suffered intense

pain undergo various further sufferings in their passage through animal bodies (in which they are thereafter born)."

That *naraka* is a place below the earth is frequently stated in the Purāṇas. For example, in the Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa purāṇas all Hells such as Raurava are stated to be situated below the earth. Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 6. 1 also. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa states that Hells are below the earth and above water to the south of the three worlds and hang without support, in which dwell the troupes of pitrs called *Agniśvātta* and others.<sup>400</sup> The Agnipurāṇa (371. 13-14) avers that the 28 groups of *narakas* are below the earth and even below the 7th *Pātāla*.

We come across Vedic passages such as these 'This sacrificer who is possessed of the utensils of *yajñ* directly reaches Heaven' (Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 8.)<sup>401</sup>, 'one who desires Heaven should offer the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice', 'one desirous of attaining heaven should perform the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice'. What is meant by *svarga* or *naraka* has given rise to hot discussions from very ancient times. The popular view as reflected even in the Vedas, the smṛtis and purāṇas was that *svarga* was a place above the earth and *naraka* was a place of actual torments below the earth. Even ancient astronomical works located *svarga* thousands of *yojanas* above the earth. Parāśara,<sup>402</sup> an astronomer and a predecessor of Varāha-mihira quoted by Utpala on Br. Sam. I. 11, stated 'Bhū (the earth) is 67080 crores of *yojanas* and it is the expanse of the earth; beyond it there is impenetrable darkness, in the midst of which there is the golden

400. धूमरेषस्ताले सर्वे रौरवाद्याः प्रकीर्तिताः । गरुड (वेतस्यण्ड) 3. 55, ब्रह्माण्ड, उप-संहारपाद chap. 2.52; ततश्च नरकान् विप्र मुखाऽधः सलिलरूपम् । पापिनो येन पापयो-  
तान् शृणुष्व महाकुने ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 22. 6. 1. राजोवाच । नरका नाम अणवन् किं देशविशेषा  
अथवा वह्निर्लोकश्च आहोस्विदन्तराल इति । सावित्राच । अन्तराल एव विजगत्पास्तु विंशि  
वृक्षिणस्यामधस्तात्प्रेतपट्टाच्च जलाधरायामग्निश्चात्तादयः पितृगणाः... निवसन्ति । भागवत  
पुराण V. 26. 3-4.

401. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 985 note of 2233 for enumeration of the ten *yajñayudhas* from Tai. S. I 6. 8. 2-3 and Śat. Br. I. 1. 1. 22.

स एष यज्ञायुधी यजमानोऽजसा स्वर्गं लोकं याति । इतपथजा. XII. 5. 2.8  
quoted by झवर on जै. I. 1. 5 in the पूर्वपक्ष ; 'दशपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेत' q. by  
झवर on जै. II. 1. 1.

402. सप्तषट्सहस्राण्यशीतियोजनकोट्यो भूर्यत्वाधिषीमण्डलं परमाद्गम्यं तमः ।  
तमस्ये हिरेण्ययो मेढश्चतुरशीतियोजनसहस्रोच्छ्रितो पादश्च चाधस्तात् । त्रियुगनिस्तारायामो  
यं स्वर्गमाचक्षते तमस्येर्नाकचन्द्रौ ज्योतिष्यकं च पथेति । पराशर q. by उत्पल on बृ. सं.  
I. 11.

mountain Meru, 84000 *yojanas* high and sixteen below and thrice as much in length and width, which is called *svarga*. But it would be far from the truth to say that all eminent writers were agreed on the actual existence of *svarga* and *naraka* as *places*. It has already been shown how several centuries before Christ Gautama refers to the view of some predecessors of his that *naraka* is *not a place*, but simply means the loss of the capacity to perform the peculiar actions of one's *varna*. There were others who argued in the same strain. Śābara (on Jai. IV. 3. 27-28) quotes a Vedic passage where the view of the sage appears to be that sacrifices yield the reward promised by śruti in the next life and where Kumārila <sup>403</sup> in his brief comment propounds the view that the injunctive passage (*vidhi*) of the Veda only promises a reward but does not state that it follows immediately in this life, that *svarga* which means unsurpassed joy, can happen only in another life. On Jaimini VI. 1. 1. Śābara first puts forward the *prima facie* view that *svarga* <sup>404</sup> imports in popular language such things (*dravya*) as fine silken clothes, sandalwood paste, young damsels only 16 years old and that the word *svarga* is also popularly applied to a particular *place* where there is neither heat nor cold, neither hunger nor thirst, neither distress nor fatigue and where only those that have done meritorious deeds can reach and not others. Śābara refutes this view and holds that the primary meaning of the word *svarga* is joy <sup>405</sup> or delight and not a thing (*dravya*) which brings joy.

There is a well-known and oft quoted verse which defines *svarga* as follows: <sup>406</sup> that happiness which is not mixed up with

403. फलं भवतीत्येतावति विधिज्ञान्दोऽस्ति । न त्वनन्तरत्वे । तस्मादनियमः । स्वर्गस्तु जन्मान्तर एव । स हि निरतिशया मीतिः कर्माश्रुत्या चेति न शक्येह जन्मव्ययमुभयितुम् । यतो-  
स्मिन्लोकं क्षणेक्षणे हस्तदुःखे अनुभवन्ति । ... देहान्तरं तु निरतिशयमीत्यनुभवनायान्ध्याशु-  
पपरया कल्प्यते । तच्छाश्वतस्य न भवतीत्यतो जन्मान्तरे स्वर्गः । दुष्टीका on जै. IV.3.27-28.

404. सर्वेषामेव शब्दानामर्थज्ञाने लौकिकः प्रयोगोऽनुयायः । तस्मिन् लौकिके प्रयोगे  
द्रव्यवचनः स्वर्गशब्दो लक्ष्यते । कौशेयानि वृक्षमाणि वासन्ति स्वर्गः, चन्दनानि स्वर्गः, हृत्तवर्षाः  
क्षिप्रः स्वर्ग इति । यद्यत् मीतिमद् द्रव्यं तत्तत्स्वर्गशब्देनोच्यते । ... ननु स्वर्गशब्दो लोके प्राप्तिद्वो  
विशिष्टो देशो यस्मिन्लोके न शीतं न शुष्कं न तुष्णं नारातिर्ग्लानिः पुण्यकृत एव प्रेत्य तत्र  
गच्छन्ति नान्ये । शबर on जै. VI.1.1.

405. तत एतन्नाह्वयन्ति । मीतिः स्वर्ग इति । कुतः । एवमुक्तं भवता मीतिविशिष्टे द्रव्ये  
स्वर्गशब्दो वर्तत इति । यद्येवं पूर्वं तर्हि मीतिं वर्तितुमर्हति । तां हि स न व्यभिचारति । व्यभिचारति  
मुनर्द्रव्यम् । शबर on जै. VI.1.2. On जै. VI.1.1 the दुष्टीका remarks 'एकस्य (सिद्धान्त-  
वादिनः) मीतिः स्वर्गशब्दवाच्यः, अपरस्य (पूर्वपक्षवादिनः) मीतिमद्द्रव्यम् । विशिष्टो देशो उभ-  
योरप्यवाच्यः । किं कारणं, तद्व्याप्यत्वेन व्यवहाराभावः । तेन व्यवहाराभावात्प्रयोगाभावः ।'

406. यत्र दुःखेन संमिश्रं न च यत्समन्तरम् । अभिलाषोपमीतं च तत्सुखं  
स्वप्नवासवम् ॥

pain, which is not immediately afterwards overwhelmed (by pain) and which is present whenever desired, is denoted by the word *svaḥ* (or *svarga*). The *Prakarana-pañcika* of Śālikanātha,<sup>406</sup> one of the early works of the Prabhākara Mīmāṃsā school, affirms that in such sentences as 'one desirous of heaven should perform the *Jyotistoma*' the rite is simply commended by Vedic passages, which are no more than *arthavādas*, as a means of securing long-enduring happiness which is free from the taint of all kinds of sorrow and which is present at the mere desire of the enjoyer. The *Śāntiparva* expressly states 'The wise do not regard the other world as directly seen by anyone; one has to entertain faith (in the existence of the other world) because otherwise one may run counter to the Vedas.'<sup>407</sup> The *Brahmapurāṇa* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* speak in the same strain as Śābara that *svarga* is what causes happiness to the mind, that *naraka* is the opposite of it and that meritorious deeds and wicked deeds are designated as *svarga* and *naraka* respectively and that *svarga* and *naraka* are really states of the mind characterised by happiness and pain respectively.<sup>408</sup>

One need not wonder at the crude ideas of *naraka* and *svarga* entertained by most ancient Indian writers and works. The same ideas were prevalent among peoples of all religions all the world over. For example, The Egyptians whose dynastic history covers a period of about 5000 years had very remarkable beliefs about Heaven and Hell which were illustrated with pictorial representations copiously (as no other nation had ever done), although the oldest Books of the Dead are without illustrations of any sort (vide E. A. W. Budge's 'Egyptian Heaven and Hell', 1905 p. XI and 2). Sheol was the name the Hebrews gave to the gloomy abode of the dead in the lowest parts of the earth and it was a land of darkness, which was appointed as the house for all living (Job 10. 21-22 and 30. 23). The Greek Hades closely resembles the Hebrew Sheol in its chief characteristics. In the New Testament also Hell is a land of everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels and it is a place where the wicked go into everlasting torment

406 & उपोतिटोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेतेत्येवमाविसमाप्तायं सकलदुःखसम्भेदरहिताभिला-  
षोपनीतिदीर्घतरसुखसाधनत्वेनार्थवादेः स्तुयमानं कर्म दृश्यते । प्रकरणपञ्चिका (p. 102).

407. न दृष्टपूर्वं प्रत्यक्षं परलोकं विदुर्मुखाः । अगमास्तत्त्वनातिक्रम्य अज्ञातार्थं दृष्टवता ॥  
शान्ति. 28.42.

408. मनःपोतिकरः स्वर्गो नरकस्तद्विपर्ययः । नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पापदुग्धे द्विजोत्तमाः ॥  
ब्रह्मसू. 22.44, विष्णुसू. II.6.46: मनसः परिणामोऽयं सुखदुःखादिलक्षणः । ब्रह्मसू. 22.47.

and punishment, while the righteous attain life eternal (Matthew 25. 41 and 46, Luke 16.23). The words of the New Testament are plain enough that Heaven was supposed to be a place above the earth and the clouds and that Hell was a place below the earth full of darkness and torments. Vide Luke 23. 43, Ephesians I. 3 and 20, II. Cor. 12. 4, Rev. 2. 7; and Luke 12.5 and 16.23; II. Peter 2.4 and Rev. 6.8, 20. 13-14. Bloomfield in his 'Religion of the Veda' p. 252 remarks 'In later Hindu times Hell is filled out with the usual gruesome stage-setting in the style of Dante's Inferno or the wall painting in the *campo santo* at Pisa'. Even men of genius like Shakespeare and most Christian theologians<sup>409</sup> down even to modern times believed in a literal interpretation of passages from the Bible which speak of Heaven and Hell as places. It is only recently that many Christians have begun to hold that the language of the Bible about Heaven and Hell is purely symbolical in character<sup>410</sup>.

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409. Vide William James in 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 264, where he says that the fear of the old-fashioned Hell fire was employed by Christianity to extract from it fruits for repentance and conversion value and Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of Immortality' pp. 15-19. Vide for the Quranic ideas of Hell, SBE, vol IX p. 317 'Hell is a reward for the outrageous to tarry therein for ages. They shall not taste therein cool nor drink but only boiling water and pus'. Vide also SBE, vol. VI p. 247 (Hell contains seven divisions), vol. VI p. 163 (for the misbeliever is the torment of hell fire), vol. XIV p. 317 and p. 340 (for boiling water, pus and fire). In the Quran Heaven was supposed to consist of seven divisions viz Garden of Eternity, Abode of peace, Abode of rest, Garden of Eden, Garden of Resort, Garden of pleasure, the Garden of the most High, the Garden of Paradise.

410. The Report on the 'Doctrine of the Church of England' published in 1938 by a Commission consisting of some of the highest dignitaries of the English Church makes interesting reading, though to a non-Christian the language appears rather full of circumlocution and far from clear and definite. On p. 206 the Report states "The drama of the Last Things as set forth in the medieval 'Doom' pictures rests on a tradition which makes use of a more or less literal conception of heaven and hell as specific 'places', of which a picture was formed by drawing upon traditional material, more especially the imagery of the Book of Revelation, which is itself largely drawn from Jewish and other pre-Christian sources.....A quasi-literal interpretation of the imagery has in fact generally prevailed among Christians and has been wide-spread even in educated circles almost down to the present day." On p. 219 the above Report remarks "As the essence of Hell is exclusion from the fellowship of God, so the essence of Heaven is that fellowship. It is not a selfish happiness offered in reward for

(Continued on the next page)

The Smṛtis had evolved the doctrine, as stated above, that if a sinner did not undergo *prāyaścitta*, he had to suffer torments in hell, thereafter he became born as some insect or lower animal or a tree on account of some remnants of his sins and that he was born as a human being afflicted with certain diseases or with defects.<sup>411</sup> These last two consequences are described under the title *karmavipākā* (the fruition of evil deeds). Śātaṭapa (I 1-5) asserts that men guilty of grave

(Continued from the last page)

self suppression at an earlier time; it is fellowship with God who is love..... This is *infinite bliss* to the soul which is purged of self-interest. Heaven is also a fellowship of finite spirits." It will be patent how modern European minds have begun to think of Heaven and Hell in terms analogous to those in which some of the best minds of India thought of them centuries before and after the Christian era. In spite of the glowing pictures of the pleasures of Heaven and terrifying descriptions of the torments of Hell detailed in many of the sacred and popular works in Sanskrit and other Indian languages people have gone on committing all sorts of sins. The ancient machinery of Heavens and Hells must be deemed to have largely failed of its purpose in these days. Large masses of men appear to be slipping into an abyss of despair, misery, hardness of heart, wanton brutality and lawlessness. The lurid accounts of bombings and night raids on big cities, the reports of the bloody battles for six years in the World War No. 2, the harrowing tales of tortures in such prisoners' camps as at Belsen, the phenomenal rise in the prices of all necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter), frequent strikes and struggles between the employed and the industrialists, growing indiscipline, arson, plunder and bestial treatment of human beings on the ground of race or religion have produced hardness of heart and debased large masses of Indian people. It is a very difficult question for our leaders how to revive among the common people of India, (whom Westerners dubbed mild Hindus) the old characteristics of tolerance, peacefulness, goodwill and respect for human life and property, how to build up a new fabric of society, a new civilization and culture on the ancient Upaniṣadic foundations of the pursuit of Reality, brotherhood of man, the unity of all life, and love of mankind even without pressing into service the ancient and medieval literal conceptions of Heaven and Hell.

411. शयश्चित्तविहीनानां महापातकानां वृणाम् । नरकाग्रे भवेज्जन्म चिह्नचिह्न-  
स्मरिणिषाम् ॥ प्रतिजन्म भवेत्तेषां चिह्नं तत्पापद्वन्द्वम् । शयश्चित्ते कृते यति पश्चात्तापवतां  
युनः ॥ महापातकजं चिह्नं सप्त जन्मनि जायते । उपपापोद्भव एव त्रीणि पापसमुद्भवम् ॥ दुष्कर्मजा  
वृणा रोमा यान्ति चोपक्रमेः शमम् । जायतेः सृष्ट्यान्वेष्टो मैदानिस्तेषां शमो भवेत् ॥ शातातप  
I. 1-4. The verses 5-10 (about the diseases) and the following verses about the gift of cows, bulls, land and gold are quoted in the महापर्वकर्मविपाक of  
मान्धातु (folio 4a and 4b) as from शातातपीयकर्मविपाक. The शय. वि. p. 106 remarks  
'पूर्वजन्मकृतयोः सुखोपहारसुरापानपापयोर्नरकोपभोगक्षीणयोरपि सुवर्णचौरः कोनरुप  
सुरापः इयमद्वन्द्वताम् (मनु ११.४५) इत्यनुमितयोः किञ्चित्तापसिद्धत्वात्तत्पापविपाकमाह  
यसिद्धः (20.6) ।'

sins that have not undergone *prāyaścitta* are, after undergoing the torments of Hell, born with bodies marked with certain condemned signs. One guilty of grave sins bears such signs for seven births, one guilty of *upapātaka* for five births and one guilty of *pāpa* for three births. These marks indicative of their having committed a particular sin are observed in each life and only disappear after they repent and perform *prāyaścitta*. Similarly, the diseases arising from sinful deeds subside by adopting the remedies of the recitation of Vedic texts, worship of gods, homas and gifts.' Verses 6-10 specify the diseases that arise in consequence of sins such as leprosy, tuberculosis, gonorrhœa, dysentery, kidney trouble, stone in the bladder, cough, fistula &c. A man may commit sins of three kinds viz. by the body, in words and mentally (Manu XII. 3). Really speaking, it is the mind that is the spring of all actions (Manu XII. 4), but for the sake of convenience, this threefold division is made. Coveting another's wealth by unfair means, desiring that evil should befall another and persistence in false ideas (such as the one that there is no soul, but that the body is the soul)—these three are mental sins (Manu XII. 5). Harshness of speech, falsehood, backbiting and irrelevant prattling—these four are vocal sins (*ibid* XII. 6). Appropriating to oneself another's wealth without his consent, injury to sentient beings against the injunctions of *sāstra*, sexual intercourse with another's wife—these three are bodily sins (*ibid* XII. 7). Manu provides that bodily sins reduce a man to the state of a fixed object (tree &c.), vocal sins reduce him to the state of birds and beasts and mental sins to the lowest castes (Cāṇḍāla and the like). Hārta (q. by Par. M.)<sup>412</sup> speaks of 18 evil actions that lead to hell, of which six are mental, four vocal and the rest are bodily sins. Manu XII. 54-59 and 62-68, Yāj. III. 131, 135-136, 207-208 and 213-215, Viṣṇu Dh. S. Chap. 44, Atri. Chap. 4.5-14, 17-44 (in prose) state into what animals, trees and creepers sinners are born after undergoing hell torments. The statements of Yāj. being concise are set out here. 'This soul enters into hundreds of bodies in this *samsāra*, viz. as one of the lowest castes, bird or fixed object (tree &c.) on account of his lapses springing from the mind, speech and body (Yāj. III. 131); a man who

412. सर्वभिह्वभक्षणमभोजनमपेयपानमवापानमनमवाज्यवाजनमसत्यातिग्रहणं पर-  
द्वेषाभिमर्शनं द्रव्यापहरणं प्राणिहिंसा चेति शारीराणि । पादव्यमद्वृतं जिवाद्ः क्षुति-  
निकरश्चेति वाचिकानि । वरोपनायनं पराभिद्रोहः क्रोधो लोभो मोहोऽहङ्कारश्चेति मानसानि ।  
तदेतान्यष्टादश वैरेयानि कर्माणि... । हारीत q. by परा. मा. II. part 2 pp. 212-213.



tells lies, who is a back-biter, whose speech is harsh and who babbles what is irrelevant is reduced to being a bird or a beast (*ibid* III. 135); one who is addicted to misappropriating another's wealth and to sexual intercourse with another's wife, who injures another against *śāstric* rules is born as a fixed object; the murderer of a brāhmaṇa becomes born in the body of a beast (deer &c.), a dog, a pig or a camel; the drinker of *surā* is born as an ass, a *pukkasa* (one born from śūdra woman of a *niṣāda*), or a *veṇa* (one born of an Ambastha woman from a *vaidehaka*); the thief of gold reaches the state of a worm, an insect (an ant &c.) or a moth and one guilty of incest becomes grass, a bush or a creeper (Yāj. III. 207-208). On stealing leafy vegetables one is born as a peacock, on stealing perfumes one is born a *chuchundari* (musk-rat); the thief of corn, of a vehicle, fruits, water, milk, domestic utensils (like pestle), honey, flesh, a cow, fire, cloth, juice (of sugarcane or the like) and salt is born respectively as a mouse, a camel, a monkey, a *plava* (duck), a crow, a sparrow, bee, vulture, *godhū* (iguāna), crane, a man suffering from white leprosy, a dog, *ciri* (cricket bird). The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 217 verses 37-110) contains a long disquisition on the different kinds of animal births that sinners of various kinds have to undergo. Vide also Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa) 2.60-88, Agni 371.30-32 (which latter states that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa is born as a beast or deer or a dog, hog, or camel, the drinker of wine as an ass or *pukkasa* or *mleccha*, the thief of gold as a worm or pest or moth, one guilty of incest as grass or a bush).

It was believed in very ancient times that diseases were the consequences of sins<sup>413</sup>. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 7.3 plants are said to have destroyed from each limb the disease due to sin<sup>414</sup>. Manu XI. 49-52, Vas. 20.44, Yāj. III. 209-211, Viṣṇu Dh. S. Chap. 45, Śatātapa I. 3-11 and II. 1, 30, 32, 47, Gautama-smṛti in verse chap. 20 and Gautama (in prose q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 216) or Vṛddha-Gautama (according to Smṛtimuktāphala

413. This belief is not confined to India. In the Gospel of St. John (9.1-3) when a man blind from birth came before Jesus the disciples asked him 'who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind'. Jesus is said to have rejected that idea and performed a miracle by restoring to him his sight after applying to the man's eyes clay mixed with the spittle of Jesus and washing his eyes in a pool.

414. अपो अत्र विष्ठा ओषधयः । तास्ते पश्यन्तेनश्यन्तुद्विद्वान्मीनस्य ॥ अथर्व. VIII.7.3.

p. 861), Yama (q. by Pr. M. p.9), Śaṅkha (q. by the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 216), Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 99-100 state the diseases and bodily defects from which sinners suffer after they are born as men. As a sample Yāj. III. 209-211 may be cited here; the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from Tuberculosis, a drinker of *surā* has black teeth, the thief of brāhmaṇa's gold has diseased nails, one guilty of incest suffers from leprosy; the thief of food suffers from dyspepsia, one who stealthily learns without permission (or one guilty of plagiarism) is born dumb, one who mixes up inferior corn with superior corn is born with excessive limbs (with six fingers &c.), a backbiter is born with pus in the nose; a thief of oil is born as *tilapāyi* and one who falsely reports faults in others has a foetid breath. Yāj. III. 217 states that after reaping the consequences of their (evil) deeds (by falling into Hell and) by reaching the state of lower animals, sinners are born as human beings of a low order, poor and with condemned marks on the body; even medical works like the Carakasamhitā held the belief that diseases were the consequences of actions done in past lives (vide Sūtrasthāna, Chap. I 116),

The smṛtis are not in complete agreement about the diseases or bodily defects that sinners of various grades suffer. For example, though Vas. 20.44 and Śaṅkha (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 216) state that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from leprosy, Manu XI. 49, Yāj. III. 209, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 45. 3, Agni. 371. 32 aver that he suffers from phthisis. For want of space the long lists of the births as lower animals and the diseases and deformities from which sinners suffer contained in Śaṅkha, Hārta, Gautama, Yama and the Purāṇas quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 216, the Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 230-240, 242-272, Madanapārijāta pp. 701-702, the Mahārṇava-karmavipāka are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. 8. (II. 1. 2. 6-7) states that a brāhmaṇa, ksatriya or vaiśya sinner guilty of brāhmaṇa murder, after undergoing the torments of Hell is born again respectively as a Cāṇḍāla, Pulkasa and Vaiṇa and that other sinners who have become outcasts by their sins are born on account of these as certain animals (like pigs). Similarly, Manu XII. 61 provides that one who from greed steals precious stones, pearls, corals and jewels of various kinds is born as a goldsmith.

Although the word *Karman* is ordinarily employed to denote good as well as evil actions still in the section on penances the word 'Karman' prominently presents to the mind the idea of evil deeds. Hence *Karmavipāka* means the ripening (or fruition) of evil actions or sins. This fruition takes three forms, as stated in the *Yogasūtra*<sup>415</sup> II. 13, viz. *jāti* (birth as a worm or animal &c.), *āyuh* (life i. e. living for a short period such as five or ten years) and *bhoga* (experiencing the torments of Hell &c.). The word *Karmavipāka* appears to have been known to Yāj. III. 131 (*vipākaḥ karmanām pretya keśām cid-ihā jāyate*) and it occurs frequently in the *Purāṇas* (e. g. in *Brahma-purāṇa* 224. 41, 225. 43 and 59, *Matsya* 115. 14 &c.). The *Pr. Sāra* pp. 219-231 contains probably the longest treatment of *Karmavipāka*. The doctrine of *Karmavipāka* was well known to the Buddhist philosopher *Nāgārjuna*, who in his *Ratnāvali* refers to it<sup>416</sup>. The Buddhist *Avadānaśatakas* also refer to the doctrine of *Karmavipāka*. Vide also *Suttanipāta* (S. B. E. vol 10 part 2) p. 38 and S. B. E. vol. 21 p. 130 (*Saddharma-puṇḍarika*). In some medical works also such as the *Hārītasamhitā* it is said that the murderer of a *brāhmana* suffers from white leprosy and the killer of a cow from black leprosy; a regicide suffers from phthisis, and the destroyer of a park from dysentery &c.<sup>417</sup>. In the *Vivāgasūyam* (*Vipākaśrutam*), which is the 11th *aṅga* of the *Jaina-āgama* and an edition of which was brought out by Dr. P. L. Vaidya (in 1933) we have stories of persons who suffered from evil diseases owing to their committing evil deeds in former lives and other stories of the fruits of good deeds.

The doctrine based upon the implications of *Manu* XII<sup>418</sup>, 3, 9 and 54 and Yāj. III. 206 was that it is human beings alone (and not lower animals like tigers &c.) that have to experi-

415. सति मूले तद्विषयो जात्यायुर्भोगः । योगसूत्र ११.१३. The *ब्रह्मपुराण* 217.40 illustrates both *jāti* and *āyuh* viz. 'पातितं राजपुत्रा तु कुमियोनो मजायते । तत्र जीवति वर्षाणि दश पञ्च च भो द्विजाः ॥'

416. Vide *JRAS* for 1934 p. 307 at p. 311 for the views of *नागार्जुन* on *कर्मविपाक*. Verse 14 is: हिंसया जायतेऽस्यायुर्ब्रह्मपाथो विहिंसया । शौर्येण भोगपयसो सशत्रुः परदारकः ॥

417. Vide *Journal Asiatique* (Paris) for 1934, pp. 125-139 for the text of the *हारीतसंहिता*. 'ब्रह्मज्ञो जायते पाण्डुः कुली गोवधकारकः । राज्ञो राजपत्नी स्वाक्षरमग्नेऽग्निसारथ्यम् ॥ स्वाम्यङ्गनामिममे मेहरोगा भवन्ति हि । युवजायास्तक्षेन मूत्ररोमोश्मरीगदः ॥ स्वकुलजामस्तक्षेन जायते च भगन्धरः । मूली परोपतापी च वैष्णव्याण्युत्त-काक्षिणः ॥ verses 12-14 at p. 134.

418. कर्मजा गतयो मृणाक्षमाधममध्यमाः ॥ मनु XII. 3; इरीरजैः कर्मदोषैर्वर्तते स्वाचरतां नरः ॥ मनु XII. 9.

ence in Heaven and Hell the consequences of their deeds. The Viṣṇudharmottara explicitly states so<sup>419</sup>.

The Mīt. (on Yāj. III 216), the Smṛtyarthasāra, Par. M., Pr. Sāra and other works state that the disquisition on Karmavipākā<sup>420</sup> is merely an *arthavāda*, that it is not to be taken literally, but is meant to induce sinners to undergo such *prāyaścittas* as *Prājāpatya* which entail great worry and trouble and which no one might willingly undertake. The Mīt. points out that the description of the diseases (like pthisis) is not intended for requiring those who suffer from them to undergo the penances for twelve years or the like nor for inducing people to avoid contact with such persons, that *śiṣṭas* do not avoid contact with those who have bad nails, that in the case of such persons the disease or defect is the last result of what little sin remained attached to them and that by the very fact of their having the disease or defect mentioned in the texts they become free from the last remnants of their sins and therefore they do not stand in need of any further penance and as their sin is finally removed by suffering the disease or defect their fitness for being allowed to mix among people is established.

The teaching of the works on Karmavipākā, though dismal and terrifying, comes to this that no soul need be without hope provided it is prepared to wait and undergo torments for its misdeeds, that it need not be appalled by the numerous existences foreshadowed in those works and that the soul may in its long passage and evolution be ultimately able to discover its true greatness and realize eternal peace and perfection.

Manu XII 69 (almost the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 44.45 and Garuḍapurāṇa II. 2. 89) states that women guilty of the sin of theft become the wives of men who are guilty of the same offences.

VĀMANAPURĀṆA, chap. 12 is called *Karmavipākā* and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa chap. 15 treats of the same subject. The

419. मनुष्याः प्रतिपद्यन्ते स्वर्गं नरकमेव वा । नैराशे प्राणिनः कोऽपि सर्वे ते फलभोजिनः ॥  
सुभाषितसुभाषां च कर्मणां भुङ्क्ते नृणां । सञ्जयः कियते लोके मनुष्येरेव केवलम् ॥ तस्मात्  
मनुष्यस्तु सुतो यमलोकं प्रपद्यते । नाश्वः प्राणी महाभाग फलयोगी व्यवस्थितः ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-  
पुराण II, 102. 4-6 q. by परा. मा. II, part 2 pp. 208-209, मा. सार p. 215 (after  
affirming मनुष्याणामेव सुभाषितकर्मकलोपभोगः ।).

420. इदानीन्तनप्राणिनां यावद्विद्योन्मुक्तत्वायै पूर्वजन्मकर्मविपाका वाञ्छिताः । स्वार्थः  
स्तर p. 100 ; ननु नायं विपाको विधातुं प्रतिबन्धुं वा शक्यतेऽननुष्ठेयत्वाद्दर्जनीयत्वाच्च । अत  
स्वेतास्मिन्निधिवतिवेषपरे स्मरणे लज्जितमनमुक्तम् । नायं दोषः । यावद्विद्यार्थवाक्येन तदुपयो-  
क्तः अथ च यावत्तत्त्वाद्युक्तमनस्यैव यावद्विद्यैव त्रेधाऽत्यक्त्वाद्वातनः प्रवृत्तिर्न सम्भवतीति  
तत्र प्रवृत्तिसिद्धये प्ररोचनां कर्तव्या । परा. मा. II. part 2 pp. 206-207.

Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 203, 21 ff.) expatiates at length upon the topic how sinners endure torments in Hell for innumerable years, how after their evil deeds have been almost wiped out they become human beings suffering from various diseases or deformities.

In the Mahārṇava-karmavipāka of Mādhātṛ it is stated that there are two means of destroying the consequences of (evil) actions, viz. kṛcchra (penances) and the reversal (or remedies) against diseases<sup>421</sup>. The latter consists in making golden images of the sun (as the superintending deity of good health) and of the deity of a disease and offering worship to both these in a *mandapa* on a raised *vedikā* (platform). The work expatiates at length on the Vedic verses employed according to Āśvalāyana and the Taittirīya Śākha for *ghoṣa-śānti* (propitiatory ceremonies with loud recitation of Vedic mantras); the worship of the sun with Vedic mantras and of the planets, the offerings of *āhutis*, the Rudraikāśānti, Mahārudra (11 times as many as the preceding) and Atirudra, repeating the thousand names of Viṣṇu, Vināyaka-śānti (as laid down by Yaj. I. 271-294), Navagraha-yajña in which it assigns each planet to some country and some gotra<sup>422</sup>. It also prescribes how for the removal of particular diseases particular *dānas* may be given (such as *Kadalīdāna* i. e. manufacturing a kadali plant from one *pala* of gold and donating it). It deals with the gifts of the images of all diseases supposed to be incurable and quotes Śātātapa II. 47-48 in connection with the removal of *rājayakṣmā* (phthisis). It deals at length with fevers and other diseases and bodily defects such as greenish or cat-like eyes, deafness &c. But the detailed treatment of all these matters is passed over here from considerations of space, and also for the reason that these prescriptions are now either hardly believed in by people or hardly ever performed.

421. अथ कर्मक्षयोपायो कृच्छ्रव्याधिनिर्वर्त्यौ । तत्रापि व्याधिविधौ च द्वयमेव व्याधि  
प्रतिक्रियाद्वयं वक्ष्यते इति । ... प्रतिमा द्विपक्षा अभिवेष्टा द्वेकात्मिका च । आसन्नौ द्वेष्टा  
तत्र तत्र दूरवाधिवेष्टा । प्रायेण दूर्यः सर्वेषां रोगानामभिवेष्ट-आदीनं आसन्नव्याधि-  
व्याधि इति । स्वः । तत्र व्याधियतिमात्रमात्रकृत्वाभ्यां द्वेष्टा भवति । महावैद्य folios 33b and  
34a: रोगप्रतिमादाने सर्वत्र दूर्यं दूरवाधिवेष्टा व्याधिवेष्टा च भिन्ना व्याधीनी भिन्नव्याधौ । अतएव  
असन्नव्याधिरुं दूरवाधयो द्वेष्टा भवन्तीति । *ibid.* folio 44a.

422. 'ओं धूर्तवः स्वः कलिदुष्टोन्मोहकारवत्तमोह दूर्यं दूरवाधयेष्टाव्याधौ  
विष्टिः रक्तकृष्णकालो रक्तवर्णः । ओं दूर्यः स्वः, अम्बुसितधुन्यं मन्त्रवत्तमोह मोह दूरवाधयेष्टा  
रक्तवर्णः रक्तवर्णः । ओं... स्वः अम्बुदुष्टोन्मोह आनेवत्तमोह दूर्यं दूरवाधयेष्टा... । महावैद्य,  
folio 157 b.

## SECTION II

*ANTYESTI* (rites after death), *ŚUDDHI* (purification from impurity due to death, birth and other causes)

### CHAPTER VII

#### ESCHATOLOGY

What happens after death to a human being (which is the subject matter of Eschatology) has been a great mystery that has intrigued and baffled mankind in all ages and was a question of vital importance among almost all ancient peoples such as the Indians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks and Persians. The word Eschatology is derived from a Greek term meaning 'last things' and is applied to the study of opinions that men have held from time to time concerning the future, including such matters as the state of man after life on this earth and the end of the world. It exercises a great fascination over most people and speculation on it can be carried on endlessly. Every religion has its own eschatology. There are two aspects of Eschatology; one is concerned with the destiny of the individual after death, immortality of the soul, sin and punishment, the meaning and content of 'Heaven' and 'Hell'; the other aspect of eschatology has relation to the whole universe, its creation, destination and renovation, and the ultimate end of all things. The first aspect and matters relevant to it from the ancient Indian point of view will be dealt with in this section and the second aspect of Eschatology is reserved for treatment in a later section. In ancient works far more emphasis was laid on the first than on the second, while modern men with a more or less scientific outlook and attitude are inclined to think more of the second aspect.

Death has been generally looked upon with feelings of awe and terror, though there were men (often philosophically minded) who looked upon it as a blessing and as a release of the spirit from the shackles imposed upon the latter by the body. The terror of death was in many cases due not so much to the pain

caused at the time of death but rather to the mystery that surrounds what happens after death and to the thoughts about what the survivors would have to undergo. It is said by C. E. Vulliamy in his work 'Immortal man' (p. 2): 'although the idea of that life (ghostly life) ranges from the most dismal and horrible fantasies to the most sublime imaginations, the fundamental thought is always the same, the body dies but not the spirit'. There were several attitudes adopted by primitive as well as civilized people towards death. In the Kathopanishad we read (I.1.20) 'When a man dies there is a doubt, some saying that there is survival after the death of the body and some denying any survival' and Naciketas requests the dreaded God Yama to solve this doubt. There are several beliefs<sup>422a</sup> even among those who hold that there is survival after death. Some say that there is a world of the dead to which whatever survives goes after death. Others believe that the surviving part goes to Heaven or Hell according as the man has been virtuous or sinful in his life on earth. Others believe in transmigration and re-incarnation. Several of the great writers in ancient Greece believed in this last doctrine, as Pindar (in second Olympian Ode), Plato (in Phaedrus and Timaeus) and Herodotus (II.123) indicate.

The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 214 verses 34-39) sets out the persons to whom death is happy and easy and not a source of misery and sorrow. A few may be mentioned here. - 'He who did not tell lies, he who did not prove false to affection or friendship, who is an *āstika* (a believer in God and the life to come), who is devoted to the worship of gods and the honouring of brāhmanas, he who does not bear malice to anyone—these have a happy death.' Similarly, the Anuśāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 104. 11-12, chap. 144. 49-60) states at length the causes of premature death and of long life. Some of them may be translated here. 'Those who are atheists, do not perform the acts (or sacrifices) proper for them, violate the (dictates of) elders and of śāstras, who do not know what *dharma* is and are evil-doers are short-lived. Those who have no character, who always break all rules of conduct, who have promiscuous sexual intercourse become short-lived and go to Hell. One who is not irritable by temper, speaks the truth, does not cause injury to beings, who bears no malice to any one and who is not crooked—these live for a hundred years' (104. 11-12 and 14).

<sup>422a</sup> Compare C. E. Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (p. 11),

Several works specify the signs indicative of the approach of death. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 318, 9-17), Devala quoted in the Mokṣakāṇḍa of the Kalpataru (pp. 248-250, about 20 verses), the Vāyupurāṇa (chap. 19 verses 1-32), the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 43. 1-33 (chap. 40 verses 1-33, Venkatesvara Press ed.), Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārḍha chap. 91) and other Purāṇas contain long lists of the signs of approaching death. It is impossible for want of space to set out in detail these signs. But the gist of a few verses is mentioned by way of sample. The Śāntiparva (chap. 318) states that a man who is not able to see the star of Arundhatī which he could formerly see, nor the pole-star nor the full moon, nor his own reflection in another man's eye has only one year to live; he has only a span of six months of life left to him who sees the orb of the moon with a hole in it; a man has only seven days left of life who sees a hole pierced in the orb of the Sun, who smells the odour of a corpse when fragrant substances are near; when the nose and ears bend down, when his teeth and eyes become discoloured, when there is loss of consciousness, and loss of bodily heat, when smoke emerges from the crown of the head, when the left eye begins to ooze moisture all of a sudden—these are indications of the immediate approach of death. Devala states indications that prognosticate life for only one year, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 months, one month, half a month, 12 days, 4 days, 3 days, 2 days and winds up by saying that one who cannot bear the humming sound in his ear (when closed with fingers) or cannot see the light in the eye is going to die immediately. The Vāyupurāṇa (19.28) and Liṅgapurāṇa 91.30 regard the last two as the worst indications of approaching death<sup>423</sup>. The Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvabhāga chap. 91.24) states that he who cannot see his own reflection in another's eye will not live. There is an interesting paper by Dr. R.G. Harshe in the Munshi Diamond Jubilee volume (pp. 246-268) where the learned writer gives the text of two mss. on the prognostications derived from dreams e. g. if a man sees an ass in a dream he is sure to die, or if he sees an old maid then it is an indication of danger, disease and death (p. 251) or if he sees a trident death is indicated (p. 254).

<sup>423</sup>. हे वाक् परमेष्ठिने एतत्पूर्वं वरं भवेत् । शीघ्रं न ह्यनुयायकैर्गो उच्यते किञ्च न पश्यति ॥ वायुपुराण 19.27; नष्टं वा जलम् उद्धृतं विद्यान्मृत्युमुपनिषत् । लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वभाग 91.19)...



When a man is sinking and is almost on the point of death it was and even now is the practice in many parts of India to take the dying man down from the bedstead and place him on a bed spread on the earth<sup>424</sup>. For example, the Kausika-sūtra (80.3) prescribes<sup>425</sup>: When the man is losing all strength, he (the son or other attending relative) spreads *kutas* on the grass growing in the shed and takes him down (from the bedstead) with the *mantra* 'syonāsmāi bhava' (mayst thou be good to this man, Oh Earth). The Baud. P. S. III. 1.18 says that sand should be spread on the ground in the sacrificial shed when it is feared that the sacrificer is dying and *darbha* grass should be strewn on the sand with the sharp ends turned to the south and the dying man should be placed thereon and one (son or the like) should repeat in his right ear the *anuvāka* beginning with 'syusaḥ prānam santanu'. The Gobhilas-mṛti III. 22 and later works like the Pitrdayitā provide the same procedure.

Medieval digests like the Śuddhiprakāśa (pp. 151-152) state that when a person is moribund, has half closed his eyes and is taken down on the ground (from a bedstead), his son or other relative should make him give one or more of ten gifts viz. of cows, <sup>426</sup> land, sesame, gold, clarified butter, clothes, grain, jaggery, silver, salt. These gifts are superior even to a śrāddha performed at Gayā or to even hundreds of Aśvamedhas. The

424. In Europe a very widespread custom is to take a dying man out of bed and to lay him on the earth or on straw. Vide Prof. Edgerton's very exhaustive article on 'the Hour of Death' in *Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute*, vol. VIII pp. 219-249.

425. पूर्वलीनस्तं कालात्पुनरेव दुर्बलास्तीर्थं स्थानारम्भे मयेत्यवरोहयति । मन्त्रोक्तावह-  
मन्त्रये । एते कुम्भेत्यवरोहयति । कौस्तिक 80.3-5. अथर्व 18.2-19. is 'स्थानारम्भे एव  
दुर्बलावहारा भिक्षयति । कच्छारम्भे कर्म सप्तधाः ॥' ब्रा. I.22.15 and शत. ब्रा. 36.13 are  
almost the same, reading स्थानं पुनरेव मन्त्रावहारा and स्थानं पुनरेव नो मन्त्र-  
respectively; vide निवृत्त 9.32 for explanation of this verse. The विपुलविला  
(p. 74) states एवमवहारावगमनजीये विह्वलो वेदी भवति तदा बहिर्गमयेन्मोचयित्वा पुनरी  
कुम्भाम्बुजिन्मन्त्रावगमनीयं तदुपरि दक्षिणतिरसं स्थापयित्वा सुवर्णरजतनीचमिदीयतिस्त्रिणाशानि  
दातव्यम् । ; मोचिष्यति III. 22 'दुर्बलं स्थापयित्वा तु कुम्भेलाभितस्तद्वत् । दक्षिणतिरसं  
पुनरी कर्तव्यम् । भिक्षयति ॥'

426. दानानि च वात्सल्यं आह । उत्पत्तिरवरोहणी च दान दानानि चैव हि । येनेति  
कृत्वा तं श्रेष्ठं स्वधर्मं दादयेत् ।... दान दानानि च तेनेवेकानि । मोक्षविकिरणायव्यक्तोक्तम् ।  
कृत्वा च । कल्पं स्वधर्मिणाह्वयं दानान्यह्वयमाह । छुद्रिककाश p. 152; for a similar  
verse about ten dānas vide मन्त्र. (वेतकाश) 4.4. An Inscription of  
Vikramāditya, a chieftain under the Kalachuri king Śaṅkama (published in  
E. I. vol. XIX pp. 230) records the gifts of land, coins, house and gold on  
the occasion of the prāyaścitta in honour of his deceased father.

*sankalpa* (verbal declaration of the gift) is made in the words 'I shall make ten gifts for the attainment of heaven (*abhyudaya*), or for the removal of all sins'. After the ten *dānas*, a cow with a calf should be donated if possible <sup>427</sup> (this cow being called *utkrānti-dhenu* 'a cow donated in view of death') and then another cow called *Valtarani* with gold (or two pieces of cloth &c) should be donated. The *Antyestipaddhati* and the *Suddhi-prakāśa* (pp. 152-153) set out all the mantras (not vedic) that are to be recited at the time of making the several gifts, which (mantras) are passed over here for want of space. The *Antyestipaddhati*, the *Antyakarmadipaka* and other works prescribe that when a person is near death, his son or other relative should make him perform *Vratodyāpana*, *sarvaprāyaścitta* and the gift of ten *dānas* or if the dying man is unable to do these himself, the son or the other relative should perform these and give the merit thereof to the dying man. A person often resolves upon observing certain *vratas*, but fails to carry out all the details of these *vratas* to the end. The *Vratodyāpana* for the dying man is meant to cure all such unfinished *vratas*. The A. K. D. (pp. 3-4) has a long note about the performance of *vratodyāpana*. Briefly it comes to this. The son or other relative having brought about the purity of the dying man's body by a bath or by sprinkling it with holy water (*mārjana*) or by making him drink Ganges water, having himself taken a bath and performed his daily duties (of *sandhyā*), having lighted a lamp, having bowed to Ganeśa and prayed to god Viṣṇu, having placed before him the materials of worship and having repeated the usual *sankalpa* (see note <sup>428</sup>), he should honour a *brāhmaṇa*

427. अन्त्येष्टिदिवसं देवा योः तद्वत्ता तु पूर्ववत् । तदभावे तु योरेव न्यक्तोपरवाच्ये । तदा यदि न सक्तोऽपि दातुं वैतरणीं तु नाय । सक्तोऽप्योऽवच्छेदं तदा वत्सं वृक्षान्धोरो वृक्षस्य च ॥ पञ्चा. q. by छत्रिमतः p. 300, छत्रिमताः p. 153, अ. क. वी. p. 7. पूर्ववत् means देवसङ्कल्पिना. The मन्त्रपुराण (अंश) 4.6 says 'नदीं वैतरणीं तद्धीं वृक्षाद्वैतरणीं च वाय । वृक्षस्यैव सङ्कल्प्याङ्गी ता वै वैतरणी स्मृता ॥'. The idea was that at the door of वन there was a river called वैतरणी, full of blood and sharp weapons and that there those who donated a cow at the time of death cross that terrible river by holding the cow's tail; vide स्कन्दपुर. VI. 226.32-33 for वैतरणी and verse 34 is 'वृक्षुकांते प्रपञ्चमणि ये वेदं वाङ्मनाय वै ॥ तस्याः पुच्छं समाश्रित्य वै तरन्ति च तां वृष ॥'. The वाङ्मनस्य of लक्ष्मीपति prescribes two mantras at the time of donating the वैतरणी cow, one of which is: उभये वर्चसि ज्ञीसे वा नास्ते वासि वा वृक्षम् । दातारं नास्ते वक्तव्यमन्त्येष्टिकरणी स्मृता ॥

428. अथ इष्टिर्वा अमृतिर्वा नरतल्लब्धे आर्वावर्तकवेसे विष्णोराज्ञया वर्तमानस्य वृक्षयोः द्वितीयपरारवे...अमुकानिमी अहमकीशः...अहमकर्माहं ममात्मनः (मम विचारः)

(Continued on the next page)

already invited and should give to him the gold (or silver) set apart for the purpose and the brāhmaṇa should pronounce the words "May all vratas be fulfilled! May there be the attainment of the fruits of *udyāpana* (accomplishment of vrata)". In the sarvaprayāścitta the son approaches 4 or 3 learned men or one man knowing *adhyātma* (metaphysics) and offers the substitutes (of gold &c.) for sins that involve penances for 6, 3 or 1½ years or makes a declaration and performs the prayāścitta, after the days of impurity.

The sarvaprayāścitta was to be performed by the dying man or by his son or other relative who was to shave himself, take a bath, drink *pañcagavya*, honour a brāhmaṇa with sandal paste and other things; after having honoured the cow or the money to be paid in lieu of it, and after referring to the several kinds of sins that one may be guilty of (vide note 429) he is to make a gift of a cow (with a calf) to the brāhmaṇa or in lieu of it, of some money. After sarvaprayāścitta come the ten *dānas* stated above. In the *dānas* the *Kāmastuti*<sup>430</sup> as studied by the followers of each veda was to be recited. The *Garudapurāṇa* (II. 4. 7-9) further prescribes other *dānas* called *mahā-dānas* viz., of sesame, iron, gold, cotton, salt, seven kinds of corn, land and cows when a man is dying and also other gifts called *padadānas* such as of umbrella, sandals, ring, water-jar, seat, food. The *Garudapurāṇa* (II. 4. 37) further provides that if a man about to die takes *sannyāsa* according to the rules laid

(Continued from the last page)

अथ तदाहोमविशेषाद्वारम्भे अथ वाचस्पत्याभिलाषादिपृथीतानां निष्कामतया पृथीतानां च अहोरात्रकप्रदानानामनुष्ठानमन्त्रोपनिषदपरिहारार्थं श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्तसहस्रतन्त्रसामान्यकालमन्त्रार्थं निष्पादनीनां तत्तदेवार्थानां नीतये इदं धुर्जनमग्निदेवर्त (तद्व्यापे इदं रजसं चन्द्रदेवर्त) अहोरात्रोपायानुक्रमेणैव बाह्यान्वाय द्वात्वे ओं तस्तत् न मम इति सङ्कल्प्य etc. अ. क. वी. p. 4.

429. वेदकाली संकीर्त्य मम (मन्त्रिवादेर्वा) ज्ञाताज्ञातकामाकामसङ्कटसङ्कलङ्घकापि करानिष्कामान्तिकसावित्रिकस्तृप्त्युदुहकाभुकर्यातापीततकलपातकाभुपातकीपपातकलपुपातकलपुपीतकलपुमलिकीकरणापापीकरणजातिभ्रमकरपकीर्यकादिनामाविषयातकानां निरासेन वेदावसानकाले वेदश्रुतिद्वारा जीपरमेस्वरपीत्यर्थमिमां सर्वव्यापित्तप्रवाम्नावभूतां पचासकप्रवत्कुपां तवस्तां वां चन्द्रवेदामनुक्रमोपायानुक्रमेणैव बाह्यान्वाय दुग्धमईं तमद्वये ओं तस्तत् न मम। अ. क. वी. p. 5. अम्ब्रोस्टिप of नारायण has also the words ज्ञाताज्ञात...वस्तुज्ञानां निरासार्थं.

430. क इदं कथम अवाक्यामः कामापादात्। कामो वास्त कामः प्रतिवर्तीत। कामः सङ्कटमपिनेन। कामेन त्या प्रतिवृत्तानि कामेतये। अथर्ववेद III. 29.7, तै. ब्रा. II. 2.9.9 (where this *Kāmastuti* is explained) and Tai. Ā. III. 10. This *kāmastuti* occurs in many ceremonies (such as marriage, adoption etc.). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1069, and आश्व. जी. V. 13.15 (which reads कामं सङ्कटमपिना) and आश्व. जी. 14.11.2.

down for what is called *āturasannyāsa* he never returns to the cycle of births and deaths.

From ancient times it was a firmly held belief that the thoughts that a dying man entertains at the time of death determine what will happen to his spirit after physical death (this is expressed in the well-known words 'ante matiḥ sa gatiḥ'), that therefore a man should, when death approaches, give up all thoughts of mundane affairs and all earthly attachments, should think of his favourite deity (Hari or Śiva), should inaudibly recite such *mantras* as 'om namo Vāsudevāya'. Several texts insist on making the dying man listen to holy Vedic texts. The Gautamapitr-medhasūtra (I. 1-8) prescribes that one should at the time when one's father, mother, brother, teacher or a brāhmaṇa friend is on his death-bed make the dying man hear the first and last verses of the Veda and certain *sāmans* and should mutter in the dying man's right ear (one *sāman*). The Rgvidhāna provides that one should repeat at the time of death the *sūkta* beginning with 'trātāram' <sup>431</sup> (?)

The Hir. P. S. I. 1 provides that when it is thought that the *āhitāgni* is going to die, he (the son or the like) should mutter in the dying man's ear (if he is a knower of Brahma) the two *anuvākas* of the Tai. Up. II. 1 (beginning with 'brahmavidāpnoti param') and III. 1 (beginning with 'Bhṛgurvai vāruniḥ'). The A. K. D. (p. 18) says <sup>432</sup> that if the dying man is unable to engage in *japa* he should revolve in his mind the benign form of Viṣṇu or Śiva and should listen to the thousand names (of Viṣṇu or Śiva), the Bhagavadgītā, the Bhāgavata, Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, the Upaniṣads like Iśāvāsya and hymns to Soma.

431. वातामिति सूक्तं तु अन्तकाले जपेत् । जप्यता चैव परं स्थानमवुत्तत्वा च कल्पते । वात्पिधान q. in छान्दोग्यकाण्ड p. 154. The अन्त्येष्टियज्ञादि of नारायणभट्ट (Nir. edition, *pothi* size p. 163 b) reads नानामिति ... स्थानमवुत्तत्वं स यच्छरीरंति क्षत्रिभ्योऽप्यनन्तरं . The Rgvidhāna edited by Jagadish Shastri reads (III.19-20) नानामिति सूक्तानि अन्तकाले अपेक्षकृतं । नानानं is the first verse of Rg. IX.112. It is likely that the editor of छान्दोग्यकाण्ड misreads नानामिति as वातामिति, since वातामिति is not a *sūkta* (hymn) but only one stanza in a hymn.

432. अपेक्षितमर्थं हृदये चतुर्दशं शङ्खचक्रमक्षयधरं पीताम्बरकिरीटकेयूरकोटभ-  
जममालाधरं रत्नसिंहासने विष्णुं त्रिशूलधरं चन्द्रचूडं त्रिनेत्रं गङ्गाधरं शिवं वा भावयन्  
सहस्रनामपीताम्बरभारतपद्मायुष्येष्टावारमाधुपानिहवः पाठमानादीनि सूक्तानि च यथास्तम्भं  
कुर्यात् । अ. क. टी. p. 18. For विष्णुसहस्रनामं vide अनुशासनपर्व 149.14-120 and  
अनुशासन 17.31-153 for 1008 names of शिवः; vide also ज्ञानियर्व 285.74 ff.

The germs of this idea are found even in the Upanisads. The Chāndogya Up. (in the famous Śāṇḍilya-vidyā, III. 14. 1) remarks 'All this is Brahman. A man should meditate on that (all this) as beginning, ending and subsisting in it (Brahman). Now man is a creature of his will. According to whatever is his will (or thought) in this world, so will he become after departing from this world.'<sup>433</sup> The Praśna Up. III. 10 contains a similar idea. It is here asserted that it is thought power or the will that raises the soul higher and higher, and that the human mind should try to realize the idea that behind all physical transformations the Universe is one and is informed by one all-pervading Essence. Similarly, the Bhagavadgītā puts this idea in a much more clear way. 'The man, who remembering me alone in his last moments, departs from this life, comes to me; there is no doubt about this' (8.5). But in order to guard against the possible inference that it is only the thoughts at the approach of death that matter whatever the past life led by a dying man may have been, the next verse emphasizes that a man's spirit is engrossed by the thoughts that he has entertained throughout life and that a man can think of spiritual matters or about God at the time of death only if he has been thinking about such matters or about God throughout his life. That verse (8.6) is 'whichever form (or thing) a man remembers when he leaves the body at death, to that alone he goes, having been always (throughout his life) engrossed in meditating over it.'

Some of the digests, on the authority of several Purāṇas, prescribe that the dying man should be taken, if possible, near a holy place (*tirtha*) such as the Ganges. For example, the Śuddhitattva<sup>434</sup> (p. 299) quotes a passage from the Kūrmapurāṇa to this effect: 'a man attains *mokṣa* (final release from *samsāra*) by dying in the waters of the Ganges, on land or in water at

433. सर्वं कस्मिन् च जगत् तज्जलानिति ज्ञानं उपासीताद्यं तत्तु कृतमयः पुरुषो यथाकृतस्मिन्लोकः पुरुषो भवति तथैतः प्रेत्य भवति स जगत् कुर्वति । छा. उप. III. 14.1. अन्तकाले च मायैव स्मरन्मुक्त्वा कलेवरम् । यः प्रयाति स मज्जातं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ यं यं वापि स्मरन्भावं त्यज्यते कलेवरम् । तं तमेवेति कोत्सेयं सदा तज्ज्ञापभाविताः ॥ भगवद्गीता 8.5-6; vide शाङ्ख्यभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 2.1 for the explanation of तज्जलान् and on वे. सू. IV. 1.12 for quoting the छा. उप. and भगवद्गीता 8.5-6.

434. कूर्मपुराणम् । गङ्गायां च जले मोक्षो वाराणस्यां जले स्थले । जले स्थले चान्तरिक्षे गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ॥ तथा (स्कन्धे) । तीरादुत्पत्तिमात्रं तु परितः क्षेत्रमुच्यते । अत्र दानं जपो होमो गङ्गायां नात्र संशयः । अत्रस्थास्मिन्निर्वाणान्ति वे. सूता न पुनर्भवाः । छद्मिन्तत्त्व pp. 299, 300, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 155, गङ्गाति is equal to two कोशम्.

Vārāṇasī (Benares) and at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea either on land, in water or in the air.' Another passage to the same effect is quoted from the Skanda-purāṇa and it is further said in the same Purāṇa that for one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is a *kṣetra* (holy place): 'gifts, *japa* (muttering of sacred texts), *homa* performed within this extent is equal to doing the same on the Ganges itself; those who die within this *kṣetra* go to heaven and are not born again.' In the Pūjāratnākara<sup>435</sup> it is said: 'Hari is present wherever there is the Śālagrāma stone; one dying near a Śālagrāma stone reaches the highest abode of Viṣṇu'. It was said that a person (even a non-Aryan) dying within one krośa of a Śālagrāma reaches Vaikuṇṭha (world of Viṣṇu). Similarly, one dying in a garden of *tulasi* (Basil) plants or with Tulasi leaf placed in his mouth at the time of death attains *mokṣa* even if guilty of crores of sins. These are popular notions held even up to this day among common people, not thoroughly affected by modern ideas.

There are also dicta about the time when it is best to die. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata states: 'he who dies after the sun has gone to the northern direction (i. e. when the apparent motion of the sun towards the north begins) and on any auspicious *nakṣatra* and *muhūrta* is really one who has a store of merit (with him)'.<sup>436</sup> This is based on the ideas of death in *Uttarāyana* and *Dakṣiṇāyana* found in the Upaniṣads. For example, the Chāndogya Up. (IV. 15. 5-6) states 'Now (if one who knows this dies) whether people perform obsequies for him or not he goes to light (*arcis*), from light to day, from day to the bright half of the moon, from thence to the six months during which the sun goes to the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to

435. पूजारत्नाकरे । शालग्रामशिला वत् तत्र संनिहितो हरिः । तत्संनिधौ त्यजेत् प्रयाणं प्राप्तिं विष्णोः परं पदम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराणे । शालग्रामसमीपे तु क्रोशमात्रं समस्ततः । कीकटोपि ब्रूतो प्राप्तिं वैकुण्ठमवर्तनं नरः ॥ वेणुवायुते व्यासः । तुलसीकानने जन्तोर्वपि ह्यस्युभयेत् कथितम् । स निर्भर्त्स्य नरं प्रापि लीलयेव हरिं विभोत् ॥ प्रयाणकाले पर्यास्ये क्षीयते तुलसीवलम् । निर्माणं प्राप्तिं पक्षीञ्च पापकोविदुतोपि सः ॥ छुद्धितन्त्र p. 299. छुद्धिप्रकाश p. 155. कीकट is the country of Magadha, which was regarded as a land beyond the pale of Aryanism in the R̥gveda (III. 53.14). Vide Nir VI 32 where the country of कीकट is said to be अनार्यनिवास. The छुद्धिप्रकाश reads कीटकोऽपि (even a worm) for कीकटोपि, which is better, but might be an emendation.

436. आपके सुषरा काष्ठां हव्यं यो निधनं ब्रजेत् । नक्षत्रे च सङ्घर्ते च पुण्ये राजन् स ह्यवकृत् ॥ श्रुतिवचनं 298.23 q. by the मोक्षकाण्ड of कल्पतरु p. 254.

lightning. There is a person who is not human that leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the Devas, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path do not return to the life of man, *yes, they do not return*'. There is a similar passage in Chāndogya Up. V. 10. 1-2 where it is said that even householders who know the doctrine of the five fires (*Pañcāgni-vidyā*) and those who in the forest follow the path of faith and austerities (i. e. *vānaprasthas* and *parivrajakas* who do not yet know Highest Brahman) go by the path called *Devayāna*, while (V. 10. 3-7) those, who, living in a village, practise sacrifices, works of public utility and alms, go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from thence to the six months when the sun goes to the south, from thence to the worlds of the fathers, from thence to ether (*ākāśa*) and to the moon, where they consume their works and return again the way they came. The Chān. Up. (V. 10. 8) refers to a third place where small creatures (like flies, worms &c.) are continually going and returning. The Br. Up. (VI. 2. 15-16) contains similar passages about *Devaloka*, *Pitṛloka* and the third world of worms, birds and creeping beings. The Bhagavadgītā, basing itself on these Upanisad passages, puts the matter succinctly (in 8. 23-25) as follows:—'I shall state the times at which devotees departing from this world go, never to return or to return. The fire, the flame, the day, the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern (apparent) motion of the sun; departing from the world in these those who know the Brahman go to Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern (apparent) motion of the sun; dying in these the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world. By the one a man goes never to return, by the other he comes back'. The Vedāntasūtra (IV. 3. 4-6) explains that the words 'light' 'day' and others are not to be taken in their literal sense (i. e. as signposts or stages on the paths) but they are to be understood as referring to superintending deities that help the spirits and lead them on the path to the worlds of the Devas or of Pitṛs (i. e. they are *ātīvāhikas* and *abhimānidevatās*). Śaṅkara on Vedāntasūtra IV. 2. 20 (*ataścāyanepi dakṣiṇe*) explains that the waiting for the day of *Uttarāyana* on the part of *Bhīṣma* (narrated in the *Mahābhārata*) is only meant as a eulogy of the path called 'arcitrādi', that one who has realized Brahman, even if he dies in *dakṣiṇāyana*, does secure the fruits of his knowledge (*viz.*

making Brahma), that Bhṛiṣma waited for the beginning of *Uttarāyana* to abide by popular ideas and practices and to show that he possessed the power to depart from the world at his will owing to the boon conferred on him by his father. The *Īṣṇavalkya-smṛti* refers to the path (*devayāna*)<sup>437</sup> that leads

Devaloka (in III. 193-194, where it reads 'mānasaḥ' for 'manavaḥ' of the Ch. Up.) and the *Pitryāna* (in III. 195-196). In spite of the interpretations of the *Vedāntasūtra* (and of *śukara*) the popular belief that death in *Uttarāyana* is best persisted and still persists. For example, the Baud. P.S. (II.7. 21) marks '(the sages) provide that death during the northern path of the sun, in the bright half of a month, during the day and at the end of a Śrauta sacrifice is best<sup>438</sup>.' The G. P. (II. 7.1-2) remarks: 'It is desirable to avoid dying in the dark half of a month or at night and the following *sūtras* provide for the offering of certain oblations if the death occurs in the dark half or at night.

**FUNERAL RITES** (*antyeṣṭi*) are a *saṁskāra*. *Antyeṣṭi* is one of the 16 (or more) *saṁskāras* of a twice-born person

437. The words '*devayāna*' and '*pitryāna*' are a legacy from the hoary past. Even in the Rg. there are frequent references to them. In Rg. III. 1.5 the Aśvins are addressed a prayer 'may you come here (to this sacrifice) by the paths leading to the abode of the gods' (*eha yātam pathibhirdevayānaih*). Rg. VII. 38.8 also has a similar idea 'may you, being gratified, by the *devayāna* paths' (*trptā yātam pathibhirdevayānaih*). In Rg. VII. 1.2 (addressed to Uśas) the sage *Vasiṣṭha* exclaims that he has seen the *devayāna* paths when the dawn shone in the East (*prame panthā devayānā īṣṭvan*). Agni is asked to make the *devayāna* paths easily accessible and to carry the offerings in a pleased mood (Rg. X.31.5, *sugān pathaḥ kṛnuhi devayānān vaha havyāni sumanasyamānaḥ*). Rg. X.98.11 describes Agni knowing the *devayāna* paths according to the seasons and a prayer is offered to him to place *Aulāna* (son of *Santana*) in heaven among the gods (*vidvān patha rtaṁ devayānān-apyaulānam divi devesu dhehi*). In Rg. X.18.1 it is stated that the path of Death is different from *devayāna* (*param pṛtho ann parehi panthām yaste sva itaro devayānāt*). In Rg. X. 2.7 Agni is said to know the *pitryāna* path (*panthāmanu pra vidvān pitryānam*). In the Tai. Br. II.6.3.5 it is said 'I have heard of two paths of the Fathers; have heard about the paths of the gods and mortals' (*dve aruṇi aśnavam kṛtām aham devānām-uta martyānām*). The Sat. Br. I.9.3.2 remarks 'this is the path called *Devayāna* or *Pitryāna*.' In the Br. Up. I.5.16 it is said here are indeed three worlds, viz. the world of men, the world of *pitṛs* and the world of gods'.

438. उद्भवन्ने आर्षमन्त्रयो द्विषा कल्पन्ते ओषो मरणमित्युपदिशन्ति । श्री सि. सू. I. 7.21 (ed. by Dr. Shamsastri, Mysore).





Before setting out the rites of cremation contained in the Śrauta sūtras, Gṛhya sūtras and later works, it would be best to give here a translation of the five hymns from the R̥g. (X. 14-18)<sup>440</sup>. The verses in these hymns are employed by most of the sūtras and are used even now in the cremation rites and most of them occur in the other Vedic Samhitās. Varying interpretations have been given of some of these stanzas by Indian and Western commentators and critics. Only a few of these have been mentioned in the notes. Besides some stanzas are employed for different details of the cremation rites by the different sūtras. All such differences cannot be set out for want of space. The five hymns are so placed that they follow the order of the stages in which the funeral ritual proceeded in fact and is performed even now to a great extent. Vide Appendix for the text of the R̥gveda hymns without accents.<sup>441</sup>

X. 14. 1 (O! sacrificer!) worship with an offering Yama, king (of pītṛs), son of Vivasvat, the gatherer of men (that are dead), who sought out the way for many (men who do maritorious acts) and who passed along great (non-terrestrial) heights<sup>442</sup>. 2. Yama was the first to know (find out) the path for us men; that is a pasture (abode) that cannot be taken away (by anybody), that is (an abode) where our ancient

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440. The work of Bertram S. Puckle on 'Funeral customs' (London, 1926) is a very interesting and instructive one. It describes at great length funeral customs in various parts of England, France and other countries in Europe and among Jews and also in other parts of the world. Many of the customs and beliefs that he records bear a close resemblance to customs and beliefs in ancient and modern India, such, as, for example, the alighting of a raven or other black feathered bird on a cottage where a man is very ill as a death warning (p. 17), washing and anointing of dead bodies before burial (pp. 34, 36), the hiring of professional women for wailing and shrieking for the dead (p. 67), condemning burial at night (p. 77), the cutting of the hair as a sign of mourning (p. 91), placing meat and drink on the grave for the spirit of the departed (pp. 99-100), refusal of burial in the churchyard by the Church for unbaptised children, suicides, lunatics, and those excommunicated (p. 143).

441. Vide Appendix.

442. X.14.1. This verse is explained in Nir. X 20. 'Pareyivāmsam' may also be taken with 'panthām'. The meaning of 'pravatah' is rather uncertain. The Tai. Ā. VI.1.1, Sat. Śr. 28.1.20, Baud. P. S. (I.2), Vāk. Śr. S. 20.22 (p. 311) read 'pareyuyāmsam'.

ancestors went, each knowing his own way thereto<sup>443</sup>. 3. Mātali (Indra's charioteer or Indra himself) with the (pitṛs) called *kavya*, Yama with the Angirases and Brhaspati with the Rkvas become prosperous (or increase in strength); whom (the pitṛs) the gods support and who support the gods; some of them (the gods, Indra and others) are delighted by *svāhā* (by offerings given after uttering that word) and others (pitṛs) are delighted by *svadhā*<sup>444</sup>. 4. O! Yama! Being of one mind with the pitṛs called Angirases come to this (sacrifice) and sit down on the seat (of kuśas). May the *mantras* recited by the wise (priests) bring you (here). May you (O king) delight yourself with this offering! 5. O Yama! (come with the adorable) Angirases and Vairūpas and delight (or exhilarate) yourself, I invoke Vivasvat, your father; (May he delight himself) after sitting on the kuśa grass (spread) in this sacrifice.<sup>445</sup> 6. The Angirases, the Navagvas,<sup>446</sup> the Atharvans, the Bhṛgus are our pitṛs and love soma (drink). May we secure the good will of those adorable ones! May we be in their gracious favour also! 7. Hasten, hasten<sup>447</sup> by the ancient paths (to that place) where

443. It is quite possible to understand 'eva jajñānāḥ' as meaning 'being thus born' (like ourselves), 'eva' being taken adverbially and 'jajñānāḥ' from 'jan' (to be born). Compare A. V. 18.3.13 वो यमस्य प्रथमो मर्त्यमो वः येषाम् प्रथमो लोकनेत्रम्. The Parsi scriptures also speak of Yama (Yima) as the first mortal and as the son of Vivanghat. Vide Vendidad, Far and II. 1. p. 11. (SBE. vol. IV).

444. Kāvyas, Angirases and Rkvas are different classes of Pitṛs. In Rg. VII.10.4 the Rkvas (singers) are associated with Brhaspati. In other places they are associated with Viṣṇu, Aja-Ekapāt and Soma also. The exclamation *svāhā* is uttered when making an offering to Gods and *svadhā* when making an offering to pitṛs.

445. 'Nisadya' is really a gerund and not a finite verb. We have to supply some verb like 'mādyatām' understood from the preceding half. Vairūpas are a subdivision of the Angiras group.

446. Navagvas seem to be a subdivision of Angirases, just as 'daśagvas' are, as in Rg. III.29.5; IV.51.4; V.29.12; X.62.6. The late Mr. Tilak in his 'Arctic home in the Vedas' (pp. 162-169) gave a somewhat far-fetched interpretation of these two words which can hardly be accepted as satisfactory in the presence of words like 'atithigva' (Rg. I.33.8, I.30.7, II.14.7, IV.26.3, VIII.68.17), 'abhiyugvan' (Rg. VI.45.15), 'etagva' (Rg. VIII.70.7). This verse is explained in Nir. XI.19.

447. This and the following three stanzas are addressed to the departed man. For the meaning and history of the word *Itāpūrta*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 843-845. It means 'the cumulative spiritual result or merit due to the performance of sacrifices and charitable acts'.

our forefathers that went before us passed. May you (the departed) see the two kings Yama and god Varuṇa rejoicing as they will. 8. (O departed one!) be united in the highest heaven with the pitṛs, with Yama and with your *iṣṭūpūrta*; leaving here blamable acts (sins), come back to your home! Being endowed with bright lustre, be united with a (new)<sup>448</sup> body! 9. (Ye evil spirits!) Go away, depart, move aside from this place (the cemetery); the pitṛs made (or assigned) for him (the departed person) this abode. Yama gives to him (this) resting place characterized by waters, days and nights. 10. (O departed!) proceeding by a good path, hurry on past the two dappled dogs (of Yama), offspring of Saramā, each having four eyes. Thus approach the pitṛs who will recognize<sup>449</sup> you and who enjoy delight in the company of Yama. 11. O king Yama! Give him (the departed one) in charge of those two dogs of yours, who are guards, having four eyes each, who guard the path (to pitṛ-loka) and who watch men. May you bestow on him happiness and health! 12. The two messengers of Yama, that have wide nostrils, that are very strong, that are satisfied with difficulty, move among the people. May those two (messengers) restore to us to-day auspicious life in order that we may see the Sun!<sup>450</sup> 13. Extract Soma juice for Yama (O priests!), offer oblation to Yama.<sup>451</sup> Sacrifice, in which Agni is messenger (carrier) to the gods and which is well prepared reaches Yama. 14. (O priests) offer oblation sprinkled with ghee to Yama and then start. May he keep us (tied) to the worship of gods,<sup>452</sup> so that we may live a long life! 15. Offer to king Yama an oblation which is extremely sweet. Here is salutation to the sages who were born before us and who made the path for us.

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448. This appears to postulate the acquisition of a new ethereal body for the departed enabling him to enjoy the pleasures of pitṛloka.

449. 'Suvidatrān'—who will know or recognize you. The Nir. VI.14 explains 'suvidatrāḥ kalyāṇavidyāḥ'.

450. The life implored for here is that of the persons related to the deceased who are left behind on the earth. 'Asutrīpa' according to Sāyaṇa and Oldenberg means 'who steal away the lives of men'. This is a good meaning in view of what is stated in the last *pāda* of the verse. In translating as done above the word is taken as 'a+su+trīpa', while Sāyaṇa takes it as 'asu+trīpa'.

451. This and the following two verses are addressed to the priests.

452. 'Sa no deveṣvāyamad'—For the translation of these words given above, compare Rg. IX. 44.5.

16. The one great (Bṛhat-sāman) passes in three sacrifices (called Jyotir-gaur-āyuh) to the six wide expanses<sup>453</sup>. Triṣṭubh, Gāyatrī and the metres are all centered in Yama.

X. 15. 1. May the Soma-loving<sup>454</sup> pitrs, whether of the lower, middling or higher grade, come forward, those pitrs that attained life (an eternal life or a life of spirit) being kind-hearted and knowing *ṛta* (the rule of right)! May those pitrs protect us when invoked! 2. Today may this be our salutation to the pitrs who went (died) before (the birth of this departed one) or who went after (the birth of the departed<sup>455</sup>), also (those pitrs) that are seated in this world or those who have places among the powerful people. 3. I have known the pitrs as those who will recognize (me, their descendant) and I have known the stāide of Viṣṇu and the child (viz. Agni), the pitrs who sit on kuśa grass and partake of food and Soma offering at their will, repeatedly come here.<sup>456</sup> 4. O pitrs, that occupy kuśa grass! (come) down towards us with your protection; we have prepared for you these offerings; accept them. May you come with very blissful protection and then may grant us happiness that is free from trouble (or evil)!<sup>457</sup> 5. May the Soma-loving pitrs invited by us to the dear treasures (offerings) placed on the kuśa grass come! May they hear (our prayers) here! May they speak

453. This is rather a very obscure stanza. The A. V. reads 'pavate' for 'patati'. 'Trikadruka' occurs frequently in connection with Soma (as in Rg. II.22.1; VIII.92.21). Sāyana explains that for the performance of Trikadruka sacrifices Yama gives protection and that he comes to the six wide ones for supervising over what was done or not done. The six are mentioned in Śat. Br. I.5.1.22 as fire, earth, water, wind, day and night. The six wide ones are referred to in Rg. VI.47.3. The conception is rather vague. The meaning probably is that in the Trikadruka sacrifices the Bṛhatsāma is sung and it reverberates throughout the universe (symbolized as the six wide ones) and that all the verses recited in the several metres do the same.

454. X. 15. 1. This and the following seven stanzas were employed as mantras in offering oblations to pitrs in the rite performed on the day previous to the day (8th tithi) of Aṣṭakā-śrāddha; vide Āśv. gr. II. 4.6.

455. X. 15. 2. 'Purvāsah' and 'uparāsah' may simply mean 'ancient and modern'. 'Pārthive rajasi'—here probably means 'the regions contiguous to or just above the earth.'

456. X. 15. 3. 'Nāpātām' is difficult to construe: probably it refers to Agni who is often addressed as 'ūrjo nāpāt' (Rg. I. 58.8, II. 6.2, VI.48.2).

457. X. 15.4. 'Sam yoh' is explained by the Nir. IV. 21 as समं च देवताणां यवनं च भगवान् and यः in अयः as meaning यत् .

in favour of us and may they protect us! 6. O Fathers! May you all, bending your knee and sitting to the right side (of the offering) commend our sacrifice; whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men, do not injure us for the sake of that. 7. O Fathers! sitting in front of (in the lap of) brilliant (flames) may you bestow wealth on (me) the mortal sacrificer! May you give wealth to the sons (of the deceased mortal) and may you impart vigour (to them)! 8. May Yama desiring offerings and enjoying the company of our ancient and rich pitrs, who came to (or valued) Soma drinks one after another, who were glorious and in whose company Yama (the king of pitrs) found great delight, partake of (eat) the offerings (given by us) according to his liking<sup>458</sup>. 9. O Agni! come down towards us with the pitrs that were thirsting and gaping (to reach the world of the gods), that knew about sacrifice and that were authors of *stomas* by means of prayers (that they offered), that know us well, that are unfailing (in responding to our call), that partake of the *kavya* offering and that sit round the heated milk. 10. O Agni! come with the pitrs earlier and later (in time) that are unfailing, that partake of the offerings (presented to them), that drink the offerings, that are seated in the same chariot with Indra and the gods, that make obeisances to the gods in their thousands, that sit round the hot milk. 11. O pitrs called Agniṣvāta<sup>459</sup>, that are good guides! Come (to this rite) and sit down each on his proper seat. Eat (partake of) the pure offerings (offered) on the sacred kuśa grass and then bestow wealth (or prosperity) together with all heroic songs. 12. O Agni Jātavedas! when praised (by us) you, having made the oblations savoury, have carried them and presented (them to the pitrs). May they eat them as is their wont (or as they are offered with the word *svadhā*)! O God! May you eat (partake of) the pure offerings! 13. O Jātavedas! you know how many (pitrs) are there, viz. those who are here (near us), those who are not here, those whom we know and those whom we do not know (because they are remote ancestors). Be gracious to accept as is your habit this

458. X. 15. 8.—अवृद्धिरे is perfect of either वृद्ध with अयु or of ऊद्ध with अयु. वसिष्ठाः may be taken as meaning 'Vasiṣṭha, his descendants and others' and as the worshippers of Pitrs or simply means 'rich or dressed in rich clothes.'

459. X. 15. 11. अग्निष्वात = अग्नि + स्वात (from स्वाह) means 'tasted or licked by Agni'.

sacrifice which is well prepared, 14. (O Agni) Resplendent (or self-ruling) along with those (pitrs) who (whose bodies) were burnt by fire and also whose bodies were not burnt and who enjoy delight (on account of offerings made) with *svadhā* (or as is their wont) in the midst of the heavens. May you arrange a body as (the deceased) desires that will inspire him to a (new) life (in heaven)!

X. 16. 1. O Agni! Do not burn out this (departed person?), do not singe him all round, do not throw here and there (parts of) of his skin or his body; O Jātavedas (fire)! when you burn him completely, may you send him (the deceased) on to the pitrs! 2. O Jātavedas! When you thoroughly burn this (departed person), then may you hand him over to the pitrs! When he (the dead person) follows this (path) that leads on to a (new) life, may he become one that carries out the wishes of the gods<sup>460</sup>! 3. May your eye (of the deceased) go to the Sun, your breath to the wind, may you go to Heaven and earth by your merit or you may go to the waters if you find pleasure there (or if that be your lot)! May you rest (stand) with all your limbs in the herbs! 4. O Jātavedas! May you burn by your heat the goat that is your share! May your flame, may your bright light burn that goat; <sup>461</sup> carry this (departed) to the world of those who do good deeds by means of your beneficent bodies (flames). 5. O Agni! discharge again towards the pitrs (this deceased) who being offered on to you moves about (or wanders) as is his habit. O Jātavedas! may he take on (a new) life and increase his offerings and be united with a new (ethereal) body.<sup>462</sup> 6. (O dead man!) May Agni who consumes all make free from blemish that limb of yours which the dark bird (crow) has pierced or an ant or a snake or a wild beast struck at and may Soma that entered into the brāhmaṇas do the same<sup>463</sup>.

460. X. 16. 2. The words अद्भुतीतिमेतां have in view the words अद्भुतीतिमेतां यथावत् तर्ष कल्पयन् in X. 15.14 above.

461. X. 16. 4. अजो यानः—This refers to the goat that was optionally carried with the dead body. Vide note 486 below and Rg. X. 16.7 where the cow is mentioned as being burnt with the dead body.

462. X. 16. 5. For the meaning of जेष्व, compare Rg. VII. 4.9 (न जेषो अग्ने अय्यजातमस्ति).

463. X. 16. 6—For सोम...आविषेत्, compare 'सोमोऽस्माकं बाह्वजानां राजा' हलपयन्. V. 4.2.3 and 'स यदि सोमं बाह्वजानां भक्षः' ऐ. वा. 35.3. In X.16.7 the idea seems to be that when the corpse is covered with the parts of a slain, hunted animal the corpse may not be burnt too quickly.

7. (O deceased) put on (yourself) with cows an armour (i. e. against fire flames) of Agni (i. e. with the skin of the cow) and surround yourself with the thick fat (of the cow), so that (Agni) that overwhelms with his lustre, that takes delight (in destroying things), that is bold and seeks to burn completely may not scatter (all your parts). 8. O Agni! do not destroy this cup that is dear to the gods and the Soma-loving (pitṛs). In this cup from which the gods drink, the immortal gods take delight<sup>464</sup>. 9. I send far away the fire that eats raw flesh: may Agni that carries evil (or sins) go (to regions) where Yama reigns! The other Agni (Jātavedas), knowing everything, may take even here the offering to the gods. 10. I, observing the other Agni (Jātavedas) for the purpose of offering a sacrifice to the pitṛs, leave aside the fire that devours raw flesh and that entered your house; may he (the other fire) urge on to the highest world the *gharma* (heated milk or sacrifice<sup>465</sup>). 11. May that fire which carries the *kravyā*<sup>466</sup> offerings offer them to the pitṛs that prosper according to *ṛta*! May he offer the oblations to the gods and pitṛs! 12. (O Agni!) we who love you have established you and have kindled you. May you loving (the pitṛs) bring here the pitṛs that love us in order that they may partake of the offering! 13. O Agni! May you extinguish (with water) that spot which you burnt (at the) time of cremation! May Kiyāmbu (plant) arise here and may dūrvā creeper spreading its tendrils grow here! 14. O Śītikā (cool plant), O herb full of cooling effect, O Hlādikā (freshening herb) causing delight, may you be well associated with a she frog! May you gladden this fire!

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464. X. 16. 8. This mantra is repeated as invocation when the *pranyāsa* water is carried forward in the cup. As stated below all sacrificial implements are placed on the body of the deceased āhitāgni and burnt. But the sage prays that the cup may not be completely destroyed, since it may have to be used in the other world by the departed spirit.

465. X. 16. 10. This verse is rather involved. If the words of this verse and the next are literally construed it would seem that the *kravyād* fire was employed for pitṛyajña. It is possible to hold that *kravyād* fire was considered as something evil and to be kept distinct from the ordinary or sacrificial fire.

466. X. 16.11 Sāyaṇa explains on the assumption that the word is *kavyavāhana* in this, while the *Sambhitā* and the *padapāṭha* have *kravyavāhana*. The Vāj. S. 19.65 and Tai. S. II. 6.12.5 read '*kavyavāhanah*'. Here apparently at least the flesh-eating fire is admitted not only in the rites for the pitṛs but also in the rites for gods.



X. 17. The verses of this hymn, except 3-6, have hardly any bearing on funeral rites. Therefore only those four verses are translated here. The first two verses refer to the marriage of Vivasvat with the daughter of Tvaṣṭr and to the legend of the birth of Yama and Yamī from Vivasvat. Both are explained at length in Nir. XII. 10-11. Verses<sup>467</sup> 7-9 which contain prayers to Sarasvatī are almost the same as A. V. 18. 1. 41-43 and are employed by the Kausika-sūtra (81.39) in the cremation rite along with A. V. 7.68. 1-2 and 18.3.25.

3. May the all-knowing Pūṣan, who does not allow cattle to perish and who protects the world, discharge (despatch) you from this (world to the next)! May he (Pūṣan) hand you over to these pitṛs and may Agni hand you over to the gods that know you well! 4. May Pūṣan, who is the life of the Universe and who is himself life, protect you! May he who is ahead of you guard you on the way (to heaven)! May god Savitr place you in that place where the doers of good deeds went and dwell. 5. Pūṣan knows all these quarters in order; may he take us by (a path) most free from danger! He is the bestower of happiness, full of refulgence, he has all heroes with him; may he (Pūṣan) the wise one go in front of us without committing a mistake! 6. Pūṣan exists (stands) in the forefront of the paths (leading to the world of pitṛs), of the paths leading to heaven and of the paths on the earth. He stands facing both the worlds that are very dear (to all) and he, the knowing one, travels towards and away from both.

X. 18. 1. O Death! Move aside along another path that is your own and different from the Devayāna path. I address you who have eyes and ears. Do not injure our children, do not harm our heroic sons. 2. (O relatives)<sup>468</sup> that are sacrificers! Since you have come obliterating the foot-prints of Death and firmly establishing long life for yourselves, prospering with progeny and wealth, may you be pure and holy! 3. These living (relatives) have turned back separated from the dead; this day our invocation (sacrifice to) of the gods became auspicious. We then went forward for dancing, for

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467. Sarasvatī is a sacred river and also imagined as a deity. Rg. VI. 61 and VII. 95 are two hymns addressed to Sarasvatī. Probably waters of rivers were used at the time of cremation and they are all identified with and held as sacred as Sarasvatī.

468. X. 18.2. This verse is addressed to the relatives when they turn homeward after cremation.

laughter (with our children) firmly establishing our long life. 4. I place (here) this barrier (stone) for the (protection of) the living (relatives, son and the like) so that none of them may go this goal (that the departed went). May they live for a hundred prosperous autumns! May they keep off Death by means of the mountain<sup>469</sup> (the stone). 5. O Dhātṛ! Arrange the lives of these (the survivors) in the same way as the days come one after another in proper order, as the seasons follow each other in a proper order, as a younger one does not abandon an elder (relative)<sup>470</sup>. 6. May you (the survivors) accepting old age attain (long) life, striving in order (of age) whatever your numbers may be; may Tvastr of noble birth and gracious give you here (in this world) a long life to live!<sup>471</sup> 7. Let these women whose husbands are worthy and are living enter the house with ghee (applied) as collyrium (to their eyes). Let these wives first step into house, tearless, without any affliction,<sup>472</sup> and well adorned. 8. O wife (of the dead)! Raise yourself up towards the world of the living (your sons and other relatives); you lie down near one (your husband)

469. X. 18.4. Paridhis are encircling sticks of sacrificial wood such as palāśa, khadira placed round the fire. This verse is employed by Āśv. gr. IV. 6.9 in the śantikarma performed after the collection of bones. Here the fire is surrounded on three sides by the wooden sticks and a stone is placed on the north of the fire with the last quarter as stated by Āśv. gr. IV. 6. 10 अन्तर्द्व्यं दधती पर्वतेनेत्यमानमुत्तरतोऽग्नेः कुत्वा... यथाहास्यदुर्बुधं भवन्तीत्यमर्यानीक्षेत । अमरस्य here means all members of the family, men and women, except the performer of the rite.

470. X. 18.5 यथा न पूर्वमपरो &c. Probably this refers to the funeral procession arranged according to ages, as Āśv. gr. IV. 2.9 states expressly 'अन्वञ्जोऽमर्या अधोनिर्वाताः यवतामिक्षा उपेत्यधमाः कनिष्ठजवत्याः'. The बी. पि. सू. I. 21.4 remark 'अयेनामनुपूर्वं कल्पयति यथाहास्यदुर्बुधं भवन्तीति' or the idea may be that each generation should die in the order it was born and that a son should not die before his father.

471. X. 18.6. This may be symbolic of the fact that the members of the family of the deceased are made to stand on the hide of an ox spread to the west of the fire. Vide Āśv. gr. IV. 6.8 'अथाग्निमुपसमाधाय पश्चाद्वस्थानहुहं चर्मास्तीर्य... तस्मिन्मत्स्यानारोहयेद्धारोहतापुर्जरसं वृणाना इति.'

472. X. 18.7. This verse was employed in the procedure of widow burning (*satī* or *sahamarāṇa* or *anugamana*) by medieval and later writers. Some of them read 'agneh' or 'agne' for 'agre'. But even without this change Aparārka (p. 111) and others rely for the practice of *satī* on this verse. For a discussion on this verse and the next, the different readings in the old texts, the different theories built upon these and the practice of widow-burning, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 617-619 and pp. 625-635.

who is now lifeless; come! You have kept true to this your wifehood of the husband who held your hand (formerly in marriage) and who loved you passionately<sup>473</sup>. 9. (1) Take the bow from the hand of the departed (ksatriya) in order that there may be in us martial vigour, brilliance and strength<sup>474</sup>. May thou (the departed) there and may we here be endowed with heroic sons and conquer here all competing and aggressive enemies! 10. (O departed) approach this mother Earth which is spread wide and is pleasant. May this young one (the Earth) as soft as (wool) to you who have bestowed gifts save you from the lap of Death.<sup>475</sup> 11. O Earth! heave yourself up, do not crush it, be of easy approach and of easy resort to him, and O Earth! cover him (the dead person represented by his bones) just as a mother would cover her son with the fringe (of her garment).<sup>476</sup> 12. Let the Earth heave itself up and remain firm. Let the

473. X. 18.8. This verse is somewhat misplaced. It should occur earlier in X. 14. The last quarter is rather difficult to construe. In the Tai. Ā. VI. 1 there is a similar verse 'इयं नारी पतिलोकं वृणाना निपद्यत उव स्वा मर्यं येतद्'. विश्वं पुराणमनुपालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजा इविजं ब्रह्म वेदि'. The Tai. Ā. VI. 1 also has the verse उदीर्घं नार्यभिः and as printed reads 'सम्बन्ध', but सायण explains अभिमुख्येन सम्बन्धं याच्यते (i. e. he explains सम्बन्ध). The बौ. पि. सू. 1.8.1-2 reads संबन्ध and says about Rg. X. 18.8 and Tai. Ā verse अथास्य भार्याह्वयसंवे क्षपति। इयं नारी...वेदीति। तां प्रतिहितः सस्ये पाजावभिपाद्योत्थापयति उदीर्घं...बन्धेति।

474. X. 18.9 अस्मे is used with all cases as shown by the Nir. VI.7. Here it may be equal to अस्मन् or अस्माह. This verse also should occur earlier along with verse 8 above. In Sāh. Sr. 16.13.13 both 8 and 9 are called utthāpini (verses) 'उदीर्घं नार्युदीर्घातः पतिवत्तुदीर्घातो विश्वासतोऽस्मन्पतीत्युत्थापिनः'. The com. remarks 'अभिर्होवाद्यो मविषीत्युत्थापयन्ति'. उदीर्घातः पतिवती is Rg. X. 85.21, उदीर्घातो विश्वासतो is Rg. X.85.22 and अस्मन्पतीः is Rg. X. 53.8. These are recited in अश्वमेध at the time of making the crowned queen get up from near the dead horse. Compare H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1235. The तै. अ. VI. 1 reads three verses respectively applicable to ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय or वैश्य departed person as 'हवर्णे हस्ताद्वानां, धनुर्वस्तादां, मणिं हस्तादावदानां' and बौ. पि. सू. I. 8.3-5 cites them and remarks 'अथास्य हवर्णेन हस्तो भिक्षुते स्वर्णे हस्ता इति ब्राह्मणस्य, धनुर्वस्ता इति क्षत्रियस्य' &c.

475. X. 18.10. Vide the passage from Āśv. Sr. S. where this and the following three verses are stated to be among the 24 verses to be recited on the death of a dīkṣita. The Āśv. gr. 4.5.5 employs this as a mantra to be recited at the time of depositing in a pit the jar containing the burnt bones of the dead. The बृहदेवता (VII. 17-18) says that X. 18. 10-13 are employed in the rite of collecting the bones.

476. X. 18. 11. This verse is employed by the Āśv. gr. 4.5.6 for recital at the time of scattering dust over the jar containing the charred ones.

lars in their thousands stand up supporting this house. May  
se homes (the clods of earth) drop him nourishment! May  
y become here for all days the shelter <sup>477</sup> for him (the departed  
resented by bones)! 13. I prop up the earth around you for  
ir sake. May I placing this lump of clay receive no harm!  
y the pitrs support (make steady) this post! <sup>478</sup> May Yama  
vide here seats (or resting places) for you. 14. (The gods)  
re placed me in the day that will come back (tomorrow) like  
feather of an arrow; (therefore) I restrain backwards (stop)  
speech as a person restrains a horse with a bridle. <sup>479</sup>

It should be noted that the word 'pitṛ-yajña' actually occurs  
Rg. X. 16. 10. What does it mean? It has to be remembered  
t the hymns Rg. X. 15-18 refer to rites immediately on  
death of a single person. They are not concerned with rites  
formed for deceased male ancestors long after their deaths.  
anxiety (in X. 15-18) seems to be to make the ancient pitṛs  
led Barhiṣadaḥ and Agniṣvātāḥ in Rg. X. 15. 3-4, 11 )  
ourably disposed to the recently departed spirit. *Havis*  
critical food such as boiled rice) was offered to the ancient  
s (Rg. X. 15. 11) who were supposed to have partaken of the  
d offered (X. 15. 12). The purpose of these Rgvedic hymns is  
irely different from the purpose of the mantras in Tai. S. I.  
i (which refer to the pitṛyajña performed in Śākamedha).  
a matter of fact three of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 do  
ur in Rg. X. 57. 3-5 and are employed in the pinda-pitṛyajña.  
re is hardly any reason to suppose that the pitṛyajña in  
X. 15. 10 is more ancient than the pindapitṛyajña. It  
quite possible that both referring as they do to different  
ters were coeval.

477. X. 18. 12. This is recited after the bones are covered with  
icles of dust. It is probable that the particles were poetically described  
osts.

478. X. 18. 13. It looks very likely that a wooden post was employed  
support for the urn that was deposited under ground.

479. X. 18. 14. This verse is rather obacure and various interpreta-  
s have been proposed by German scholars (Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig,  
lner and Oldenberg) and others like Whitney and Hopkins. The trans-  
on is only tentative, but it probably brings out the sense in the context  
b better than many other interpretations. The idea probably is that the  
ker wants to disconnect himself from the dead just as a feather may  
me loosened from an arrow that is shot and therefore he states that he  
is to stop addressing the dead and close up all connection with the dead.

Bṛhaddevatā (VII. 18-19) remarks on this verse 'प्रतीचीने यथाहानि  
रयेतराणि ह । अहः ह पितरो ह्युत्पिपासास्तेऽन्यथासिक् ।'

It would be interesting to see how the ceremonies on the death of an *āhitaṅni* are described in the śrauta and grhya sūtras. The Āsv. Śr. S. VI. 10 describes what is to be done in case one that has undergone a *dikṣā* (initiation) for a Soma sacrifice or a sattra dies before the sacrifice is finished. It states "When the *dikṣita* is dead, they take out the body by the *tīrtha*,<sup>480</sup> place it on the spot where it was intended that *avabhṛtha* (bath at the end of a soma or sattra sacrifice) was to be taken and deck the body with the decorations that ordinarily are placed on a dead body. They cut the hair (on the head) of the corpse, the hair on the lips, the hair on the body and also pare the nails. They apply paste of *Nalada* (Indian spikenard) to the corpse and throw on it a garland of *naladas*. Some (having cut open the entrails) take out the fecal matter from them and fill them with *prśadājya* (when clarified butter is mixed with curds it is so called). They cut off a portion as wide as the foot of the corpse from a new (unworn) garment and cover the dead body with it in such a way that the fringe is towards the west (the head being placed towards the east) and the feet of the corpse are exposed to view. The portion cut off from the piece of cloth is taken by the sons and the like. The deceased man's *śrauta* fires are placed on the churning sticks (the two *aranis*), the dead body is taken outside the *vedi* (fire altar) towards its south, fire is produced by attrition and then the body is burnt therewith. After returning from the cremation, they should finish the work of the day. On the next morning, the recitation of the sūtras, the singing of the stotras and the samstavas (reciting hymns in chorus) should be without repetition and the uttering of the *him* sound. On the same day before taking up the *grahas* (cups), the priests come out by the *tīrtha*, go round the place of cremation with the right hand turned away (from the place) and sit round it in the following manner viz. the hotṛ priest sits to the west (of the place of cremation), the *adhvaryu* to the north, and the *sāma* priests to the west of the *adhvaryu* (and the *brahmā* priest to the south). Then the *sāma* priests sing in a low voice the verse beginning with 'āyam gauḥ prānirakramīt.' When the singing is finished the hotṛ walks round the place of cremation thrice with his left

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480. तीर्थ means the path to the sacrificial ground between the *पात्वाल* and *उत्तर* (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 934). For *स्तोत्र* that occurs a little lower down, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1186.

turned towards the place of cremation and without uttering the syllable 'om' recites immediately after the song of the sāma priests the stotriya in a low voice and also the following verses attributed to Yama and Yāmyāyanas (as seers or authors) viz. Rg. X. 14. 7-8, 10-11, X. 16. 1-6, X. 17. 3-6, X. 18. 10-13, X. 154. 1-5. They should finish with Rg. X. 14.12, then collect the charred bones in a jar, take the jar by the way of the tirtha and place it on the seat that was occupied by the deceased sacrificer.<sup>481</sup>

The Śāṅkhāyana Śr. S. (IV. 14-15) deals at great length with the death of an *ūhitāgni* and the rites that follow. Kāt. Śr.

481. संस्थिते तीर्थेन निहत्यापश्ये वेतालहारां कुर्वन्ति । केदाश्मश्रुलोमनखानि वापयन्ति । नलद्वेमाश्रुलिप्सन्ति । नलद्वमालां मतिष्ठन्ति । निष्पुत्राश्चमेकं कृत्वा पृथगाज्यं पूरयन्ति । अहृतस्य वातसः पाशतः पादमात्रमवच्छिद्य प्रोर्ध्वन्ति मय्यदंशानिःपादम् । अवच्छेदमस्य पुत्रा अमा कुर्वीरन् अग्नीमस्य समारोप्य दक्षिणतो बहिर्दिं दहेयुः ।...प्रत्येत्पाहः समापयेयुः । प्रतरेमयासमनभिदिङ्कृतानि शस्त्रावुपचानाभिद्वनसंस्तवानि । पुरा ब्रह्महणात् तीर्थेन निष्कस्य त्रिः प्रसव्यमायतनं परीत्य पर्युपविशन्ति । पश्चाद्धोता । उत्तरोध्वर्युः । तस्य पश्चाच्छ्रुः । आचं गौः पूश्चिरकमीदित्युपांशु स्तुवते । स्तुते होता प्रसव्यमायतनं परिव्रज्यस्तोनियमनु-ब्रवेदपञ्चवन् । पानीश्च । मेहि मेहि पथिभिः पूर्येभि रिति पञ्चानां वृत्तीयाशुद्धरेत् । मेनमग्रे चिदहं । माभिर्ज्ञोच इति वद् । पूवा त्वितम्व्यावक्तु म विद्वानिति चतस्र उपसर्गं मातरं भूमिमेतामिति चतस्रः सोम एकैश्वरः । उदगता उदुम्बलाविति च समाप्य सञ्चित्य तीर्थेन प्रपद्य यथासनमासादयेयुः । आश्व. औ. 10.

The Sat. Br. (XII, 5. 2.5) refers to the practice of cleansing the deceased of all foul matter, but does not approve of it. It recommends 'having washed him out inside he anoints with ghee and thus makes the body sacrificially pure.' आचं गौः पूश्चिरकमीत्—is the first verse of the hymn Rg. X. 189. 1-3 which are also S. V. No. 630-632 (Āranyakāṇḍa) and 1376-78 (Uttarāreika). The hymn also occurs in the other Vedas. The verses are called सार्वरात्र्य कवचः . It may be noticed that the Āśv. gr. (IV.4.6) prescribes the recitation of the 24 mantras prescribed in the Āśv. Sr. above and employs some more verses (from Rg. X. 14-18) in the ritual set out below from the Āśv. gr. In the Āśv. Sr. II, 19 there is a description of a rite called 'pitryā karma,' in which offerings are offered in fire taken from the Dakṣiṇāgni and in which the *devatās* are five viz. Pitarah-somavantah, Soma pitṛmān, Pitarah barhiṣadāh, Pitarah Agniṣvāttāh, Yama, for each of whom three verses are recited respectively in order viz. Rg. X. 13. 1, IX.96.11, X.15.5; Rg. I.91.1, I.91.12. VIII. 48.13; X. 15.4, X. 15.3, X. 15.2; X. 15.11, X. 15.13, X. 15.14; X. 14.4-5, X. 14.1. Rg. X. 16.12 (repeated thrice) becomes the sāmīdhenis in that rite; X. 14.5 is Yājñā and X. 14.4 and X. 14.1 are anuvākyās; Rg. X. 15.9, IV. 11.3, I. 96.1 are recited when the rite is finished (instead of Agni Sviṣṭakṛt Agni Kavyavāhana is invoked); Rg. X. 16.11, X. 15.12 are two Samyājñās in Vasaṭkāra. The editor of the Prayogarātra explains that Nalada means 'Uśira' (i. e. Wālā in Marathi) and that some substitute japā flowers (china rose) for *naladas*.

S. 25.7 does the same but more briefly. Kāt. (25. 7. 18) refers to the cutting of hair and nails and taking out fecal matter and Kauś. (80. 13-16), Śaṅ. Śr. 4. 14. 4-5 also speak of the cutting of hair, of bathing the dead body, applying paste and putting garlands. The Baud. P. S. (1. 2) refers to these and adds that if they cut open his entrails from the right side they again sew it with darbha grass or they may simply wash the body (without taking out the fecal matter), cover the body with a piece of cloth, deck it, remove the body by the way between the *vedi* and *utkara*, place it on a couch (*āsandi*) over which a black antelope skin was spread with the head to the south, put Nalada garland on it and cover it with an unworn piece of cloth (as in Āśv. Śr. above). Sat. Śr. 28. 1. 22 and G. P. S. I. 10-14 contain similar provisions adding that the toes of the feet and thumbs of the corpse are tied with a white thread or the fringe of a garment (*baddhvā daśenāṅguṣṭhau-pādayoḥ paṇyośca*, G. P. S. I. 12) and that the *āsandi* (a small couch or chair on which the corpse was carried) was to be of *udumbara* wood. The Kausikasūtra (80. 3. 3-45) refers to numerous stanzas from A. V. that are to be recited in kindling the funeral fire and offering oblations, viz. 18. 2. 4 and 36; 18. 3. 4; 18. 1. 49-50, 58; 18. 1. 41-43; 7. 68. 1-2; 18. 3. 25; 18. 2. 4-18 (omitting 18. 2. 10); 18.4.1-15 &c. Compare SBE. vol. XI p. XLI for Buddhist practices.

The Āśv. gr.<sup>482</sup> (IV. 1 and 2) prescribes in general the ceremonies on the death of an *āhitāgni*, while the Āśv. Śr. S. quoted

482. It deserves to be noted that the numbering of the sūtras in Āśv. gr. IV. 1-2 differs in different editions considerably. The rules about the selection of the site for cremation are ancient. The Sat. Br. XIII. 8.1 and Kāt. Sr. XXI. 3, 15-26 also lay down elaborate rules. The latter may be set out here: 'the site for cremation should be one surrounded by a thicket of trees, but it should be so open that the sun shines directly on it at mid-day. It should be saltish land or land sloping to the north or it may be all level land. Some say that it should slope towards the south. The spot should be such that the houses in the village cannot be seen from it and should be at a distance from the road and from the *vaṭa*, *pippala*, *tīvaka*, *haridru*, *sphūrjaka*, *bibhīdaka* and other trees that have an evil name (such as *śleṣmātaka* and *kovidāra*). The Sat. Br. XIII. 8.1.16. names all these trees that are to be avoided. The spot should be such that a pile of wood (as directed in Kāt. Śr. 23. 7. 16-17) can be constructed thereon. It should be a pleasing one and should have a thicket of various trees to its west or in default, water, which may be to its west or north. The spot should have streams or holes and grass growing thereon. The Kāt. Sr. 3.

(Continued on the next page)

above deals with what should be done in case the *āhitāgni* dies while engaged in a Soma or other sacrifice. The Āśv. gr. remarks 'when an *āhitāgni* dies, one (a son or other relative) should arrange to have a piece of land dug up to the south-east or south-west at a place sloping towards the south or south-east, or according to some towards the south-west. The piece of land dug up should be of the length of a man with upraised arms, of the breadth of one *vyāma*<sup>483</sup> and one *vitasti* (twelve finger breadths) in depth. The cemetery (*śmaśāna*) should<sup>484</sup> be free (open) on all sides. It should abound in herbs, but plants with thorns and with milky juice (should be dug out) as stated before (in Āśv. gr. II. 7.5 about *vāstu-parikṣā*). From which the waters flow on all sides (that is the spot should be a little higher than the surrounding ground); this should be a characteristic required for that (kind of) cemetery where (the body) is to be burnt. They should cut off the hair on the head, the lips and the body and pare the nails (of the deceased); this has been declared already (in Āśv. Śr. VI. 10.2). They should make provision for plenty of sacrificial grass and clarified butter. In this (funeral rite) they pour clarified butter into curds. This is the *prṣadājya* used

(Continued from the last page)

21. 3. 27 adds that a bamboo staff with a bundle of grass at its top is carried to the cremation ground and held by a person to the north of the ground while the rites go on and that it is brought back to the house and kept raised at the house. The ground is measured and pegs of *palāṣa*, *śami*, *varaṇa* and a stone are driven into the ground from the east, north, west and south in order. The Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 1 mentions pegs (*sanku*). Sāh. Sr. (IV. 14. 6-9) states that the ground of cremation slopes to the south or south-east, that the ground is swept with a *palāṣa* branch with the verse 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9), then it is cleared with the *sphya* and sprinkled with water and the pile of wood is made to face south-east.

483. *व्याम* is defined as 'व्यामो बाह्वोः सकरयोस्ततयोस्तिर्यग् स्तरम्' अमरकोश. It is as much as the out-stretched arms together with the hands (i. e. a fathom).

484. *श्मशान* has two meanings viz. the place where a corpse is cremated and also the place where the charred bones (after cremation) collected in a jar are deposited in the earth. *नारदचरण* remarks on आश्व. सृ. IV. 1.11 (अभित अमकारं श्मशानं) 'श्मशानमवहनेनात्र श्मशानमवहं दहते ।... दहनवेदोऽत्र श्मशानं सञ्चिह्य चत्वार्यङ्गि निधीयते तत्र श्मशानम् । तद्द्वयं सर्वतः आकाशं भवेत्'. The *शतपथब्र.* XIII. 8.1.1 derives *श्मशान* in two ways as being a form of *प्रवाण* or *श्मशान* in the words अथस्मै कर्वाणं कुर्वन्ति । अथास्मै श्मशानं कुर्वन्ति ।... श्मशा उ हेय नाम श्मिष्टानाञ्चकारस्ते हाशुर्ध्विस्तोकेऽकृतश्मशानस्य साधुः कृत्याधुपद्वम्भयन्ति तेभ्य एतद्वचं करोति तस्माच्छ्मशानं श्मशानं ह वै तच्छ्मशाननिरवाच्यकृते परोक्षम् । अथर्व. 18.4.44 shows that the dead body was carried in a cart drawn by oxen.



(in the rites) for *pitrs*. (The relatives of the deceased) carry his sacred fires and his sacrificial vessels in that direction (viz. where the ground is dug up for cremation). After these aged persons, in odd numbers, men and women not going together, carry the dead body. Some say that (the dead body) should be carried in a cart with a seat drawn<sup>485</sup> by oxen. Some prescribe that a she-animal, either a cow<sup>486</sup> or a she-goat, of one colour or of a dark colour (should be taken to the cemetery). The (relatives of the dead) tie (a rope) to the left fore-foot and lead it behind (the corpse). Then follow the relations (of the deceased) with their *yajñopavītas* brought low (round their body) and with the top knot untied (dishevelled), the older ones going first, the younger ones last. Having thus arrived at the spot (of cremation), the performer (of cremation rites) while walking three times round the spot (for cremation) with his left side turned towards it, sprinkles water on it with a *śami* twig with the verse 'apeta vita vi ca sarpatātāḥ' (Rg. X. 14. 9). To the south-east on a slightly raised corner (of the spot for cremation), he (son or the like) places the *Āhavanīya* fire, to the north-west the *Gārhapatyā* fire and to the south-west the *Dakṣiṇā* fire. Then a person that knows (how to prepare a funeral pile) collects a pile of fuel between the fires (on the dug-up spot). Then the performer of the rites spreads *barhis* (kuśas) and a black antelope skin with the hairy part outside on the pile, (the relatives) place the dead body thereon carrying it by way of the north side of the *Gārhapatyā* fire and turning its head towards the *Āhavanīya* fire. They make the wife

485. The Baud. P. S. (I. 4. 5-6) says that servants or old men should carry the dead body on a couch or chair covering the body with a mat or according to some in a cart.

486. अश्वत्थरणी is a cow or she-goat which is killed and then is made to cover the dead body with its limbs. The word is explained by नारायण as 'मेतन्मुखं रथं वा जी पशुः साश्वत्थरणी'. The कृत्यायनस्मृतौ (25.7.34-37) 'अश्वत्थरणी चेत्तथाः कर्णमाहृत्य हस्तयोर्द्वौ'. अश्वत्थरणीति जातुकर्णः । न वास्ति सन्वेहात् । यथा मुख-मन्त्राद्याग्निमिरादीपयति । आहूतिं कुर्वति पुत्रो भ्रातृभ्योवा ब्राह्मणोऽस्मात्तन्मन्त्रिजातोऽसि त्वदर्थं जायतां पुत्रः असौ स्वर्गाय लोकान् स्वाहेति । The mantra अस्मात्स्व...लोकान् स्वाहां is वाज. सं. 35.22. Vide कृतपथ ब्रा. XII. 5.2.15 for the same words and mantra as in Kāt. Sr. The com. of Yājñikadeva on Kāt. Sr. 25.7.34 explains द्वौ as कुक्षिगोलकौ. Vide also Baud. P. S. I.4.1 and I.9-10, Sat. Sr. 28.2.3-13, Kauś. 81.20-27. The latter prescribes that the cow is led round with the left side towards the corpse with the mantras A. V. 18.3.3 and 4, that the cow is struck on her buttocks and loins, that two *vṛkhas* are taken from the cow's back and placed on the hands of the corpse with the mantra 'ati drava' (A. V. XVIII. 2.11) which is Rg. X.14.10.

of the deceased (belonging to any one of the three higher *varṇas*) lie down (on the pile) to the north of the dead body, and also place his bow to the north if (the deceased was) *kṣatriya*. The wife's brother-in-law<sup>487</sup> (husband's brother) or a representative of the husband or a pupil (of the deceased) or an old servant (slave) should make her rise (from the pile) with the mantra 'udīrsva nāryabhi jīvalokam' (Rg. X. 18. 8); the performer (of the rites) should mutter this verse if a *śūdra* (servant) makes her rise and he takes away the bow with the verse 'dhanur-hastādādadāno' (Rg. X. 18. 9). It has been stated (above what is to be done) in case a *śūdra* (should perform this act). Having strung the bow he should before the piling up of the things (mentioned below on the dead body) is done, break the bow to pieces and throw it on the pile.<sup>488</sup> He then should put the following sacrificial implements (on the dead body) viz. into the right hand the spoon called *Juhū*, in the left hand the spoon *Upabhr̥t*, on his right side the *Sphya* (wooden sword), on his left side the *Agnihotrahaṇi* (the ladle with which the *Agnihotra* offerings were offered into fire), on his chest, head and teeth respectively the *dhr̥uṇa* (the big sacrificial ladle), the dishes (or the *kapālas*), the pressing stones (used for pressing out *Soma* juice in a *soma* sacrifice), on the two nostrils the two small ladles (*aruṇa*), on the ears the two *Prāśitra-haraṇas*,<sup>489</sup> if there be only one then breaking

487. Many of the *sūtras* refer to this act of making the wife of the deceased lie down to the north of the dead body on the funeral pile and then making her rise up from it. Vide *Kausikasūtra* 80. 44-45 'इयं नारीति पत्नीमृपसंवेक्षयति । उदीर्ष्वेतुत्यापयति.' These two verses are A. V. XVIII. 3. 1-2. Sat. Sr. (28. 2. 14-16) states that before the corpse is placed on the pyre the wife is made to lie down near it with the verse 'iyam nārī' and then her husband's brother or another *brāhmaṇa* makes her get up with the verse 'udīrsva nārī'. The same *sūtra* (28. 2. 22) says that the wife may be made to lie down near the corpse after the latter is placed on the pyre or before (as it appears to prefer).

488. Here the Sat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 6 and some of the *sūtras* (such as *Kāt. Sr.* 25. 7. 19, *Sān. Śr.* IV. 14. 16-35, Sat. Śr. 28. 2. 23-50, *Kauśika* 81. 1-19, *Baud. P. S.* I. 8-9) and *smṛtis* like *Gobhila* (III. 24) add that in the seven seats of vital air viz. the mouth, the two nostrils, the two eyes and the two ears, they cast small pieces of gold. Others add that sesame wetted with ghee are also thrown on the corpse. The G. P. S. II. 7. 12 says that it is the *adhvaryu* who deposits the *kapālas* on the head (of the dead body).

489. On the *Prāśitraharaṇa*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1064 (the vessel in which a portion of *puroḍāśa* is kept for the *brāhma* priest). For the *Samyā* (yoke-pin), vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1112 n. 2487,

it into two; on the belly the *pātri* (in which the oblations are collected before offering) and the *camasa* (cup) in which (the *iḍā* portion) cut off is placed; on his private parts the *śamyā*; on the thighs the two *arāṇis* (wood sticks for kindling fire by attrition) and on the spanks the mortar and pestle, on the feet the winnowing baskets (*śūrpa*) or if there be one only, by tearing it in two pieces. Those of the sacrificial implements which have a hollow (into which a fluid can be poured) are filled with *Prṣadājya*. The son (of the deceased) should take the upper and the lower mill-stones for himself and the implements made of copper, iron and earthenware<sup>490</sup>.

The Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 14 first states that sacrificial implements made of stone or earthenware should be donated to a brāhmaṇa but people regard the latter as a corpse-bearer (and so) they should be thrown into water.<sup>491</sup> Taking out the omentum (*vapā*) of the Anustarani she-animal he should cover therewith the head and the mouth (of the deceased) with the verse 'Agnr varma' (Rg. X. 16. 7). Taking out the two kidneys (*vṛkkau*) of the animal he should deposit them into the

490. It should be noted that there are some variations in the statements about the sacrificial implements made here and in the Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2, Śat. Sr. 28. 2. 23-30, Kāt. Sr. 25. 7. 21-33, Kauṣ. 81. 1-19, Baud. P. S. I. 8. 11-1. 9. 7, Śāh. Sr. IV. 14. 18-36. For example, the Śāh. Sr. (IV. 16. 21-31) prescribes that the Agnihotrabhavaṇi is placed on the throat and the two arāṇis on the private parts, while Ādv. gr. places the agnihotrabhavaṇi on the left side and the śamyā on private parts. Sabara quotes several times a passage which says 'They burn the āhitāgni with his (vedic) fires and sacrificial implements' (āhitāgnim-agnibhir dahanāti yajñāpātrāśca) on Jai. IV. 1. 9, VI. 6. 34, XI. 3. 34. Those words occur also in Baud. P. S. III. 1. 9. Jai. XI. 3. 34 states the proposition that the cremation of the sacrificer with the sacrificial implements is what is called *pratipattikharman* (the final disposal) of the yajñāpātras.

491. अधारच सप्तसु प्राणायतनेषु सप्त हिरण्यमकलाग्रमस्यस्यति ज्योतिर्गन्धर्व इरिष्य ज्योतिर्वारिमस्तद्वृत्तं वृषाति। अथैनमन्तरेणाग्निंश्चित्वा कृष्णाग्निमध्वरलोम प्राचीनमीयं प्रसीर्य तस्मिन्नेनमुत्तानं निपाद्य जुह्वं कृतेन पूर्णं वक्षिणे पाणावावृषाति सग्न उपश्रुतमुपसि धृवां ह्येऽग्निहोत्रहर्षणी नासिकयोः क्षुरी कर्णयोः प्राशित्रहरणे शीर्षेभ्यस्तं प्रणीताग्रचनं पार्श्वयोः क्षुर्यं उद्धरे पार्श्वी समवत्तार्श्वीं पृषदाज्यवतीं शिखस्यान्ते स्रग्गामाण्यो-रन्ते वृषारवाण्यध्वरालं च ह्युत्तलं चान्तरेणोक्तं अग्न्यानि यज्ञप्राजाणि वक्षिणे पाणौ हृष्यद्। स एव यज्ञादुप्री यजमानः। यथा निवृत्तामोचमसीयाद्धेवमेव योऽस्य स्वर्गो लोको जितो भवति तमग्न्यस्येति। इत्यवचना. XII. 5. 2. 6-8. The जै. वि. सू. I. 2. 31, Śat. Sr. 28. 2. 23-4 and others provide that either gold bits or drops of clarified butter were to be cast over the seven orifices (mouth and others). A comparatively later smṛti like that of Parāśara mentions this depositing of sacrificial implements on the sacrificer's body (V. 19-22)

hands (of the deceased) the right kidney in the right hand and left kidney in the left with the mantra 'ati drava' (Rg. X. 14, 10, recited once only). He puts the heart (of the animal) on his heart and according to some also two lumps of flour (of rice or barley); according to others only if there are no kidneys.<sup>492</sup> Having deposited the whole animal limb by limb (on corresponding limbs of the dead body) and having covered it with its own hide he recites when the Prāṇitā water is being carried forward, by way of invocation the mantra 'imam agne' (Rg. X. 16. 8). Bending his left knee he should offer into the Dakṣiṇa fire oblations of clarified butter with the formula 'to Agni svāhā! To Soma svāhā! To the world svāhā! To Anumatī svāhā!' A fifth oblation (is to be offered) on the chest of the deceased with the formula 'from this one, indeed thou hast been born! May he now be born out of thee, N. N.! To the heavenly world, svāhā' (Vāj. S. 35, 22). He gives the order 'Light the fire together.' Then the Āśv. gr. (IV. 4. 2-5) states what one has to understand if the Āhavanīya or Gārhapatya or Dakṣiṇa fire reaches the dead body first or if all the fires reach the body at the same moment; while the body is burning he recites over it the same texts (Rg. X. 14. 7 and others quoted above in n. 481 from Āśv. Sr. sūtra). Being cremated by a person who knows this he goes to the heavenly world together with the smoke (of the funeral pile)—thus it is known (in the Śruti). After he has recited the verse 'ime jīvāḥ' (Rg. X. 18. 3) they (all relatives) turn round from right to left and go away without looking back. When they have come to a place where there is standing water, having once plunged into it and raised their heads out of it they pour one handful of water, pronounce the gotra name and the proper name (of the deceased),

492. According to Kāt. Sr. quoted above in n. 486 the Anustaraṇi animal was to be struck behind the ear and killed. According to Jātūkarnya the several limbs of the animal were to be placed on the corresponding limbs of the dead body. But Kāt. disapproves of this since when burnt there may be a doubt (in collecting bones) whether they are of the deceased or of the animal (and so only the flesh of the animal was to be placed on the limbs according to Kāt.). Compare Sat. Br. XII. 5. 9-12 for similar remarks. Āśv. gr. IV. 2. 4 (as interpreted by Nārāyaṇa) itself shows that there was an option viz. that the animal may be killed or let off and donated to a brāhmaṇa (vide also Baud. P. S. I. 10. 2). The Sāh. Sr. (IV. 14. 14-15) states that the kidneys were to be taken from the killed or living animal from behind and being slightly heated on the Dakṣiṇa fire were to be placed in the two hands of the deceased with the two mantras 'ati drava' (Rg. X. 14. 10-11) - - -

come out (of the water), put on other garments, wring out (already worn garments) once, lay them away with their skirts to the north and sit down until the stars appear or they may enter their houses when a part of the Sun's disc is still visible, the younger ones entering first, the older ones last. When they have come to the houses they touch a stone, the fire, cow-dung, fried barley, sesame seeds and water. Compare Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 5 for bath and offering of water by relatives and touching a bull on returning from cremation and reciting 'udvayam' (Vāj. S. 35. 14 = Rg. I. 50. 10) and applying collyrium and unguent to their bodies<sup>493</sup>.

It is not possible from considerations of space to set out all that is said in the other gṛhya sūtras. A few interesting points may be noted here. The Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 11, Pār. gr. (III. 10. 10 ff) expressly provide that funeral rites for any one whose upanayana has been performed are the same from the choosing of the site for the burning of the body to the descent into water on the part of the relatives (for bathing themselves) as those prescribed for a person who has set up the śrauta (Vedic) fires, the only difference being that an *āhitāgni* is cremated with the three Vedic fires kept by him, that one who has kept only the smārta<sup>494</sup> or aupāsana fire is burnt with that and that common persons who have neither kept the śrauta fires nor smārta fire are burnt with the ordinary<sup>495</sup> fire. Devala provides that when using ordinary fire, one should avoid taking the fire from a cāṇḍāla or any unclean fire or the fire in the room of a freshly delivered woman or the fire of a *patita* or fire from a funeral pyre,<sup>496</sup> The Pitrdayitā states that the mantra 'asmāt tvam &c.' was not to be recited when the deceased was a person

493. अपामर्गैरपशुजते ।... यत्रोदकं भवति तत्त्वान्ति सुमित्रिया आप ओषधयः सन्निवश्यज्जलाप उपाचति... । स्नात्वाहतानि वासांसि परिधापानहुहः पुच्छमन्वार-  
म्यायस्वयाग्रेयौ बान्धानग्निमुखा एवं तत्पितृलोकं जीविलोकमभ्यायन्ति ।... उद्धयं तमस्परिती ।  
एतामुच्चं जपन्तो यन्ति... । तेभ्य आगतेभ्य आज्ञनाभ्यञ्जने प्रयच्छन्त्येष हं मातृषोलङ्कारस्तेनैव तं  
मृत्युमन्तर्दधते । शत. ब्रा. XIII. 8. 4. 4-7. सुमित्रिया is वाज. सं. 35.12 and उद्धयं is वाज. सं. 35.14 (= ऋ. I. 50.10)

494. अधानग्निश्चितः । एतदेव धूमिजोषणमेतत्समर्पणं कर्म यद्व्यदशिकर्मणः । शतपथब्रा. XIII. 8. 4. 11.

495. आहिताग्निर्यथाप्यायं दग्धव्याजं भिरग्निभिः । अनाहिताग्निरेकेन लौकिकेनेतरो  
ज्जनः ॥ बृहस्प. q. by मित्त. on या. III. 2, अपरांके p. 873. This is कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23.67

496. लौकिकाग्निश्च ऋण्डालादिष्पतिरिक्ता ग्राह्यः । ऋण्डालाग्निरमेष्वाग्निः द्युतिकाग्निश्च  
कार्ष्णिचित् । पतिताग्निश्चिताग्निश्च न शिष्टग्रहणोचिताः ॥ इति देवलस्मरणात् । मित्त. on या. III, 2, अपरांके p. 873, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 286,

who had not kept sacred fires.<sup>497</sup> The Pār. gr. further provides that all relatives residing in the same village, if they can trace the relationship, do the same, that they wear only one garment, suspend their sacred thread over the right shoulder, that with the fourth finger of the left hand they spurt away the water with Vāj. S. 35. 6 and facing the south plunge into water and pour out one libation of water with joined hands. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 2-7) lays down a bath when a person's relatives on the mother's side and father's relatives up to the 7th degree or as long as relationship can be traced die, except in the case of children less than a year old. In the case of a child's death before one year, the parents and those who carry the child's body have to bathe. All the above should have dishevelled hair, should throw dust in the hair, wear only one garment, turn their faces to the south, plunge into water, offer water to the dead thrice and then sit down on the bank (of the river or pond), then come to the village and do what the women tell them to do (such as touching fire and bull &c.). Yāj. III. 2 also provides the same rules as Pār. gr. and prescribes the recitation of the mantra 'apa naḥ sośucad agham' ('May evil be burnt away from us,' Rg. I. 97. 1, A.V. IV. 33.1, Tai. Ā. VI. 10.1). The G. P. S. (II. 23) provides that the funeral pyre is to be made with the wood of sacrificial trees, (II. 37 and 39) that the sapindas of the deceased headed by the women, the youngest being the first, fan the corpse placed on the pyre with the fringes of their garments, that the performer of the funeral rites takes a jar filled with water, places a *darbhendva* (?) on his head and goes round the corpse thrice and the priest gives a light stroke on the jar thrice separately with a stone (*aśman*) or an axe and recites a mantra 'imā āpo &c.' when a stream of water rushes out of the broken jar, (changing the words about 'asmin loke' to 'antarikṣe' and 'svarge' at the 2nd and 3rd perambulations). The performer while standing should drop behind him the jar of water. Then after repeating the mantra 'tasmāt tvam adhijātosī...asau svargāya lokāya svāhā,' he should set fire to the pyre to burn the body.<sup>498</sup> The Sat. Śr. 28. 1. 38 provides that the family members

497. अनग्नेर्ब्राह्मणस्य यज्ञपात्राभावात्पात्रन्यासस्यतिरिक्तसमस्तेतिकर्तव्यतया दग्धस्य । अश्माव...मन्त्रस्वरिमक्षपि न प्रयोक्तव्यः । पितृदयिता p. 78.

498. अथ कर्तोदकुम्भमादाय पत्नी वा । दर्भेण शिरसि निधाय मृतं पर्येति । तमश्मना परशुना बाधस्तात्किञ्चित्पृथ्वरति । तां धारामनुमन्त्रयेत् हमा आयो मधुमन्योस्मिंस्ते लोक उपबुध्यन्तामक्षीयमाणाः स्वधा नम इति ।...सिद्धिर्लोकोदकुम्भं पृथतो विदुजेत् ।...तस्मात्स्वमधिजातोसि त्वयं जायतां पुनरसौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वर्गोत्पत्तौ शब्देन प्रेतस्य नाम संज्ञद्वयत्वेन गृहीत्वा क्षीरेणाग्निं संयोजयेत् । गो. पि. सू. I. 3.1-13.

beat their right thighs, fan the corpse with the fringes of their garments and go thrice round the corpse with the left side towards the corpse and recite the *mantra* 'apa naḥ śośucad-  
agham' (Rg. I 97. 1. Tai. Ā. VI 10. 1). It further provides (28. 1. 37-46) that the corpse is carried in a cart or by (four) men and while being carried four stops are made, at each of which clods of earth are dug up and boiled rice is offered thereon with mantras like 'pūṣā tvetaḥ' (Rg. X. 17. 3., Tai. Ā. VI 10. 1), 'āyur viśvāyur' (Rg. X. 17. 4, Tai. Ā. VI 10. 2). The Varāha-purāṇa prescribes that a Paurāṇic mantra should be recited, that the performer should go round the pyre and apply the kindled fire towards the part of the pyre where the head is placed.<sup>499</sup>

In modern times the procedure of cremation is generally on the lines of that described in the Āśv. gr. cited above and the procedure described in the Garudapurāṇa II. 4. 41 ff. The following is a summary of the procedure set out in the Antyeṣṭi-paddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa which is generally followed by Rgvedins in Western India. The dead body is washed with water, is decked with a *tīlaka* on the forehead, is clothed in a garment, is covered with a paste of Jatāmāṃsi and a garland of *naladas* is placed round its neck. Then the performer washes his own feet, sips water, performs *prāṇāyāma* without Vedic mantra, then makes a *Saṅkalpa* (as in note 500),<sup>500</sup> he wears his sacred thread under the left shoulder (and on the right shoulder) and prays to the earth with the mantra 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18.10); he then thrice goes round the place dug up (for cremation) and sprinkles water with a *śami* branch at the end of the mantra 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9). This mantra is repeated thrice. Then he draws three lines on the ground with an iron piece or kuśa roots saying 'I draw a line for Yama, the lord of cremation,' 'I draw a line for Kāla, lord of &c' 'I draw a line for Mṛtyu, lord of &c.' Then he throws into the dug-up ground pieces of gold and sesame and water mixed with sesame in the middle of the dug up spot for Yama, to the north for Kāla and to the south for

499. कृत्वा सुदुष्करं कर्म जानता वाप्यजानता । सुखकालवशं प्राप्य नरं पञ्चत्वमागतम् ॥ धर्मार्थसमायुक्तं लोभमोहसमावृतम् । वृथैवं सर्वपात्राणि दिव्यान् लोकान्स गच्छतु ॥ एवमुक्त्वा ततः शीघ्रं कृत्वा चैव प्रदक्षिणम् । ज्वलमानं तथा वह्निं शिरःस्थाने प्रदीपयेत् । चतुर्वर्णेषु संस्कार एव भवति पुत्रक ॥ बराहपुराण q. by छान्दोग्यकाण्ड p. 170 and by छान्दोग्यकौमुदी p. 115. These verses occur with variations in बराहपुराण chap. 187, 106-108.

500. अथेत्यादि देशकालौ स्थूत्यायुक्तगोत्रस्यायुक्तशर्मणोस्मग्निप्रादेः प्रेतस्य प्रेतत्व-विमोक्षणमौर्वदेहिकं करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्प्य प्राचीनावीती धूमि मर्धयेत् । अम्येष्टिपद्धति folio 153 a.

Mṛtyu (each being associated with pitṛa, the formula being 'Yamāya dahanapatāye pitṛbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'). He puts sesame in the mouth of the corpse and prepares a funeral pile sufficient for burning the body by means of sacrificial wood brought by the castemen of the deceased. On that pile he spreads kuśa grass and over the latter black antelope skin with the hair outside. Then the corpse is carried to the north of the fire and is placed on the funeral pile with the head to the south. To the north of the dead body, he makes the wife of the deceased sit down. Then the husband's brother, pupil or an old servant makes her get up with the mantra 'udirṣya' (Rg. X. 18. 8). Then the performer puts pieces of gold in the seven holes of the body (vide above note 491) or drops of clarified butter. He then throws on the body of the departed sesame anointed with ghee, he performs *parisamuhana* (wiping with the wet hand) of the fire, then *paristarana* (strewing darbha grass) round the fire together with the funeral pile) and *paryukṣaṇa* (sprinkling water) and brings to the south of the fire the vessels viz. prokṣaṇī, sruva, camasa and the vessel containing clarified butter. Then he puts water in the *camasa* (cup), covers it with darbha grass and carries it forward and invokes the *camasa* with Rg. X. 16. 8 (*imam-agne &c.*). He makes a *saṅkalpa* that he would wait upon (or worship) the dead, takes two fuel sticks and offers them into fire and performs the worship of Agni, Kāma, Loka and Anumati by offering clarified butter in fire with the appropriate formula (viz. *agnaye svāhā, agnaya idam na mama*). Then he offers on the chest of the deceased clarified butter (or *prṣadājya*) (according to some) with the mantra 'asmādvai &c. (vide above note 498). Then he prepares *apūpas* (balls) with barley flour and mixes them with *prṣadājya* and places portions of the balls on the five parts viz. forehead, mouth, the two arms and chest with the following mantras viz. Rg. X. 16. 7 (for the ball on forehead and mouth), Rg. X. 14. 10 (for the two arms) and Rg. X. 14. 11 (for the chest). Then he makes the fire flame up with the mantra Rg. X. 16. 9 (*kravyadam-agnim*) towards the head of a male (and the feet of a woman). Then he should repeat certain mantras while the body is being burnt viz. Rg. X. 14. 7-8, Rg. X. 14. 10-11, Rg. X. 16. 1-6, X. 17. 3-6, X. 18. 10-13, X. 154. 1-5, X. 14. 12. While muttering these mantras he should throw sesame on the body that is being burnt. Then the performer should take a jar (full of water) on his left shoulder, should make a hole in it on the back of the jar with a broken but smooth stone. He should go round thrice with the left towards the



burning body from the spot where the feet of the corpse lie and mutter certain mantras. The jar is struck thrice. All the *sagotra* relatives go round the burning corpse. Then the jar is completely broken near that part of the funeral pyre where the head rests. The relatives without looking back turn to the left and come out of the cemetery with the youngest members first. The performer recites Rg. X. 18. 3 (ime jivā &c.). The relatives repair to a spot where water is flowing, wearing only one garment and with faces to the south and hair dishevelled, plunge into the water once, sip water, place on the bank that stone (*aśman*) with which holes were made in the jar, offer water mixed with sesame on that stone with folded hands with the words 'O departed, of such a gotra and of such a name! May this water mixed with sesame reach you'. The performer offers water with the *uttariya* for allaying the thirst (of the departed) due to the burning.

Many rules were prescribed as regards the carrying of the dead body. It has been seen above that the corpse was carried in a cart or on a couch by the relatives or by the servants (*dāśas*). Some sūtras, smṛtis, commentaries and other works lay down many other rules here. The Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā 76. 13 ff) states that on the death of Daśaratha his Vedic fires were carried by his priests before the corpse, that the dead body was placed in a palanquin (*śibikā*), that his servants carried it and that coins of gold and clothes were thrown about on the road in front of the bier (for the poor). The general rule was that members of the three higher varṇas alone should carry to the cemetery a dead body belonging to any one of those varṇas and a śūdra should not carry the dead body of a man of a higher caste (when there were men of the caste of the dead available) nor should a man of one of the three higher varṇas carry the dead body of a śūdra, and that the impurity in the case of a śūdra carrying a dead *dvijāti* or a *dvijāti* carrying a śūdra's body is determined by the caste of the dead man. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 1-4, Gaut. Dh. S. 14. 29, Manu 5. 104, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 43-45. A brahmacārin was not permitted to be a carrier of the dead body of a person or relative even of his own caste, except his parents, *guru*, *ācārya* and *upādhyāya* and he was not guilty of breaking his vows of student-hood if he carried the bodies of any one of the five mentioned above. Vide Vas. 23. 7, Manu 5. 91, Yāj. III. 15, Laghu-Hārīta 92-93, Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Par. M. I. 2 p. 278). *Guru*, *ācārya* and *Upādhyāya* are defined

by Yāj. I. 34-35. If a *brahmacārin* carried the corpse of any one except the above five he was held to have swerved from his *vrata* and he had to undergo the expiation for *vratalopa*. Manu 5. 103 and Yāj. III. 13-14 state that those who merely carry a dead body of their own caste should bathe with the clothes on, then bite off *nimba* leaves, should perform *ācamana*, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard, place slowly a foot on a stone and then enter their house. It being the duty of *sapiṇḍas*<sup>501</sup> to carry the dead body of their relative they, after doing so, had simply to bathe, to touch fire and drink clarified butter for being pure (Gaut. 14. 29, Yāj. III. 26, Manu IV. 103, Parāśara III. 42, Devala q. by Par. M. 1. 2, p. 277, Hārita q. by Aparārka p. 871). Carrying the dead body of a *brāhmaṇa* who has no relatives is highly extolled by Parāśara (III. 39-41) who says that a person, that thus carries the dead body of a *brāhmaṇa*, secures at each footstep the reward of the performance of a sacrifice and he becomes pure at once simply by plunging into water and performing *prāṇāyāma*, while Manu (5. 101-102) prescribes that if one carries the dead body of a person who is not a *sapiṇḍa* through affection he becomes pure after three days. The Hāratalā p. 121 quotes the Ādipurāṇa that if a *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* cremates the dead body of a poor *brāhmaṇa* or of a *ksatriya* who has lost everything or of a poor *vaiśya*, he secures great merit and becomes pure at once after a bath. Even now generally (particularly in villages) men of the same caste carry or follow a dead body and are held to be purified by a bath with clothes on. The medieval commentaries like the *Mitākṣarā* stuck strictly to the extreme exclusiveness of caste by prescribing 'if a man<sup>502</sup> carries a dead body through affection, eats food in that family and dwells in their house he is under impurity for ten days; if he simply stays with the dead man's family but does not eat their food he is impure for three days; these rules apply when the carrier is of

501. विहितं तु सपिण्डानां भेतनिर्हरणादिकम् । तेषां करोति यः कश्चिन्नस्याधिक्यं न विद्यते ॥ देवल q. by परा. मा. I. 2 p. 277 ; विहितं हि सपिण्डस्य भेतनिर्हरणादिकम् । दोषः रपावसपिण्डस्य तत्रानाधिक्रियां विना ॥ हारिता q. by अपरार्क p. 871.

502. अत्रेयं व्यवस्था । यः स्नेहादिना शवनिर्हरणं कृत्वा तदीयमक्षमाति तदूहे च वसति तस्य दशाहेनैव छद्भिः । यस्तु केवलं तदूहे वसति न पुनस्तदक्षमश्नाति तस्य त्रिंशत्त्रयम् । यः पुनानिर्हरणमात्रं करोति न तदूहे वसति न च तदक्षमश्नाति तस्यैकाह इति । एतत्सजातीय-विषयम् । विजातीयविषये पुनर्यज्जातीयं भेतं निर्हरति तज्जातिमयुक्तमाशौचं कार्यम् । यथाह गौतमः (१४.२९) ... विषयं शुद्धनिर्हरणे मासमाशौचं शुद्धस्य तु विप्रनिर्हरणे दशरात्र-मित्येवं शवदशाशौचं कार्यमित्यर्थः । निता. on या. III. 14.

the same caste as the dead person. But if a brāhmaṇa carries a śūdra's corpse, the brāhmaṇa is impure for a month, but if a śūdra carries a brāhmaṇa's body the śūdra is impure for ten days.' The Kūrmapurāṇa prescribes that if a brāhmaṇa carries the dead body of a brāhmaṇa for a fee or from other interested motive he becomes impure for ten days, a ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra doing the same becomes impure for 12, 15 or 30 days and the Viṣṇupurāṇa says that the person carrying a dead body for a fee has to become impure for the period of impurity prescribed for a man of that caste. It may be stated that these rules about impurity on the ground of carrying or following the carrying of a dead body of another caste are no longer enforced and it is extremely doubtful whether they were ever strictly enforced or followed. Hārīta<sup>503</sup> prescribes that a dead body should not be carried through the midst of a village if while going to the cemetery a village comes in the way, but it should be carried away from it. Manu, 5.92 and Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 100-101 prescribed that the dead body of a śūdra, vaiśya, ksatriya and a brāhmaṇa was to be taken out respectively by the southern, western, northern and eastern gates of the town or village. It was provided by Yama and the Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4.56-57<sup>504</sup> that the fuel for the funeral pyre should not be carried (for higher *varṇas*) to the cemetery by a śūdra and if a śūdra did so the deceased would always remain in the state of *preta*. The Hāratalā (p. 121) says that if firewood is carried by śūdras still the pyre should be made by brāhmaṇas only (for a brāhmaṇa's body). The smṛtis and purāṇas provide that the corpse<sup>505</sup> should be first bathed with water and then cremated, that the corpse should never be burned naked, but that it should be covered with cloth, decked with flowers and have fragrant unguents (sandalwood

503. तथा हारीतोऽपि न ग्रामाभिमुखं प्रेतं हरेदुरिति । मिता on वा. III. मन्. 2, पृ. p. 395, हारलता p. 119 which explains 'निर्हर्ता यदि घर्त्मनि ग्रामः स्यात्तदा तस्म्येव न गन्तव्यमित्यर्थः' ।

504. अस्यानयाति शूद्रैर्मि तुणं काष्ठं हवीणि च । प्रेतत्वं च सदा तस्य स चाधर्मजं लिप्यते ॥ यम. q. by मिता. on वा. III. 2, अपराकं p. 871, हारलता p. 120 (reads मर्यते शेष धर्मोऽस्ति) which last takes स...लिप्यते as referring to the brāhmaṇa who is cremated; तुणकाष्ठविलाज्यादि स्वयं निगुः सुतादयः ॥ शूद्राणीतेः कृतं कर्म सर्वं भवति निष्फलम् । गुरुः ।

505. अश्वनोक्षितसर्वाङ्गं सुमनोभिर्विभूषितम् ।...निर्हरेदुः सुतादयः ॥ आमपात्रेऽक्षमादाय प्रेतमग्निपुरःसरम् । एकोऽङ्गुष्ठश्चक्षुर्यार्धमर्धपर्युत्थजेज्जुषि ॥ योभिलस्यति III 23-25 q. by अपराकं p. 873; प्रवेताः । स्नानं प्रेतस्य पुत्राद्यैर्वेद्याद्यैः पूजनं ततः । नष्टदेहं वृहेनैव किञ्चिद्देयं परित्यजेत् ॥ किञ्चिद्देहं वृहेनैव देयत्वेन प्रसिद्धं तत्परित्यजेत् तत्स्थेभ्यश्चण्डालादिभ्यः । अपराकं p. 871 ; मिता. on वा. III. 2 also quotes प्रवेतम्.

paste &c.), that fire should be carried in front of the corpse and one man should carry cooked food in an unbaked earthen vessel and another should deposit part of the food on the way and one should give clothes and the like to cāṇḍālas and the like (that stay near the cemetery).

The Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 159) states that when carrying a dead body to the cemetery, a great deal of noise should be created by means of the four kinds of instruments.<sup>506</sup>

There were differing rules laid down about *vapana* (shaving) for the performer as an auxiliary (aṅga) of the rite of cremation, after the cremation and bath thereafter. A smṛti text provides<sup>507</sup> 'shaving of the head and moustaches is declared in seven cases, viz. on the Ganges, at the Bhāskarakṣetra, on the death of the mother or father or *guru*, on consecrating the śrauta fires and in a Soma sacrifice'. The A. K. D. (p. 19) prescribes that the son or other performer of the rites of cremation should first perform *vapana* and then bathe, then carry the dead body to a sacred spot, bathe it there, or if such a spot is not at hand should invoke the presence of the Ganges, Gayā and other *Ārthas* in the water to be used for washing the dead body, then anoint it with ghee or sesame oil, again bathe it and put on it a fresh garment, should deck it with *yaśnopavita*, *gopīcandana*, garland of basil leaves and then should apply to the whole body fragrant substances like sandalwood paste, camphor, saffron, musk &c. But if the cremation took place at night, there was to be no *vapana* at night, but on the next day.<sup>508</sup> Other smṛtis allowed *vapana* on the 2nd, 3rd, 5th or 7th or any following day up to the offering of śrāddha on the 11th day.<sup>509</sup> Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6

506. The four kinds of वाद्य were enumerated by भरत as 'तत् वीणाध्वजं च वनं सुविरमेव च' and the अमरकोश illustrates them as follows: 'तत् वीणादिकं वाद्य-मानञ्च हुरजादिकञ्च । वंशादिकं तु सुविरं कारयतालादिकं वनम् ॥'

507. गङ्गायां भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोरुत्तरेण । आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सततं स्मृतञ्च ॥ q. by मित्त. on या. III. 17, परा. मा. I. 2. p. 296, सुविप्रकाश p. 161 । भाष. तत्त्व p. 493 (from स्मृतिसमुच्चय). भास्करक्षेत्रे च वपनम्.

508. रात्रौ दुग्ध्वा तु पिण्डान्तं कृत्वा वपनवर्जितम् । वपनं मेवयते रात्रौ श्वस्तनी वपनक्रिया ॥ संग्रह q. in सुविप्र. p. 161.

509. अलुप्तकोशे यः पूर्वं सोऽत्र कोशान् मन्त्रयेत् । द्वितीयेऽङ्गि तृतीयेऽङ्गि पञ्चमे सप्तमेऽपि वा । वाद्यध्वजान् मन्त्रयेत् तावदित्यपरं मतम् । बौधायन q. by परा मा. I. 2. p. 2; वापनं वृक्षमेऽहनि कार्यम् । तदाह देवलः । वृक्षमेऽहनि संव्राते स्नानं ग्रामाह वृक्षमेवेत् । तत्र त्याज्यानि वासांसि कोशवद्धनकानि च । ; this verse is q. by the मित्त. on या. III. 17; the मत्. परा. p. 416 after quoting देवल and other authors remarks 'मन्त्रमादिहिनेषु कृतकौर-रयापि ह्यङ्गवर्षे वृक्षमदिनेषु वपनं कर्तव्यम् ।.'

provides<sup>510</sup> *vapana* for all *sapiṇḍas* that are younger than the deceased. The *Madanapārijāta* holds that the performer of cremation rites had to undergo *vapana* on the first day and also on the expiry of the period of impurity, while the *Śuddhiprakāśa* (p. 162) following the *Mit.* on *Yāj. III 17* states that the day on which *vapana* is to be undergone is determined by the usage of each country. This difference in usages has been even judicially noticed. In *Chandra choora Deo v. Bibhuti Bhushan Deva A.I.R.* 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares School the person who performs the cremation shaves his head at the time of cremation, whereas under the Mithilā school there is no such shaving at that time.

The *Garudapurāṇa* (II. 4. 67-69) provides that loud weeping may be indulged in when the body is burning but there should be no weeping after cremation and the offering of water to the departed.

There was some difference of opinion as to the offering of water (*udakakriyā* or *udakadāna*) to the deceased by his *sapiṇḍas* and *samānodakas*. Āśv. gr. quoted above (p. 209) speaks of offering water once, but the *Sat. Śr.* 28. 2. 72 and others prescribe that water mixed with sesame is offered thrice with joined hands on the day of death to the deceased after reciting his gotra and name and every day thereafter up to the 11th.<sup>511</sup> *Gaut. Dh. S.* 14. 38, *Vas.* 4. 12 prescribe that water should be offered by *sapiṇḍas* to the deceased with their faces to the south on the first, third, seventh and ninth days of death and *Haradatta* says that in all 75 *aṅjalis* of water were to be offered (three on 1st day, 9 on 3rd, 30 on 7th and 33 on 9th), but that the usage in his country was that on the first day water was offered three times with joined hands and then one more *aṅjali* on each succeeding day from the 2nd. On the other hand, *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 19. 7 and 13, *Pracetas*, *Paithinasi* (both quoted by *Aparārka* p. 874)

510. अनुभाविना च परिवापनम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 3.10.6. For explanation of this sūtra, vide *mita*, on *yaj. III. 17*.

511. केशान् प्रकीर्य पादौघोप्यैकवाससो दक्षिणासुखाः सकुटुम्भज्ज्योतीर्य सखं जाम्बातप्य वासः पीडयित्वापविशाम्येवं त्रिस्तम्भस्यैवं गोत्रनामधेयं तिलमिधुसुदकं त्रिकस्त्रिचयाहर-हरजलिनैकोत्तरद्वित्रैकादशाहात्। सत्याबादशौत् 28.2.72. The *गी. पि. सू.* I. 4.7 is almost in the same words. The water would be offered in the form 'काश्यपगोत्रं देवदत्तशर्मन्, एतस्ते उदकम्' or 'काश्यपगोत्राय देवदत्तशर्मणे देतायैतत्तिलोदकं ददामि' (हरदत्त) or 'देवदत्तनामा काश्यपगोत्रः त्रेतस्तुप्यह' (*mita*, on *yaj. III. 5.*). Vide *गोभिलस्मृति* III. 36-37 also, q. by *अपरार्क* p. 874 and *परा. मा.* I. 2 p. 287.

prescribe that water and pinda were to be offered to the deceased for ten days.<sup>512</sup> The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 202) quotes verses from Grhya-pariśiṣṭa, one of which says that some declare that only ten añjalis were to be offered, some say 100 were to be offered and others that 55 were to be offered and that one should follow the usage settled in one's vedic Śākhā. The Āśv. gr. pariśiṣṭa 3. 4 has a similar rule in prose. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhanda chap. 5 verses 22-23) also refers to the offering of 10, 55, or 100 añjalis. Some smṛtis prescribed that the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetas (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varṇa. Yama (verses 92-94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pitṛs but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayājñika<sup>513</sup> it is stated that six pindaś were to be offered from the day of death as follows: at the place where the death occurred, at the door of the house, where four roads meet, where the funeral procession on the way to the cemetery rested, on the pile of wood arranged for burning (*citā*), and at the time of the collection of the burnt bones. It was further provided that for the benefit of the departed a lamp fed by sesame oil was to be kept burning continuously for ten days after death and an earthenware vessel was to be kept filled with water and a handful of cooked rice was to be offered on the ground at the time of the mid-day meal after uttering the name and gotra of the departed. This was called *pāṭheya śrāddha* because it helped the departed to go on his way from the earth to the world of the departed (vide Dharmasindhu p. 463). According to some of the digest

512. दिनेदिनेऽञ्जलीं पूर्णान् प्रदद्यात्प्रेतकारणात् । तावद्विंशं कर्तव्यं पावत्येष्टः

समाप्नोते ॥ प्रथेतस् q. by मिता. on य. III. 3; 'पावत्याश्चैवं तावत्येतस्योदकं पिष्टं च दद्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19.13. If water is offered only once a day for ten days there would be only ten añjalis in all, but if 10 were offered on each day there would be 100; if one was offered on first day and one more added on each succeeding day to the 10th there would be 55 añjalis

513. अथ च आश्रोतरं पिष्टदानमुक्तं देवपाशिकोबाहतायां स्मृते । सुतस्योत्कान्तिसं-  
नयात्पितृणां क्रमशो दिशेत् । सुतस्थाने तथा द्वारे चत्वरं वादर्यं कारणात् । विष्णवे  
काङ्क्षन्नेन तथा च चत्वरं च पदं । q. by सुद्धिप्रकाश p. 158. Vide गण्डवुत्तम II. 4.48  
for a similar provision.

a śrāddha called Nagna-pracchādana was to be performed on the day of the death of a person after his sapindaś undergō shaving and bath, enter the village and the house. It consists in filling a jar with grains of rice wound round with a piece of cloth and putting clarified butter in a vessel of bell-metal and some gold (or coins) thereon according to one's ability. The whole was to be given to a poor brāhmana of good family after remembering Viṣṇu for the benefit of the departed. Vide Smṛti-muktāphala (on śr.) pp. 595-596, Sm. C. (on Āśauca p. 176).

The smṛtis and purāṇas (like Kūrma, uttarārḍha 23. 70) prescribe that after offering with joined hands water to the deceased a ball of rice or barley flour with sesame was to be presented on darbha grass. There are two views on this point. According to Yaj. III. 16 a *pinḍa* was to be offered for three days after death according to the procedure prescribed for Pinḍa-pitr-yajña (such as wearing of the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left shoulder); while according to Viṣṇu 19. 13 one *pinḍa* was to be offered every day as long as impurity on death lasted. The *pinḍa* was to be offered on darbhas spread on the ground if the deceased had his upanayana performed, but without mantras or may be offered on a stone.<sup>514</sup> While water could be offered by any and every sapinda, *pinḍa* was to be offered only by the son (and when there were many sons, by the eldest if free from defect); in default of a son the nearest sapinda like a brother or brother's son was to offer it and in default of such then the sapindaś of the mother (maternal uncle, his son or the like) could<sup>515</sup> offer it. Even when *pinḍa*ś were to be offered for three days or *āśauca* lasted only for 3 days the *pinḍa*ś were prescribed to be ten by Śātātapa and Pāraskara distributed them as follows: three on the first day, four on the 2nd and 3 on the third and Dakṣa<sup>516</sup> distributed them as follows: one on the first day, four on the 2nd and five on the 3rd. Pāraskara prescribed that 10, 12, 15, 30 *pinḍa*ś were to be offered according to the varṇa of the deceased. In the case cited above from A. I. R. 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares school 4, 5 or 6

514. इमौ माल्यं पिण्डं पानीयद्रूपले वा दद्यात् । कङ्क q. by मिता. on या. III. 16.

515. दुष्कामाये सपिण्डा मातुसपिण्डाः शिष्याश्च वा दद्यात् । तद्वधाये कल्पिमाचार्यो ।  
मी. ध. सू. 13.13-14.

516. यथैश्वर्येण तत्पिण्डं द्वितीये चतुर्थेऽपि । तृतीये दद्यात् तद्वधायेऽपि विष्णुविधिः स्मृतः ॥  
इक्ष्वा. q. by अपरार्क p. 888.

pīṇḍas are offered at the time of cremation, while according to the Mithilā school only one pīṇḍa is offered. Everybody, whether a person of the same gotra as the deceased or of another gotra, had to carry out all the rites up to the tenth day when he once began them on the day of death, as stated by the *Gṛhya-parīśiṣṭa*<sup>517</sup> and *Garuḍapurāṇa*. It is further prescribed that when the funeral rites are begun by a person and then a nearer relative such as a son comes, even then the former is to carry on all the rites up to the 10th day, but the rites of the 11th and later days are to be performed by the son and in default of him by a near sapīṇḍa. The *Matsyapurāṇa* states<sup>518</sup> that pīṇḍas should be offered to the deceased for twelve days; they become his food on his journey (to the other world) and they give him satisfaction; since the deceased is taken to the abode of departed spirits after twelve days, he (his spirit) sees his house, sons and wife for twelve days. *R̥syaśrīṅga* quoted by *Aparārka* (p. 889) specifies the limbs of an ethereal body with which the deceased is endowed on each day of the ten days after death when a pīṇḍa is offered. The *Garuḍapurāṇa* (*pretakhanda* chap. 5. 33-36) says the same.

Just as sapīṇḍas of the same gotra and *saṃmānodakas* were bound to offer water to the deceased, a person was bound to offer water to his maternal grandfather and to the two further ancestors and to his ācārya on their death. Every man, if he so desired (i. e. he was under no religious duty), could offer water to his friend, to his married sister or daughter, to his sister's son, father-in-law and his sacrificial priest on their death (*Pār. gr. III. 10, Śāṅkha-Likhita, Yāj. 519 III. 4*). *Pāraskara* (*III. 10*) refers to a peculiar practice. When the sapīṇḍas are about to enter water for bathing and thereafter offering water to the deceased they pray to their relatives or brother-in-law for water with the words 'we shall perform udakakriyā', where-upon

517. असमीक्षः समीक्षो वा यदि कीं यदि वा पुमान् । मय्येक्षानि यो दद्यात्त दद्यात् समापयेत् ॥ यद्वापरिशिष्ट q. by मिता. on वा. I. 255 and III. 16, अपरार्क p. 887, मङ्ग. पा. p. 400, हारलता p. 172. This is लज्जाञ्जलायन 20.6 and गण्डपुराण (मेतखण्ड) 5.19-20.

518. मेताय पिण्डदानं तु द्वादशदिनं समाचरेत् । पार्ष्णं तस्य तत्प्रेतः प्रीतिकरं महत् ॥ कस्मात् मेतपुरं मेतो द्वादशदिनं जीवते । द्वादशदिनं मय्यपति । मत्स्यपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 889. These two verses are the same as पञ्चपुराण, कुट्टिकाखण्ड 10.5-6.

519. 'उदकक्रियां कालं चक्षुरमातुल्योः शिष्ये सहाभ्यायिनि राजनि च' । काकुलितिर q. by दीर्घकालिका on वा. III. 4.



the other replies 'do so but don't come again (with a similar request),' if the deceased was less than one hundred years of age, but the reply would be simply 'do so' if the deceased was hundred years of age or more.<sup>520</sup> The G. P. S. (I, 4.4-6) has a somewhat similar symbolic dialogue. A king's officer, a *sagotra* or a brother-in-law takes a branch having thorns and prevents them from entering water with the words 'don't enter'; then the sapindas should reply 'we shall not again enter water'. The probable significance of this was that they thereby would be able to escape from another death in the family soon after.

There were rules prohibiting certain persons from offering water to the deceased and also directing that water should not be offered to certain deceased persons. Impotent<sup>521</sup> persons and the like, thieves of gold, *vrātyas*, those who follow forbidden conduct and women that kill their own foetus or husband and that drink the kind of liquor (forbidden to them) should not offer water to a deceased person. Yāj. (III. 6) provides that water should not be offered to and no *āśauca* observed for heretics, for those who do not belong to one of the four *āśramas*, to thieves, to women who kill their husbands or who are guilty of prostitution or who drink *surā*, or who commit suicide. Manu (V. 89-90) is to the same effect. Gaut. Dh. S.<sup>522</sup> 14. 11 provides that in the case of those who start (through anger) on the Great

520. संयुक्तं मैथुनं नोदकं वाच्यं नोदकं करिष्यामह इति । कुर्वन् न चैवं पुनरित्यशक्त-  
वर्षं प्रेतः । कुर्वन्मित्येवैतरस्मिन् । पातस्कराणां III. 10, which are included in the  
procedure of *udakādāna* even by such a late writer as Govindānanda  
(S. K. p. 122) and explained by छुद्धिमकाश pp. 199-200; अपः पतिपद्यन्ते । अत्र  
राजपुरुषः सगोत्रमिधुनो (सगोत्रो मैथुनी?) वा कण्टकिनीं शास्त्रानामादाय मावतरतेति वारयेत्  
न पुनरवतरिष्याम इति मतिमनुः । गौ. पि. सू. I. 4.3-6.

521. क्लीबाद्या नोदकं कुरुः स्तेना ब्राह्मण विधमिणः । गर्भमर्तुमुहश्चैव क्षुराप्यश्चैव  
योचितः ॥ इत्यमरः q. by कल्पतरु (छुद्धि) p. 89, छुद्धिमकाश p. 203. The word क्लीबाद्याः  
probably includes all those mentioned by Yāj. II. 140. For *vrātyas* vide H.  
of Dh. vol. II. pp. 96, 386.

522. प्रायानाशकशस्त्राग्निविषोदकोद्बन्धनप्रपत्तैश्चेच्छताम् । गौ. 14.11; क्रोधोद्यमाद्ये  
विषं वस्त्रिः शस्त्रमुद्बन्धनं जलम् । गिरिवृक्षमपातं च ये कुर्वन्ति नराधमाः । ब्रह्मदण्डहता ये च ये  
चैव ब्राह्मणैर्हताः । महापातकिनो ये च पतितास्ते प्रकीर्तिताः । पतितानां न दाहः स्थानं च  
रपादरिपयस्तत्रापः । न चाक्षुषातः पिण्डो वा कार्या आहुकिया न च ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by  
हस्त्य on गौ. 14. 11 and by अपरार्क pp. 902-903, quoting many more verses;  
similar rules are laid down by Aśvaśāstram VII. 1. p. 539 (Jiv.), पूर्ववर्त  
verses 178-179, Atri 216-217, कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध chap. 23. verses 60-63) q.  
by हस्त्य on p. 204, छुद्धिम. p. 89.

Journey, who commit suicide by fasting or by means of a weapon or by fire, by poison, in water, by hanging or falling from a precipice or tree, there is no cremation, no *śśauca*, no offering of water or *pinda*. Haradatta on Gaut, 14. 11 quotes three verses from Brahmapurāṇa that those who die of a brāhmaṇa's curse or black magic and those who are *patitas* are dealt with in the same way. But Āngīras (q. by Mit. on Yaj. III. 6) says that if one dies by water or fire or the like through inadvertence, there was *śśauca* for him and *udakakriyā* was performed. Vide Vaik. Sm. S. V. 11 for a long list of persons who must not be cremated. In the Mahābhārata the rites of cremation have been described frequently e. g. the cremation of Pāṇḍu in Ādiparva, chap. 127 (the body was carried in a *śśibikā* covered on all sides, there were musical instruments, the royal parasol and chowries were carried in the procession, distribution of wealth to mendicants, carrying the dead body to the bank of the Ganges on a charming sylvan spot, bathing the body, applying sandalwood paste to it); of Droṇa in Striparva, chap. 23.38-42 (three *Sāmans* were sung, his pupils with Droṇa's wife in front went round the funeral pyre, going to the Ganges); of Bhīṣma in Anuśāśana 169.10-19 (fragrant resins were used on the pyre, his body was covered with fine clothes and flowers, an umbrella and chowries were held over the body, Kaurava women fanned the body with fans, *sāmans* were sung); of Vasudeva in Mausalaparva 7. 19-25; of killed warriors in general in Striparva, chap. 26. 28-43 and of Kuntī, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī in Āśramavāśīkaparva, chap. 39. In the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā, chap. 76 verses 16-20), it is said that the funeral pyre for Daśaratha was made with sandalwood, *aguru* and fragrant resins, with Sarala, Padmaka and Devadāru (pine) wood and various fragrant substances were heaped thereon, then Daśaratha's body was placed on the pyre and that Kausalyā and other women followed the corpse in *śśibikās* and conveyances according to their status.

If an *āhitāgni* died away from home, the Śat. Br. (XII. 5.1.13-14) provides that, having brought his bones home they were to be spread on a black antelope skin and arranged in imitation of the human frame, were to be covered with wool and ghee and burnt with his *śśrauta* fires and sacrificial implements. Similar rules are laid down in Kāt. Śr. 25.8-9, Baud. P. S. III.8, Gobhīlasmṛti III.47, Vas. Dh. S. IV. 37,

If even the bones could not be found, then the sūtras following the Ait. Br. (chap. 32.1) and similar ancient works<sup>523</sup> provide that on a skin of black antelope one should make the effigy of a human frame with *palāśa* stalks (leaves) 360 in<sup>524</sup> number, the effigy should be bound round with woollen thread, should be covered with *yava* flour mixed with water and anointed with clarified butter and cremated with his fires and sacrificial implements. The Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187) contains similar rules about burning an effigy and ordains three days' impurity thereafter. Acc. to a smṛti (q. by Aparārka p. 545), the *palāśa* leaves were to be 362. They were to be distributed according to Baud. P.S. and Gaut. P.S. as follows: 40 represent the head, 10 the neck, 20 the chest, 30 the abdomen (*udara*), 50 each of the arms, 10 the fingers of the two hands, 70 each of the two legs, 10 the toes of the feet, 8 the male organ, 12 the testicles. This is also the enumeration in Sat. Śr. 29.4.39. Vide also Śān. Śr. IV. 15.19-31,<sup>525</sup> Kāt. Śr. XXV. 8.15, Baud. P. S. III 8, G. P. S. II 1.6-14 Gobhila-smṛti III 48, Hārīta q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 186, Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 134-154 and II.40 44 ff. It may be stated here that all the sūtras and smṛtis do not entirely agree as to the number of *palāśa* leaves taken as representing the several parts of the body, as may be seen from a comparison of the Śān. Śr. quoted in the note with Baud. P. S. set out here. A smṛti quoted by Aparārka (p. 545) gives the numbers as follows: 32 for the head, 60 for the neck, 80 for the chest, 20 for the hip and loins, 20 each for the two arms, 10 for fingers, 6 for testicles, 4 for the penis, 60 for the two thighs, 20 for the knees, 20 for the

523. The वे. ब्रा. reads: यदि शरीराणि न विद्येरन् पर्जन्यः वाटिष्ठाणि च ज्ञाताग्राह्यं तेषां पुत्रवरूपकमिव कृत्वा तस्मिन्सामाहृतं कुर्युर्येनाच्छरीरेराहृतेः संस्पृश्याद्वा सपेक्षुरक्षयर्भक्षतं काये सज्जिग्रीवो द्विपञ्चाशो च त्रिंशो चोक्त द्विपञ्चाशो शेषं तु शिरस्युपवृत्तं सा तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिः ।

524. शरीरमात्रे त्रीणि वाटिष्ठालानि पलाशहस्तानां कुण्याजिने पूर्ववत् । कात्या. श्रौ. 23. 8. 15, on which the com. remarks 'पुत्रवद्विष्ट्यादि पूर्ववत् दाहान्तम् । तेषामेव सञ्चयनं पितृमेधश्च तैरेवेति ।'

525. चत्वारिंशच्छिरसि । ग्रीवायां दश । अंसान्मंसयोर्बाह्वोः शतम् । उरसि त्रिंशत् । जठरे विंशतिः । बद्धवृषणयोः । शिरो चत्वारि । ऊर्ध्वोः शतम् । त्रिंशज्जाडुजङ्घनीवतोः । पादाङ्गुलीषु विंशतिः । एवं त्रीणि वाटिष्ठालानि भवन्ति । पुत्रवद्विष्ट्यादि कृत्वोर्णाद्वैः परिषेच्य वरपूर्णेः मलित्य सविधाम्यज्याग्निभिः संस्क्रुतेति । श्रौ. श्रौ. सू. IV. 15. 20-31. Each stalk of *Palāśa* has three leaves; ऊर्णाद्वैः will represent the muscles and वरपूर्णैः will represent flesh. It will be seen that as enumerated in Śān. S. the *palāśa* stalks are exactly 360. The कूर्मपुराण (उत्तर) 23.68 refers to it as 'देवाभावात्पलाशैस्तु कृत्वा मतिकृतिं पुनः ।'

lower parts of the legs, 10 for toes of the feet. *Jātūkarnya* (q. by *Aparārka* p. 545) and *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* (q. by *Śuddhiprakāśa* p. 187) say that when a son does not hear for 15 years about his father who had gone to a distant land, he should perform the cremation of the effigy (called 'ākṛtidahana'). *Brhaspati* advises waiting for 12 years before resorting to *ākṛtidahana* (*Śuddhipr.* p. 187). The *Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra* V. 12 regards the burning of the effigy as a meritorious act for every one and does not restrict it to the case where the body or bones are not found. The *Śuddhiprakāśa* p. 187 quotes several verses from the *Brahmapurāṇa* that the procedure of burning an effigy of palāśa stalks was to be followed even in the case of one who has not consecrated *Śrauta* fires and *āśauca* for three days has to be observed, while the *āśauca* for burning the effigy of an *āhitāgni* was ten days.

It is further provided in *Sat. Śr.* 29. 4. 41, *Baud. P. S.* (III. 7. 4) and *Garudapurāṇa* II. 4. 169-70 that, if after the effigy is cremated in the belief that a person died in a foreign land, he returns alive, then he is plunged in a pit containing clarified butter and then he comes out of it, takes a bath, then all the *saṁskāras* from *jātakarma* are performed on him, then he marries the same wife again or if she be dead, he may marry another girl, then consecrate again *śrauta* fires. Some *sūtras* provide that if the wife of an *āhitāgni* dies before him, he may, if he so desires, cremate her with his *śrauta* fires or he may cremate her with fire prepared from cowdung and some easily inflammable things (like straw) placed in three *sthālis* (cooking pots <sup>526</sup>). *Manu* (V. 167-168) provides that if the *savarna* and virtuous wife of a twice-born person who had consecrated sacred *śrauta* fires died before him she was to be cremated with his fires (*śrauta* and *smārta*) and with the sacrificial implements. Then he may marry again and consecrate *śrauta* or *smārta* fires again. To the same effect are *Yāj. I.* 89, *Baud. P. S. II.* 4. 6, *Gobhila-smṛti* III. 5, *Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra* VII 2, *Yrddha-Hārta* XI. 213, *Laghu-Āsv.* 20. 59. <sup>527</sup> *Viśvarūpa* on *Yāj. I.* 87 quotes a *Kāthaka-śruti* to

526. इच्छन् पत्नीं पूर्वमारिणीमग्निभिः संस्कृत्य सान्तपनेन वायामानीय ततः पुनरावर्धत । शत. श्रौ. IV. 15.32. How the सान्तपन fires are produced is stated in *Sat. Br.* XII. 5. 2.3 'इत्थमेव कुर्यात् । तिस्र एव स्थालीरेष्टवै त्रयास्तासु गोमयानि च क्षुम्बलानि वाषाधाय नाना त्रिष्वग्निषु प्रवृज्यमाने ये ततः सन्तापाद्ग्नयो जायेरंस्तेरेन दहेयुः ।' क्षुम्बल means some material which is easily inflamed such as straw.

527. तस्मादावस्यः एतस्य सर्वा एवाग्निहोत्राद्यर्पेनाग्निना दग्धव्या इति स्थितम् ।... तथा च काठके क्षुतौ श्वाग्नयो वा एते भवन्ति ये एतस्यां प्रमीतायां धार्यन्ते इत्युपक्रम्य 'तस्मात् पत्नीमग्निभिर्वहेत्' इति निरूप्यते विशेषानिधिः । निरूप्य on *Yāj. I.* 87.

the effect that if a person keeps the same śrauta fires after the death of his wife they are (impure like) the fires used for burning a corpse and adds that even if a brāhmaṇa ahitāgni had a wife of the ksatriya class and she died before him, she was to be cremated with his śrauta fires. This view is opposed to that of many other commentators and he explains Manu V. 167 (where 'savarṇām' occurs) as merely illustrative and that if it were interpreted as restricted to a savarṇa wife alone, there would be the fault of *vākya-bheda*. Some of the smṛtis provide that he may remain a widower and perform his Agnihotra by having a golden effigy of the wife or one made of kuśa grass, as Rāma did. Vide Gobhilas-mṛti III. 528 9-10, Vṛddha-Hārta XI 214. If the householder did not marry again (when his wife died before him and was cremated with his śrauta fires) and did not consecrate fresh vedic fires he was to be cremated with ordinary fire. If the householder was unable to marry again, he may cremate his wife with fire kindled by means of the kindling sticks (*araṇis*) and keep his śrauta fires and carry on *agnihotra* with the image or effigy of the wife. If the ahitāgni died first and his wife then died as a widow she was to be cremated with fire (*nirmanthya*) kindled by attrition of the *araṇis*. Vide Baud. P. S. II. 4. 6-8, Kāt. Śr. 29.4. 34-35, and Trikaṇḍa-maṇḍana II. 121. 528a. When the wife was cremated the mantra 'Asmāttvam-abhijātosi' quoted above was not to be recited (vide Gobhilas-mṛti III. 52). It was only a virtuous wife and not an unchaste one that was cremated with śrauta or smārta fire (Gobhilas-mṛti III. 53). Kratu (q. by

528. सुतायामपि भार्याया वैदिकाग्निं न हि त्यजेत् । उपाधिनापि तत्कर्म यावज्जीवं समा-  
पयेत् ॥ रामोऽपि कृत्वा सौवर्णीं सीतां पत्नीं यज्ञस्विनीम् । ईजे यज्ञैर्बहुविधैः सह भ्रातृभिरचितैः ॥  
गोभिलस्मृतौ III. 9-10, the first being quoted by अपरार्क p. 114 as विष्णु's. It  
is also quoted by सुहृत्स्थलत्कार p. 110. अपरार्क does not accept the interpreta-  
tion that the verse सुतायां etc. allows the householder to have an image of his  
deceased wife beside him while performing a Vedic sacrifice. The words  
'उपाधिनापि' according to Aparārka mean that he may marry a woman not of  
the same varṇa. Both verses are q. by सुज्ञेयकाश (pp. 164-165) which  
summarises various views on this point.

528a. तयोर्थः पूर्वो ज्ञेयेत तस्याग्निजेतया यज्ञपात्रैश्च पितृमेधः । यः पश्चात्सर्वोपासनेन ।  
...औपासनेऽविद्यमाने निर्मन्त्रेण पितृमेधः । नौ. पि. ब्र. II. 4. 6-8; compare सरया. औ.  
29.4. 34; 'पत्नी चेद्विधवा भूत्वा प्रणीयेत कदाचन । तदा औताग्निं कुर्यात्वा निर्मन्त्रेणैव यज्ञात् ॥  
त्रिकाण्डमन्त्रण II. 121.

Śuddhiprakāśa p. 166) <sup>528b</sup> and Baud. P. S. III. 1. 9-13 state that a widower and a widow were to be cremated with fire generated on a *kapāla* (made red hot and then cow-dung thrown thereon), a brahmachārī and yati were to be cremated with *uttapana* (or *kapāla*) fire, an unmarried girl and a boy whose Upanayana is not performed are to be cremated with fire produced from chaff. If an *āhitāgni* became *patila* or guilty of suicide in various ways or met death by challenging animals or snakes, his *śrauta* fires were to be cast into water and *smārta* fire was to be cast on the place where four roads meet (or in water), his sacrificial implements were to be burnt (a *smṛti* q. by Par. M. I. 2. p. 226, Parāśara V. 10-11, Vaik. Smārta V. 11) and he was to be cremated with ordinary fire.

Manu V. 68, Yaj. III. 1, Parāśara III. 14, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 27-28, Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Par. M. I. 2 p. 238 provide that in the case of abortion, the foetus, and a still-born child, and a child that has not yet struck teeth should be decked with clothes and the like and should be buried. Children of tender years were not to be cremated, but there was some difference of opinion among ancient writers on the exact age at which one or the other method of disposal was to be resorted to. Parāśara-gr. <sup>528c</sup> III. 10, Yaj. III. 1, Manu V. 68-69, Yama and some others provide that a child that had not completed two years at death was to be buried under ground in an unsullied spot outside the village (other than the usual cemetery), the dead body being anointed with ghee and decked with flowers and sandal paste and that no burning nor offering of water nor the collection of bones was to be performed in this case. The relatives may all follow the body or not

528b विधुरं विधवां चैव कपालस्याग्निना दहेत् । ब्रह्मचारियती चैव दहेदुत्तपनाग्निना ॥  
दुषाग्निना च दग्धव्यः कल्पका बाल एव च । अग्निर्गर्भं कपालं तु कृत्वा तत्र विनिक्षिपेत् ।  
कापीयादि ततो यस्तु जातः स तु कपालजः ॥ कतु q. by सुद्धिप्रकाश p. 166. The उत्तप-  
नाग्नि is explained as दुर्भायेऽग्निं तु प्रज्वाल्य पुनर्बर्हेत् संयुतः । पुनर्बर्हेत् पुतीयेग्निरेव  
उत्तपनः स्मृतः ॥ स्मृत्यन्तर q. by सुद्धिप्रकाश 166 ; अथाहिताग्निः... यज्ञपार्श्वश्च । दृष्टस्थ-  
मौपासनेन । ब्रह्मचारिणं कपालसन्तपनाग्निना ॥ उत्तपनीयेनेतरान् । एवं क्षिप्यः नौ. वि. सू.  
III. 1. 9-13.

528c. अधोदककर्मादिवर्षे मेते मात्रापित्रोराशीर्चं शौचमेतेतरेषामेकारात्रं त्रिरात्रं च ।  
शरीरमङ्गुष्ठा निखनन्ति ।... नाधोदककर्म । पारस्कारयुक्ता III. 10 ; ऊनद्विवापिकं मेतं घृताकं  
निखनेद्भुवि । यमगाथा गायमानो यमसूक्तमनुस्मरन् । यम q. by मित्रा on या. III. 1. यमगाथाः  
are verses addressed to यम such as 'nāke suparnam' (Rg. X. 123.6 acc. to  
दीपकालिका), or तै. अ. VI. 5. 3 अहुरहर्नयमानो नामस्यं द्रुक्षुर्जगत् । देवस्वतो न द्रुपति  
यजामिर्मानवेर्यमः ॥, or नौरुष कौण्डिण्य जगत् and the two following verses from तै. अ.,  
VI. 5.2 (acc. to अपरार्क p. 871) and द्युतिश्च. (आशीचक्राण्ड p. 201).

and Yama allows the recital of the Yamasūkta (Rg. X. 14) and the verses in honour of the god Yama. Manu V. 70, however, states other optional provisions viz. that the offering of water may be done (and therefore the cremation also of the dead body) in the case of infants that have struck teeth or after *nāmakaraṇa*. Therefore there is an option as to cremating an infant of less than two years, viz. it may be buried or cremated after *nāmakaraṇa* or after the appearance of teeth. In this case it is not necessary that all the *sapinda* relatives should follow the dead body. If a child is two years old or more at death and *upanayana* has not been performed it must be cremated with ordinary fire and water must be offered silently. The same rule applies to a child whose *cūḍā* (tonsure) had been performed before death as stated by Laugākṣi.<sup>528d</sup> The Vaik. Sm. S. V.11 lays down that there is no burning with fire until the 5th year for a boy and the 7th year for a girl. After *Upanayana* the child was to be cremated according to the rites prescribed for an *āhitāgni* so far as they could be applied (i. e. there would be cremation without sacrificial implements and the mantra 'asmāt tvam-*abhijātosī*' was not to be recited). The Baud.<sup>529</sup> P. S. (II. 3.10-11) provides that there is no cremation for children dying before the performance of *cūḍā* (tonsure) and there is no *pitṛmedha* for those whose *upanayana* had not been performed at death or for unmarried girls. It also provides that infants that have struck no teeth are to be buried with syllable 'om' and those that have had teeth with the *Vyākṛtis*. The Mit. on Yāj. III.2 summarises the rules as follows: Before *Nāmakaraṇa* there was to be only burial and no offering of water and the like; after *Nāmakaraṇa* up to the third year cremation and offering of water are optional with burial; from the third year up to *upanayana* there is cremation and also offering of water but silently (without mantras); if *Cūḍā* ceremony was performed before the 3rd year and the child died then also the same rule applied. After *Upanayana* the deceased was to be cremated with ordinary fire but the procedure was to be the same as for an *āhitāgni*.

528d. दुष्णीमिबोवकं कुयन्तूष्णीं संस्कारमेव च । सर्वेषां कृतशूलानामयन्नापीच्छया  
इव च ॥ लौगाक्षि १. by मित्त. on या. III. 1.

529. न प्राहुः बौद्धात्मनीतानां दहनं विद्यते । नाहुपनीतानां कस्यानां वा पितृमेघः ।  
बी. वि. द् II. 3. 10-11. सायण on ते आ. III. 21 explains 'आहिताग्निमेवे सति  
यो ब्रह्मतत्त्वं जानाति तस्य दहनादिसंस्कारो ब्रह्ममेवः । आहिताग्नेर्यो दहनादिसंस्कारः सोऽथ  
पितृमेघः ।'

A yati (sannyāsin) was and is even now buried. In a previous note (n. 528b) a verse of Kratu is quoted that a brahmācārin and yati are to be cremated with *uttapana* fire. The explanation of the Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 166) is that the word yati here means an ascetic of the Kuticaka kind and quotes a<sup>530</sup> verse as to how the dead bodies of the yatis of four grades are to be disposed of. The<sup>531</sup> Baud. P. S. III.11 gives a brief description which is adopted with some variations by the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 98) that contains a description of the death rites of a *parivrājaka*.<sup>532</sup> One should go to the east or north of the village, he should dig a pit (lit. a sacrificial place) as deep as the staff (carried by the yati) under a palāśa tree or on a river bank or on some other pure spot to the accompaniment of the *vyāhrtis*; then he should sprinkle water thereon thrice repeating the seven *vyāhrtis* each time, should spread darbha grass on the bottom of the pit, should deck the dead body (with garlands, sandal paste), deposit the body in the pit with the *mantra* (Tai. S. I.1.3.1) 'O Viṣṇu! guard this offering (the dead body).' He should place in the right hand the staff of the *parivrājaka* (breaking it into three parts) with the *mantra* 'Viṣṇu took strides over this' (Rg. I.22.17, Vāj. S. V. 15, Tai. S. I.2.13.1). He places the *śikya* (loop of strings) in the left

530. कुटीचकं तु प्रवहेत्पूरयेच्च बहुवक्त्रम् । हंसो जले तु निक्षेप्यः परहंसं प्रपूरयेत् ॥  
q. by स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98, वृद्धिप्रकाश p. 166. For the four kinds of sannyāsins, vide of H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 338-342.

531. अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः । पृथिव्यां 'अक्षिण्यामोषधीभ्याम्' इति शरीरं निधाय 'भूमिर्भूमिमगात्माता मातरमप्यगात् । भूयास्म पुत्रं । पञ्चभिर्यो नो द्वेष्टि स भिद्यताम्' इत्युदरे पात्रं निधायथ होतारमधीत्य तस्य दक्षिणे हस्ते कमण्डलुं निदधाति प्याद्वतिभिर्वैवयजनं पूरयेत् 'अग्निनाग्निः समिध्यते' इत्यशेषसंस्कारोऽश्वमेधफलम् । तत्रोदाहरन्ति । शुगलश्च वायसाः खादन्ति चेद्दोषमाहारयेत्कर्तुः तस्मादभिज्ञाङ्गं वेदिं प्रच्छादयेदिति बोधायनः । बौ. पि. सू. III. 11. अग्निना अग्निः is Rg. I. 12.6 (= Tai. S. I. 4.46.3). The *mantra* भूमिर्भूमिः occurs in बौ. . सू. I. 4.9 also,

532. अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिः । ग्रामात्माचीयुदीचीं वा गत्वा नङ्गवृक्षस्याधस्तात्तद्दीपिरे वा कुञ्ची देशे वा दण्डप्रमाणं देवयजनं प्याद्वतिभिः खात्वा त्रिःसप्तप्याद्वतिभिः प्रोक्ष्य दर्भान्संस्तीर्यालङ्क्य शवं निदधाति श्वश्रे विष्णो हव्यं रक्षस्वेति । इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे इति दक्षिणहस्ते दण्डं निदधाति । यदस्य पारि रजस इति सव्यहस्ते शिक्वम् । येन देवाः पवित्रेणेति कुले जलपवित्रम् । सावित्र्या उदरे नङ्गभाजनम् । भूमिर्भूमिनेति शुद्धो कमण्डलुः । क्षितिः क्षुण्णिति दशहन्तित्रिभिरक्षुमन्त्रयते । नात्र शेषसंस्काराः पूर्वमनुष्ठितव्यात् । सर्वसङ्गनिवृत्तस्य ध्यानयोगरतस्य च । न तस्य दहनं कार्यं नक्षौचं नोदकक्रिया ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98. The Baud. Gr. Śeṣasūtra IV. 17.9 reads 'शुद्धो कमण्डलुः चैव भूमिर्भूमिमगादिति'. The verse सर्वसङ्गः occurs in Baud gr. Śeṣasūtra IV. 17. 17-18. According to the Baud. Dh. S. II. 10.11 the paraphernalia of a yati is: यक्षयः शिक्वयं जलपवित्रं वामण्डलुं पात्रमिति.



hand with the mantra 'what is beyond this world' (Tai. S. IV.2.5.2), the piece of cloth used as a water-strainer on the mouth with the words 'by which strainer the gods' (Tai. Br. I.4.8.6), the pot on his belly with the Gāyatri stanza (Rg. III.62.10, Vāj. S. III. 35, Tai. S. I.5.6.4), his water pot near his private parts with the mantra 'earth went to earth'. He then invokes with the mantras beginning with 'cittiḥ sruk' (ten sentences in Tai. Ā., Maitrāyaṇī S. I 9. 1 which are called 'caturhotāraḥ').<sup>533</sup> The other rites are not performed here as they were performed before. No cremation should be done, no *āśauca* should be observed nor should water be offered to (an ascetic who is dead) who was free from all attachments and who had given himself up to meditation. The Smṛtyarthasāra adds that no *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha* nor *sapīṇḍikarāṇa* is performed for an ascetic, but only *pūrvāṇa* on the 11th day, that a *kuṭīcaka* should be cremated, the *bahūdaka* should be buried, *haṁsa* should be thrown into water and *paramahaṁsa* should be thoroughly buried. The Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 634-635) quotes the Smṛtyarthasāra and then adds a few details from Brhat-Śaunaka, viz. that the dead body of a *yati* should be bathed with the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X, 90), then the pit (dug for burial) should be sprinkled eight times with the syllable 'Om' on all sides; having deposited the body in the pit with the Yajus formula 'O Viṣṇu! guard this offering' (Tai. S. I. 1. 3.1) and with 'Om', he should place in the right hand the staff with the mantra 'Viṣṇu took strides over this' (Rg. I. 22. 17), then pierce the crown of the head with a conch by repeating the mantra 'bhūr-bhuvah-svah', he should fill up the pit with salt to the recitation of the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90). He should fill up the pit thoroughly (with sand) in order to guard against jackals and dogs and the like (exhuming the body with their paws). The Dharmasindhu (p. 497) adds some details particularly as to the number of hymns and mantras to be repeated. It states that the crown of the head should be pierced with a conch or an axe, that one who is unable to do this should smash a ball of jaggery placed on the head. It adds that no *yati* except *kuṭīcaka* should be cremated. In modern times a *sannyāsin* is always buried and not cremated, since *kuṭīcaka* and *bahūdaka* kinds of *yati* are no longer in vogue and it is only the *paramahaṁsa* that is prevalent in the whole of India. The reason why ascetics were buried and not cremated

533. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 993 notes 2247 and 2248 for the *Daśahotāraḥ* and their relation to *caturhotāraḥ*.

appears to me to be as follows; part of the procedure of becoming an ascetic consisted in giving up his śrauta fires and throwing in fire his sacrificial wooden implements (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 954). One of the rules for ascetics is that he should not kindle śrauta or smārta fires nor kindle ordinary fire for cooking his food but was to subsist on cooked food obtained by begging (H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 933-934). The householder was cremated with his śrauta or smārta fire but the ascetic, having abjured these, was without any fire and was therefore buried. The Vaikhanasasmārtasūtra X. 8 (ed. by Caland) contains a brief description of the burial of an ascetic who was not an āhitāgni and the cremation of an ascetic who was āhitāgni.

Special rules were laid down about the cremation of women dying in or immediately after child-birth and women dying while still in their monthly illness. A smṛti quoted by the Mit. and the Smṛti-candrikā (I. p. 121) provides that in the case of a *sūtikā*, one should take water and *pañcagavya* in a jar, should repeat holy texts (such as 'āpo hi sthā' Rg. X. 9. 1-9, verses addressed to Varuṇa) over them, should then bathe the *sūtikā* with water and *pañcagavya* and then cremate the body. A woman in her monthly illness was to be similarly bathed and she was to be covered with another garment and then cremated. Vide Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 171 ff and Nirṇayasindhu p. 621. Similarly, elaborate rules are prescribed about the rites of cremation in relation to the death of a pregnant woman (vide Baud. P. S. III. 9, Nirṇayasindhu p. 622) which are passed over here.

Dead bodies were disposed off in different ways at different times and in different countries. The various methods of disposal were cremation, burial underground, water burial, exposure of the body for being destroyed<sup>534</sup> by vultures and other birds (as among Zoroastrians) or beasts, being preserved in

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534. According to the Parsi scriptures burying a human corpse in the earth was a grave sin and if the body was not disinterred there was no atonement in the case of a professor of the law of Mazd or one who had studied it and if he did not disinter it within six months or within a year, he was liable to receive five hundred or a thousand stripes respectively. Vide Vendidad, Fargard III (S. B. E. Vol. 4 pp. 31-32). Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains to be devoured by birds and dogs and the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of the Mazdean profession (S. B. E. Vol. IV part I Intro. p. XLV),

caves,<sup>535</sup> or being mummified (as in Egypt). The general rule in India from times of which we have literary evidence was cremation; though burial took place in certain exceptional cases such as in the case of infants, ascetics &c. How the ancient Indians hit upon this scientific though rather heart-rending method of the disposal of dead bodies it is difficult to say<sup>536</sup>. Burials were not unknown in India even in very early times, as Atharvaveda 5. 30. 14 (mā nu bhumigrho bhuvat) and 18. 2. 34 show. The last may be rendered as follows: O Agni! bring all those *pitr*s here in order that they may partake of the offering, those (*pitr*s whose bodies) were buried or cast aside (exposed) or burnt or deposited above (on trees or in caves?)<sup>536a</sup>. In the word 'anagnidagdhāḥ' occurring in Rg. X. 15. 14, scholars see a reference to burial. But it is quite possible that no burial is referred to. If some ancestors were killed far from home in a fight or if they were kidnapped and killed by enemies, their bodies might have been left uncared for in a distant land and not cremated nor buried. A passage in the Chāndogya<sup>537</sup> Up. (VIII. 8. 5) is construed by some scholars as referring to burials. It may be rendered as follows: Therefore they designate even now a man, an *asura* who does not make gifts, who has no faith and who offers no sacrifices; for this is the esoteric doctrine of Asuras. They deck out the body of the dead with *bhikṣā* (perfumes and flowers?), with a raiment by way of decoration, and think that they will thus conquer the next world. Though the passage is not quite clear, the reference to Asuras, their usage of decorating the dead body and thereby being able to gain the next world render it probable that the usage of the burial of the body among Asuras is referred to. In Rg. VII. 89. 1 the sage prays 'O Varuṇa!

535. In Rome the bones of over 4000 monks are preserved in the walls of the subterranean burial chapels in the Capuchin Church near the Piazza Barberini. For a description of the catacombs in Rome, vide Puckle's 'Funeral customs' p. 136 (quoting from Frothingham).

536. Vuilliamy in 'Immortal man' (p. 34) throws out the suggestion that one of the purposes of cremation may have been the complete destruction of the human aspect of the ghost or its transference to a region from which contact with mankind in any material sense was impossible.

536 a. ये निखाता ये परोता ये दग्धा ये चोद्धिताः। सर्वोस्तान्म आ वह पिबून्मविभे अस्तवे॥ अथर्व० 18.2.34.

537. तस्मादप्यद्योहादवानमश्रद्धधानमपजमानमाहुरासुरो बतेत्यसुराणां ह्येषोपनिषत्पेतस्य सतीरं भिक्षया बतमेनालङ्कारेणेति संस्कृत्ययेतेन ब्राह्मं लोकं जेष्यन्तो मय्यन्ते। छा. उप. VIII. 8.5.

may I not go to the earthen house'. This is probably a reference to burial. Besides, after the charred bones were collected, they were placed in an urn or pot, which was buried in the ground and after a good deal of time a mound (śmaśāna) was built upon the bones as will be seen immediately from a passage in the Śat. Br. and other sources. In A. V. XVIII. 2. 25 it is said, 'may the tree not oppress them, nor the great goddess Earth'. This is probably a reference to a coffin and burial.

It is somewhat curious that the progressive nations of the West, believing in a literal interpretation of the Biblical words (such as Matthew 22. 23-33, Mark 12. 18-27 and Luke 20. 37-38, John 5. 19-31 and 6. 32-56) about physical resurrection of the dead, held fast by burial alone and up to the end of the 19th century people in Christendom would not allow the cremation of a dead body. The case of *Reg. v. Price* illustrates how deep the sentiment against cremation was and how popular fury prevented Price from disposing of the body of his dead child of five months by petroleum fire in a field, how he was prosecuted for two offences viz. misdemeanor at Common Law for burning a dead body instead of burying it and misdemeanor on the ground that he attempted to burn the body with intent to prevent an inquest being held on it by the coroner.<sup>538</sup> It was only in 1902 that the Cremation Act (2 Edw. 7 Ch. 8) was passed empowering burial authorities to establish crematoria on plans approved by the Minister of Health. The Catholic Church does not even now allow cremation. The ancient Romans on the other hand held cremation as the honourable means of the disposal of the dead body but reserved burial for the suicide and the murderer.

Embalming the dead for some time at least was not quite unknown in India. The Śat. Śr. 29. 4. 29 and Vaik. Śr. 31.23<sup>539</sup> prescribe that if an ahiṭāgni died away from his people his corpse should be laid down in a tub or trough filled with sesame oil and brought home in a cart. In the Rāmāyaṇa it is several times said that the body of Daśaratha was placed for several

538 (1884) 12 Q. B. D. p. 247. Ultimately Price was acquitted on both charges.

539. अहिताग्निमज्जने प्रसीतं तैलद्रोण्यामवधाय झकटेनाहरन्ति निर्मल्येन वा दग्ध्वा कुण्डलाजिनेऽग्नीनि निधायान्तेन वाससा संवेष्ट्य क्षीर्वासे प्रवधयामधो निदधानाः प्रयता दृग्मयभाजना आहरन्ति। सत्या. श्रौ. 29.4. 29; almost the same words occur in वैकान्तश्रौत 31.23 p. 312 (Caland's ed.).

days in a tub containing oil till the arrival of Bharata (vide Ayodhya 66. 14-16, 76.4). In the Visṇupurāṇa <sup>540</sup> it is stated that the body of Nimi being covered with oil and fragrant substances did not become decomposed and looked as if the death was recent.

What the state of things was before the composition of the Rgveda cannot be said with certainty. There is no general agreement as to the age of the Rgveda and of the ruins found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Sir John Marshall (in Mohenjo-daro vol. I. p. 86) refers to complete burials, partial burials and post cremation burials. The excavations at Lauriya <sup>541</sup> Nandan-garh have brought to light supposed Vedic burial mounds in which has been found a small *repousse* golden plaque bearing the figure of a nude female, the Earth Goddess. These and the disposal of corpses in paleolithic ages are matters for archaeologists and are outside the proper scope of the present work.

The Hāralatā (p. 126) quotes a passage from the Ādipurāṇa to the effect that Magas (Magians) are buried underground and that Daradas and Luptarakas (?) go away after placing their dead relatives on trees. <sup>541a</sup>

It appears that among early Buddhists in India hardly any religious ceremony was performed, whether the person deceased was a layman or even a member of the Order. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta the death and the funeral ceremonies of the great founder of Buddhism are described in chapter VI (Section 14 ff). All that is gathered from that chapter is that the favourite disciple of the Buddha, Ānanda, uttered a stanza, some of the disciples that were not free from passion wept and fell headlong on the ground, while others (who were Arāhats) bore the grief with composure, that next morning Ānanda went to the Mallas of Kusināra, that the Mallas took perfumes,

540. निमिरपि तच्छरीरमतिमोहं तैलमन्थादिभिर्व्याप्तिक्रयमाणं देव क्लृप्तादिकं दोषमवाप सद्यो सुतमिव तस्यौ। निष्कृष्टान IV. 5. 7.

541. Vide T. Bloch in Z. D. M. G. vol. 60 pp. 227-232 for the excavations at Lauriya; also Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India for megalithic burial and urn fields in South India; Prof. V. G. Childe in 'Man' for 1945 p. 13 ff. for the disposal of corpses in Paleolithic, Neolithic and Bronze ages and Prof. E. O. James in 'Christian Myth and Ritual', chap. VII on 'Last rites.'

541a. मजा हूतो निष्कम्बन्तो वरहास्यं वृत्तात् सहा। आसद्य (उय?) हुको वृत्तान्ति छुत्तकाश्च स्वयम्भवाश्च। अविहुराश्च q. by हारलता p. 126 which explains "वरहवृत्ता-धर्मस्तु वनस्पत्यावृत्तौ प्रवृत्तादितमवेको वर्धमेकमवलम्ब्य स्थापयन्। ततो वज्रजलकादितिरय वृत्तः।

garlands, all musical instruments and five hundred suits of apparel, the Mallas passed seven days in paying homage to the body of the Buddha that lay in the sāla grove with dancing, hymns, music, garlands and perfumes, in making canopies of their garments, that on the 7th day they carried the body of the Blessed One to the south but owing to a miracle (described in sections 29-32) they carried it through the city by the north gate and laid the body to the east (the general rule was that a dead body was not to be carried through the middle of a village, and was to be carried to the south but as Buddha was so extraordinary and holy the above was allowed to be done). The body of the Buddha was then wrapped in a new cloth, then with cotton wool, then in a new cloth and so on till 500 layers of cloth and cotton wool covered the body. The body was then placed in an oil vessel of iron which was covered with another oil vessel of iron. Then a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes was built upon which the body was placed. Then Mahākassapa and five hundred brethren accompanying him arranged their robes on one shoulder (representing the way in which the sacred thread is arranged among the brāhmaṇas), bowed down with clasped hands, went round the body reverently thrice. The body was then burnt and only bones remained. Then the narrative states that Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vesālī and several others claimed portions of the relics of the Buddha. Then the relics were divided into eight parts. Those who received them built mounds (*Thūpas*) over the relics and the Moriyas who got only embers also built a Thūpa over them and a brāhmaṇa Dona (Drona) built a mound over the jar (kumbha) in which the bones were collected. Mr. Rhys Davids remarks (S. B. E. vol. XI Introduction p. XLV) 'though funerals are naturally not infrequently mentioned in the historical books and in the Birth stories there is nowhere any reference to a recognised mode of performing any religious worship'. It will be noticed that the Buddhist ritual<sup>542</sup>, though simple, agrees closely with some of the rules of Āśv. gr.

542. Vide Fleets' papers in J. R. A. S. for 1906 pp 655-671 and 881-913 on the disposal of the bones and ashes of Buddha based on the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, the Divyāvadāna, Fa Hian's work, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and other writings. He therein states his view that the Piprahava relic vase, on which there is an inscription that is the oldest Indian Inscription found up to date (it is about 375 B. C.) and in which 700 articles were

After the relatives (sons and the like) of a deceased person have offered water, have taken a bath and after they emerge from the water (of a river or the like) and are sitting on a plot of soft green grass, elderly persons should talk to them (in order to lessen their grief) about ancient narratives (Yāj. III. 7 and G. P. S. I. 4.2<sup>543</sup>). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 22-53 contain a long disquisition on the grip that *Kāla* (Time, Death) has on every body including even Indra, gods, *daityas*, great kings and sages, how everyone that is born is sure to die (i. e. Death is inevitable), and how no one (except the wife) can follow the departed on his journey to the other world, how the good actions and bad actions will accompany the spirit of the dead, how śrāddha confers great benefit on the departed; it winds up that therefore the surviving relatives should offer śrāddha and give up lamentations that help no one, that it is *dharma* that alone follows the soul through his wanderings<sup>544</sup>. Yāj. III. 8-11 (= Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 81-84) are verses in a similar strain and are intended to serve the same purpose. They are: 'He, who seeks everlastingness in this human life that is as devoid of strength as the stock of a plantain plant, and that is as inconstant as a bubble of water, is a deluded person. What is the use of lamentation if the body, created out of the five elements by reason of actions performed in a former life, returns to those five elements? The earth, the ocean and the gods

(Continued from the last page)

found, enshrines the relics, not of the Bhagavān Buddha, but of his kinsmen. Fleet further refers to the tradition that the great emperor Aśoka dug up seven out of the eight mounds of the relics of Buddha and transferred almost all their contents to 84000 boxes of gold and silver and distributed them throughout India and built monuments (stūpas) over them. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (pp. 78-80), after stating that deceased persons of distinction either by birth or wealth or official status or as public teachers were cremated and the ashes were buried under a *stōpe* (Pāli 'thūpa'), remarks 'The dead bodies of ordinary people were disposed of in a unique way. They were put away in a public place. There as a rule the bodies or the remains of the pyre were not buried but left to be destroyed by birds or beasts or dissipated by the process of natural decay'.

543. लोकसूक्ष्मं कल्याणमिर्वाग्धिः सत्त्विकाभिः कपाभिः दुरागैः लुब्धकैः सुखा सोऽसुखा ब्रजन्ति। नीतमपि दुर्मेधसूत्र I. 4. 2.

544. It may be noted that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 29, 48-49 and 51-53 are the same or almost the same as Bhagavadgītā II. 27, 28, 13, 23-25 respectively. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 47 (yathā dhenusahasreṣu &c.) is the same as Śāntiparva 181. 16, 187.27 and 323.16 and Viṣṇudharmottara II. 78. 27; and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20.41 is the same as Śānti 175. 15 and 322. 73. The कल्प-तंत्र (सूत्रि pp. 91-97) quotes वाङ्. (III. 7.11), विष्णु 20.22-53 and गीता II. 13, 28.

are destined to go to destruction (at some future date when *pralaya* takes place). How is it possible that the world of mortals which is (evanescent) like foam will not meet with destruction? As the departed spirit, being helpless, has to swallow the tears and phlegm cast by kinsmen, they should not weep but should perform (obsequial) rites according to their ability.' Gobhilasmr̥ti III. 39 urges 'do not lament for what is perishable and what is the characteristic (destiny) of all beings. Exert yourselves in the performance of meritorious acts which will accompany you.' Gobhila then quotes Yāj. III. 8-10 and one verse from the Mahābhārata <sup>54a</sup> viz. 'All collections are to end in dissipation, all rise is to end in fall, all unions in separation and life in death'. Aparārka quotes the Rāmāyaṇa and Vāsudeva's words from the Śalyaparva to Dhṛtarāṣṭra on the death of Duryodhana. The Par. M. I. 2 pp. 292-93, the Śuddhi-prakāśa pp. 205-206 and several other works quote the verses of Viṣṇu, Yāj. and Gobhila.

The Garudapurāṇa here (II. 4. 91-100) waxes eloquent over the immolation of a wife on her husband's funeral pyre, over the miraculous power of a *pativratā*, and states that a brāhmaṇa woman should not burn herself apart from her husband's body (or after he is cremated), but that kṣatriya and other women may do so, that the practice of *satī* is common to all women even including chāṇḍāla women, but pregnant women or those that have young children should not do so and that a woman does not become free from the liability to be born again and again as a woman until she becomes a *Satī*.

After listening to the philosophical discourse of elders the relatives return to their house, placing children in front and standing at the door of the house, they with minds under control bite the leaves of the *nimba* tree, perform *ūcamana*, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard; then they should enter their house after slowly (firmly) planting their foot on a stone. According <sup>54b</sup> to Śaṅkha the relatives should touch the tendrils of *Dūrvā*, fire and a bull, should offer a *piṇḍa* to the departed at

544a. सर्वे क्षयान्ता निश्चयाः पतनान्ताः सञ्जुष्टयाः । संयोगो विमयोगान्ता मरणान्तं च जीवितम् ॥ This is Śāntiparv 331.20 (in 330. 20 in Citrasālā edition).

545. दूर्वायपालमग्निं दूषयं चालभ्य दृष्ट्वारे मेताय पिण्डं दत्त्वा पञ्चात्मविशेषुः । कण्टकं, by मिता. on वा. III. 13, पृष्ठ. म. I. 2 p. 293.



the door of the house and then enter it. Baijavāpa <sup>516</sup> q. by Śuddhitattva prescribes the mantras to be recited in touching *śamī*, the stone (*āsmā*), fire and provides further that a cow and a goat should be touched holding fire between themselves and these animals; food should be purchased or obtained from another's house, it should be of one kind only without salt, that they should for one day eat only by day and stop all actions for three days. Yaj. III. 14 prescribes that the actions prescribed by him in III. 12 for relatives (viz. biting *nimba* leaves up to entering the house) must be done by others who, though no relatives, carried the corpse or decked it &c.

The Śān. Śr. IV. 15.10, the Āśv. gr. IV. 4.17-27, Baud. P. S. I. 12.10, Kausikasūtra 82.33-35 and 42-47, Pār. gr. III. 10, Āp. Dh. S. I. 3.10.4-10, Gaut. Dh. 14.35-36 Manu V. 73, Vas. 4.14-15, Yaj. III. 16-17, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19.14-17, Samivarta 39-43, Śaṅkha 15.25, Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5.1-5) and others lay down several rules for those (both men and women) who have lost a near *sapiṇḍa* by death to be observed immediately after they return from the cremation and for three more days. <sup>517</sup> The Śān. Śr. provides that they should sleep on the bare ground (not on a cot), they should subsist on sacrificial food, they should give up the performance of their usual religious duties (except in relation to the vedic fires) for one night, three nights or nine nights or till the day of the collection of the bones. The Āśv. gr. (IV. 4.17-24) provides these observations viz. 'Let them not cook food during that night, let them subsist on bought food or on food received from others,

546. शमीमालभन्ते शमी पापं शमयन्ति अश्मानमग्नेव स्थितो भूयासमिति अग्नि-  
मग्निर्नः शर्म यच्छान्तिं उपोतिष अन्तरा नाममजस्रपशून्तः क्षीत्वा लम्बा वा माप्य गृहमे-  
कात्मलवणमेकरात्रं विवा भोक्तव्यं त्रिरात्रं च कर्मोपरमणम् । वैजवाप quoted in  
कल्पतरु (शुद्धि p. 100), छुद्धितत्त्व p. 319, the छुद्धितत्त्व itself being q. by निर्णयसिन्धु  
III. p. 580 (which reads लम्बा वाप्यनेहादिका-).

547. अधः शय्या हविष्यभक्ष्यता मत्सृहन् च कर्मणा वैतानवर्जमेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं नवरात्रं  
वा, वासञ्जयनाद्व्रतानि । शं. श्रौ. IV. 15.10; मातरि पितर्यचार्य इति त्रिरात्रमक्षारलवण-  
भोजनमभःशयनं ब्रह्मचर्यं इवहं बहहं द्वादशाहं संवत्सरं यावत् ब्रह्मं द्वादशाहवार्यं परम-  
शुभं चैवमर्चोदकमितरेषु त्रिरात्रं यावज्जीवं वेतयन्ती । बो. पि. सू. I. 12.10; न स्वाध्यायम-  
धीयीरन् । नित्याग्निं निवर्तेरन्वैतानवर्जम् । शालाङ्गो चैके । अग्न्य एतानि कुर्तुः । पार. श्रु.  
III. 10 (ascribed to पैठीनसि in मिता. on वा. III. 17); उभयत्र द्वादशानि कुलस्याहं  
न मुञ्चते । द्वात्रिंशतिग्रहो होमो स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते॥ cited as मनु's in अपराङ्क p. 892,  
पार. मा. I. 2. p. 211. Aparārka and others explain that the cessation of homa  
refers to smārta and not to *śrauta* homa. The last verse is ascribed to दम  
by मिता. on वा. III. 17, where it adds the half verse वृत्तके तु कुलस्याहमर्चयेवं मनु-  
जयीत् । The विष्णुपुराण III. 13.18 reads वृत्तचर्चोर्द्वादशानि कुलस्याहं...निवर्तते ॥

let them eat no mineral salt or ordinary <sup>548</sup> salt for three nights, let them optionally avoid for twelve nights the distribution of gifts and the study of vedic texts if one of the principal gurus (father, mother or the teacher who performed upanayana and taught the whole Veda) dies. Pār. gr. III. 10 adds that they should remain chaste, eat food only once in the day and that they should not repeat Veda study, and should give up the daily obligatory duties except those connected with Vedic fires. Manu (V. 73) adds that they should not eat flesh for three days. Vas. (4.14-15) lays down that the relatives who returned from the cemetery should sit down for three days on mats and fast, that if they are unable (to fast for three days) they should subsist on food bought in the market or obtained unasked. Yāj. III. 17 and Pār. III. 10 <sup>549</sup> provide that for the night they should put milk and water in an earthen vessel in the open space (on a *śikya*) with the words 'O departed one! bathe here (in the water) and drink this milk'. Yāj. III. 17, Pāṭhīnāsī, Manu V. 84, Pār. gr. III. 10, and others state that the relatives of the departed should perform their own daily rites to be performed in the *śrauta* fires (such as Agnihotra and Darśapūrṇamāsa) and in the *smārta* fire (such as morning and evening *homa*) on account of the peremptory dictates of the Veda (such as 'one should perform Agnihotra as long as one lives'). The commentators have added several limitations and restrictions. The Mit. <sup>550</sup> on Yāj. III. 17 states that, as Manu V. 84 only prohibits the stopping of the rites in (Vedic and Smārta) fires, such religious duties as the five daily *Mahāyajñas* are excluded, that Vaiśvadeva, though performed in fire, is excluded because there is an express text of Samvarta a brāhmaṇa should be without Vaiśvadeva for ten days (after the death of a sapinda), that the Śrauta and Smārta rites should be got performed by another, as Pāraskara (III. 10 'anya etāni kuryuḥ') expressly lays down. Only *nitya* and *naimittika* acts to be performed in Vedic and Smārta fires are allowed and so *kāmya* rites cannot be performed. Even at present Agnihotrina

548. For the different explanations of 'kṣāra-lavaṇa' vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 304 n. 723.

549. वेताञ्च स्नाहीत्युक्तं स्वाप्यं पिब वेदमिति क्षीरम् । पार. वृ. III. 10.

550. सूतके कर्मणां त्यागः सम्प्रदायिनां विधीयते—इति यद्यपि सम्प्रदायाः विविक्तैः सूते तथाञ्जलिप्रक्षेपादिकं कुर्यात् । सूतके साभिज्या ऋजलि प्रक्षेप्य प्रक्षेपिणं कृत्वा सूर्यं इषाय-  
ज्जनसकुर्यादिति पेडीनासिस्मरणात् । मिता. on या. III. 17. सूतके कर्मणां त्यागः is गोभिल-  
सूत्रे III. 60. Vide विश्वपुराण III. 13. 18 'दानं प्रतियदो होतः स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते'.

perform their śrauta *nitya homa* during days of impurity themselves, though some get it performed by another. (Vide Yaj. III. 17, Manu V. 84). Although there is a text of Gobhila-smṛti (III. 60) prohibiting the performance of *sandhyā*, yet relying on a sūtra of Paiṭhīnasi the Mit. says that a man can offer water to the Sun in worship; others like the Smṛtimuktāphala (p. 478) say that *sandhyā* mantras may be revolved in the mind, except the *prāṇāyāma* mantras. This is followed in modern times in many parts of India. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.6 prescribes that in impurity due to birth or death *homa* (Vaiśvadeva), giving and accepting gifts and the study of Veda cease. The Vaik. Sm. S. VI.4 states that the performance of *sandhyā* adoration, all rites for the gods and manes, gift and acceptance and Veda study should be given up during impurity on death. Gautama 14.44 appears to hold that a brāhmaṇa is not affected by impurity on birth and death for the purposes of Veda study. On the other hand Saṁvarta <sup>551</sup> (43) affirms that on the days of impurity on birth and death there is no performance of the five Mahāyajñas nor of Veda study. The Nityācāra-paddhati p. 544 states that even in āśauca the thousand names of Viṣṇu may be recited.

*Asthisañcayana* or *Sañcayana* means that rite in which the (charred) bones (of the cremated person) are collected. This rite is dealt with in many sūtra and smṛti works, such as Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 12-18, Sat. Śr. 28. 3, Āśv. gr. IV. 5. 1-18, Gaut. P. S. I. 5, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 10-12, Baud. P. S. I. 14, Kausika-sūtra 82. 29-32, Vaik. Smṛta Sūtra V. 7, Yama 87-88, Saṁvarta 38, Gobhila-smṛti III. 54-59 (q. by Hāratalā p. 183). There is great divergence of views about the day on which this was to be done. For example, Sat. Śr. 28. 3. 1 provides: <sup>552</sup> 'bones are collected on the next day (after cremation) or on the 3rd, 5th or 7th.' Saṁvarta (verse 38) and Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 5. 15) prescribe that collection of bones should be made on the 1st, 3rd, 7th or 9th and (particularly) on the 4th by twice-born persons. The Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 97-98) allows it on the 1st, 4th or 7th day. Yama (87) requires the relatives to collect bones from the 1st to the 4th day after cremation and also provides (verse 88)

551. पञ्चपञ्चविधानं तु न कुर्यात्सुत्युज्ज्वलनोः । तृणाहारो परं सम्पत्तिवशोऽधीयते धर्मवित् ॥ संपर्त 43.

552. अपरेषुस्तृतीयस्यां पञ्चम्यां सप्तम्यां वात्यधीनि सञ्चिनोति । सत्या. ओ. 28. 3.1 ; अथ सञ्चयने व्युत्ते द्विराथ त्रिराथ चतुराथ पञ्चराथ वा । गो. वि. सू. I. 5. 1 ; प्रथमेति चतुर्थे वा सप्तमे वादित्यञ्जयम् । ऊर्ध्वं सञ्चयनाद्येवामङ्गुल्यधो विधीयते ॥ वासवपुराण 114. 97-98.

that the four varpas should respectively perform *sañcayana* on the 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th day. The Āśv. gr. S. IV. 5. 1 states that *sañcayana* should be performed after the 10th day from cremation in the dark half, but on uneven *tithis* (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 11th, 13th, 15th) and on a *nakṣatra* which bears a name not applicable to two or more *nakṣatras* (i. e. except on the two *Āśādhās*, two *Phalgunis* and two *Bhādrapadās*). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 10, Vaik. Smārta-sūtra V. 7, Kauś. 82. 29, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13. 14, Kūrmapurāṇa (uttara) 23 and a few other works lay down that *sañcayana* must be done on the 4th day after cremation. The various texts differ a good deal in details. The following is the procedure in the Āśv. gr. IV. 5:—The bones of a male should be collected into an urn that has no special marks (protuberances), those of a woman in an urn that has protuberances but no other special marks. Aged persons, odd in number<sup>553</sup> not being together with women, (i. e. not as a mixed assemblage) collect the bones. The performer walks thrice round the spot (where the body was burnt) with his left side turned towards the spot, sprinkles on it with a *śami* branch milk mixed with water with a verse 'śitiko' (Rg. X. 16. 14). With the thumb and the 4th finger they (gatherers) should put each single bone into the urn without making a rattling noise (of the bones in the urn), the bones of the feet being taken first, those of the head last. Having well gathered the bones and having purified them with a winnowing basket (i. e. removing the dust attaching to them) they should put the urn in a pit at a place where the waters from different sides do not flow together except rain water with the verse 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18. 10) and he should throw earth (into the pit) with the following verse (Rg. X. 18. 11). After having thrown (earth) he should repeat the next verse (Rg. X. 18. 12). Then covering (the mouth of the urn) with a lid with the mantra 'ut te stabhnāmi' (Rg. X. 18. 13) (he fills up the pit). Then without looking back they return (towards the house), bathe in water and then offer *śrāddha* to him alone (the departed). Dr. B. N. Datta in his paper 'Vedic funeral customs and Indus Valley culture in 'Man in India', vol. 16

553. The *Hāratalā* (p. 184) explains अनुजो मिथुनाः स्वरसः (in आश्व. वृ.) as 'मिथुनं पुनश्च वसुधवन्नात् त्रयो मिथुनाः वत् पुनश्च हव्यः पञ्च वा मिथुना वत् पुनश्च स्वरसः यजुर्वेदसः'. It is probable that women also accompanied the *cortège* to the cemetery in ancient times, that gradually they ceased to do so and by the time of the *Hāratalā* only men comprised the funeral procession and so it explained the words of Āśv. as above.

pp. 223-307 regards (p. 285) Rg. X. 18 as a hymn dealing with burial of the whole body (and not of ashes), while he admits (p. 287) that Rg. X. 16 is a cremation hymn. I dissent from him for various reasons; the most important is that if his theory be correct a period of several centuries must be postulated between the two hymns. This is inadmissible.

The Kausikasūtra (82. 29-32) prescribes certain details differently. It says that the bones are collected with A. V. 18. 2. 24, 26, then they are consigned to a jar over which all fragrant powders are scattered, then the jar is raised with the Utthāpani verses and carried with the verses called Harinis (i. e. A. V. 18. 2. 11-18). He (the performer) deposits (in the earth the urn) at the root of a tree with the verse 'mā tvā' (A. V. 18. 2. 25 'May the tree not injure thee all round, may not the wide goddess Earth also injure thee').<sup>554</sup>

The other sūtras present several variations which are passed over here, excepting one or two matters. The Sat. Śr. provides that the twig should be of the Udumbara tree, that the bones are collected by women of the family of the deceased (his wife and others) odd in number (five or more), or other women (in the absence of women of the family). A woman who is not likely to have a child should tie in her left hand a Brhati fruit with two threads, blue and red in colour, should step on a stone with her left foot, collect the bones first from the teeth or head with the mantra 'uttisthata' (Tai. Ā. VI. 4. 2) and she should deposit those bones in a jar or garment, then a second woman of the same type collects bones from the shoulders or arms, a third woman from the sides or hips, a fourth from the thighs or legs, and a fifth from the feet. They or more women collect the bones completely. The urn is deposited at the root of a *śami* or *palāśa* tree.

In modern times, particularly in towns and cities, the collection of bones has to be done immediately after cremation. The Antyeṣṭi-paddhati closely follows the procedure prescribed in the Āśv. gr. quoted above. It says: the performer goes to the place of cremation, sips water, mentions the time and place, makes a *saṅkalpa* (declaration) that he will perform the collec-

554. मा ते मनो यत्ने अङ्गमिति सञ्चिनोति पञ्चः । प्रथमं शीर्षकपालानि । पश्चात्कलशे संनोप्य सर्वसुरभिर्गूर्णैर्वकीर्णैर्यापनीमिदस्याप्य हरिणीभिर्हरेषुः । मा त्वा हृत इति हृष्यन्ते निदधाति । कौशिकसूत्र 82. 29-32. It appears that the sūtras are not properly arranged by Bloomfield. They should be read as पञ्चः प्रथमम् । शीर्षकपालानि पश्चात् । कलशे etc. For the उत्थापनी verses see n. 474. The हरिणी verses from अथर्ववेद are 18.2. 11-18 and are the same as Rg. X. 14.10-12 and X. 154. 1-5.

tion of the bones of the departed naming him and his gotra. He walks thrice round the place of cremation with his left towards it and sweeps it with a śāmi branch and sprinkles it with milk mixed with water with the mantra 'śitike' (Rg. X. 16. 14). Then old men odd in number with the performer collect the bones (as stated by Āśv. gr. above) and place them in a new jar and if they are of a woman in a jar with protuberances. They also winnow the ashes with a *śūrpa* and place in the jar even small bones and throw the ashes into the Ganges. Then at some time other than the rainy season a pit should be dug in a pure spot whereon water would not flow and the performer deposits the jar in the pit with the mantra 'approach this mother, Earth' (Rg. X. 18. 10). With Rg. X. 18. 11, he throws earth in the pit all round the jar and murmurs with folded hands the mantra (Rg. X. 18. 12) and he closes the jar with a new earthen disk with the verse Rg. X. 18. 13. Then he should put earth on the jar in such a way that it may not be seen by anybody and without looking back should go elsewhere and bathe. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 586) expressly states that the procedure for the collection of bones may be gathered from one's sūtra or from the work of Bhaṭṭa (i. e. Nārāyaṇa, Kamalākara's grandfather).

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (19. 11-12) and Anu. 26.32 state that the collected bones should be cast in Ganges water, since as many particles of the bones of a man remain in Ganges water for so many thousands of years he dwells in heaven. It was provided in the Purāṇas that a virtuous son, brother or daughter's son or a relative on the father's or mother's side should cast the bones in the Ganges, that one not so related should not do it and that if he does it he has to perform cāndrāyaṇa prāyaścitta. Even in modern times many Hindus take the charred bones of their parents or other dear relatives to the Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabad) or some other holy river <sup>55a</sup> or cast them into the sea. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 587) quotes an elaborate rite of casting the ashes in the Ganges from Śaunaka. It is briefly as follows: The performer should go out of the village, bathe with clothes on, sprinkle the earth where the ashes are deposited with the Gāyatrī and the other mantras usually repeated over

55a. The स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 190 quotes several verses on this point.

तत्र शाश्वतः । द्वारवर्षा सेतुबन्धे गोदावर्या च पुष्करे । अस्थीनि विचजेद्यस्य स धृतो धृति-  
साधुपात् । सङ्कलिसितौ । गङ्गायां च प्रयागे च केवारे पुष्करोत्तमे । अस्थीनि विधिवत् त्यक्त्वा  
कथायां पिण्डो भवेत् । पित्रोर्ममात्मसम्भवेत तौ नित्यं मोक्षनामिनौ । इति । योगयाज्ञवल्क्यः ।  
गङ्गायां यमुनायां वा कारेयां वा शतवृत्तौ । सरस्वत्यां विक्षेपेण ह्यस्थीनि विचजेत्तुतः ॥

pañcagavya. With the four mantras 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18.10-13) he should respectively pray to the earth, then dig it, take out the earth, and then the bones. Then he should bathe and purify the bones by touching the bones again and again and repeating the mantras 'eto nvindram stavāma sūddham &c.' (Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9). Then he should bathe with pañcagavya and become pure. Then he should bathe ten times with cow's urine, cow's dung, cow's milk, curds, clarified butter, water in which kuśas have been dipped, ashes (of sacred fires), earth, honey and water. Then he should sprinkle (with kuśas) water on the bones with the mantras, viz. Rg. I.22.16. Rg. VIII. 95.7-9,<sup>555</sup> Rg. VII. 56.12-14, Rg. X. 126.1-8, Rg. X. 119.1-13, Rg. IX. 1.1-10 (called Pāvamāni verses), Rg. X. 128.1-9, Rg. I. 43.1-9 (a hymn to Rudra); then he should offer a *hiranya brādhā* for the deceased, offer *pinḍu* to him and perform *tarpaṇa* with sesame. Then he should cover the bones in seven ways viz. by deer-skin, woollen blanket, *darbhas*, cow's hair, hempen cloth, birch leaf and palm leaf. He should cast among the bones pieces of gold and silver, pearls, coral and sapphire for the purification of the bones, then he should offer into fire 108 oblations of clarified butter and sesame with the hymn beginning with 'udiratām' (Rg. X. 15). Then he should cast the bones in holy water; thereby he does not incur the fault of touching an unclean object. While answering the calls of nature or performing *ūcamana* one should not hold the bones.

The Nirṇayasindhu adds (p. 588) that there is no *asthi-sañcayana* for one whose upanayana had not been performed.

The Āśv. gr. IV.6, the Sat. Śr. 28.4, Śān. Śr. 4.6 (called *paridhikarma*) and some others prescribe a *śānti* rite after collection of the charred bones of a deceased person. The Baud. P. S. (II. 3.3) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19.19 appear to prescribe the *Śānti* rite after the ten days of impurity have expired ('*daśarātre saucam krtvā śāntiḥ*'). It is described by Āśv. gr. as follows: They who have lost a *guru* (father or mother) by death should perform on the new moon day an expiatory ceremony. Before sunrise they should carry fire together with its ashes and with its receptacle to the south with the half verse 'I send away the flesh-devouring Agni' (Rg. X. 16. 9). Having cast that fire down at a place where four roads meet or somewhere else, they

555. It should be noticed that in Rg. VIII. 95.7-9 the word 'sūddha' (pure) occurs thirteen times and hence it is appropriate that those verses are employed as purificatory ones. Similarly, in Rg. VII. 56.12 the word 'śuci' (pure) occurs six times.

walk round it thrice, with their left side turned to it and beating their left thighs with the left hand. They should then return home without looking back, bathe in water, have their hair, beards and hair on the body and nails cut, furnish themselves with new jars, pots, vessels for rinsing the mouth, with garlands of *śāmi* flowers, with fuel of *śāmi* wood, with two pieces of *śāmi* wood for kindling fire<sup>556</sup> and with branches for encircling the fire, with bull's dung and hide, fresh butter, a stone and as many bunches of *kuśa* grass as there are young women (in the house). At the time of the Agnihotra (in the afternoon) he should kindle fire (by means of the arapls) with the half verse 'Here may this other Jātavedas' (Rg. X. 16.9 latter half). Keeping the fire burning they sit till night silence falls, repeating tales of old men (of the family) and stories of auspicious contents, *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. When all sounds have ceased or when the others (members of the deceased's family) have gone to their houses or resting place, (the performer) should pour out a continuous stream of water beginning at the south side of the door with the verse (Rg. X. 53.6) 'spreading the thread follow the light of the world' and go round the house ending at the north side of the door. Then having placed the fire and spread to the west of it a bull's hide with neck to the east, with the hair outside, he should cause the people of the house (including women) to step on that hide with the verse 'Arise to long life'<sup>557</sup> (Rg. X. 18.6). He should place twigs round the fire with 'Here do I deposit an encircling thing' (Rg. X. 18.4). Having placed a stone to the north of the fire with the words 'May they place a mountain between themselves and death' (Rg. X. 18.4 last *pāda*) and having sacrificed with four verses 'Go hence, O Death' (Rg. X. 18.1-4), he should look at his people with the verse 'as days follow each other' (Rg. X. 18.5). The young women (belonging to the house) should with each hand separately with the thumb and 4th finger salve (at one and the same time) their eyes with fresh butter by means of young *darbha* blades and cast

556. Nārāyaṇa explains that the fire means ordinary kitchen fire and he seems to be right in spite of Oldenberg's note to the contrary on p. 246 (of S. B. E. vol. 29). The deceased sacrificer is cremated with his *śrauta* fires (vide *Āśv. gr.* IV. 4) and *smārta* fire (if any) and on his death the *śāntikarma* is performed by the son or other relative who may have no consecrated fires at all or, if he has, he cannot cast them away as long as he lives. The Com. on Sat. Sr. 28. 4, 1 states that it is the *adhvaryu* priest that kindles the fire and not he who performed the cremation.

557. Most of these mantras occur also in Tai. Ā. VI. 10.



away the blades turning their faces away. The performer should look at them while they are salving their eyes, with the verse 'these women, being no widows and having good husbands' (Rg. X. 18.7). The former should first touch the stone with 'the stream containing stones flows' (Rg. X. 53.8). After that, stationing himself to the north-east, while others go round with the fire, bull-dung and a continuous stream of water he should, after repeating the three verses (āpo hi s̥thā, Rg. X. 9.1-3), murmur the verse 'these have led round the cows' (Rg. X. 155.5). A tawny-coloured bull should be led round. They then sit down at a place where they like to stop, having put on fresh unwashed garments and they sit there till sunrise avoiding sleep. After sunrise, having murmured the hymns sacred to the sun and auspicious hymns, having prepared food and made oblations with the hymn beginning 'May he burn away evil from us' (Rg. I. 97.1-8), verse by verse, having given to the brāhmanas to eat, he should cause them to pronounce auspicious words. A cow, a cup of metal and a fresh unworn garment are the sacrificial fee for each of the brāhmanas.

A few details may be added from other sūtras. The Sat. Śr. (28.4.1) provides that the Śānti is performed on the 10th day after cremation by a priest, that in the folded hands of the wives (of the members of the family) he puts the remains of the material used for oblations with the verse 'these women, not being widows' (Rg. X. 18.7 = Tai. Ā. VI. 10.2), that the priest plants in the earth the stalk of a plant with the verse 'yatha tvam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 10.2)<sup>558</sup>, that after they return home, they cook goat flesh and boil *yava* grains and eat them and then may occupy couches and cots (i. e. give up the observances of mourning).

Interesting information is furnished by the Sat. Br. about graves (XIII. 8. 1-4) and Kāt. Śr.<sup>559</sup> It is said in Sat. Br. that

558. The mantra is very significant, यथा तस्मिन्निनास्ति ओषधे पृथिव्या अधि । एषस्मि जग्निर्दन्तु कीर्या यमसा ब्रह्मवर्चसेन ॥ तै. आ. VI. 10. 2.

559. अथैकेषां कुम्भास्तं निधानमनाहिताग्नेः स्त्रियाश्च निवपयान्तं हविर्पाजिनः पुनर्हवनास्तं सोमपाजिन्श्चयनान्तमग्निञ्चित इति । सत्र्या. औ. 28. 4, 28; almost the same words occur in चौ. वि. सू. II. 3. 2. This passage refers to four modes of the disposal of the charred bones viz. burial in the earth of the urn for women and men who had not consecrated Śrauta fires, depositing the bones alone on the earth for him who performs havir-yajūas (in which only boiled rice and clarified butter are offered, vide Gaut. 8. 20.), re-cremation for one who had offered soma sacrifice and building a brick or clod structure for him who

the grave <sup>560</sup> or monument should not be built too soon after death, lest he (the performer) freshen up the sin of the deceased ; that he should make it a long time after and when people do not even remember the years (that have elapsed since the decease). He should make it in uneven years and under a single nakṣatra (i. e. containing a single star such as Citrā and Pūṣya, and not dual such as Punarvasu and Viśākhā or plural such as Kṛttikā) and on the New Moon day. Let him make it in autumn or in Māgha or in summer. The sepulchral mound should be four cornered, because the people who are worshippers of gods (or godly) make their burial mounds four-cornered, while those who are followers of Asuras, the Easterns and such like people, make them round. As to the choosing of the ground, the Sat. Br. states several views viz. he makes it on ground sloping towards the north or, according to some, to the south ; but the Sat. Br. disapproves of both the views and prescribes that he should make the burial mound on any level ground where the waters flowing from a southerly direction come to the east and stand still without dashing forward and on such a ground one may make it (burial mound). Let him make it on a pleasant and peaceful spot, but not on a road nor in an open space lest he should make the deceased's sin manifest. It should have the sun shining on it (at mid-day). It should not be made at a place

(Continued from the last page)

had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana. Modes of urn burial, earth burial and re-cremation resemble the funeral customs of the copper age folk of the lower Indus at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Vide Memoir No 31 of the Archaeological Survey of India by Ramprasad Chanda at pp. 13-14.

560. अधारमे इमंज्ञानं कुर्यान्ति ।...तद्वै न क्षिप्रं कुर्यात् । नेत्रवमचं करवाणीति चिर एव कुर्याद्वयमेव तस्मिन् करोति यत्र समा नातु च न स्मरेयुः...यद्यनुस्मरेयुः । अयुग्मेषु संदत्सरेषु कुर्यात् ।...एकनक्षत्रे...अमात्रस्यायाम् ।...शरादि कुर्यात् ।...माघे वा या नेऽयं भूदिति निदाघे वा नि नेऽयं धीयाता इति । अतः शक्ति ।...तरमाद्या वैष्यः प्रजाश्रुतः क्षत्रिणी ताः इमंज्ञानानि कुर्यान्तेऽयं या आह्वयैः माध्यास्त्वद्यत्वे परिमण्डलानि ।...अथातो भूमिजायणस्य । उदीचीनयवणे करोति... । दक्षिणाग्रवणे कुर्यादित्याहुः ।...वस्यैव समस्य सतः दक्षिणतः पुरस्तादाप एव संस्थाप्यो मग्नस्य सता दक्षिणमग्निष्पद्याक्षय्या अयोऽपिपथेरस्तंकुर्यात् ।...कश्यति कुर्यात् कं मेऽसदित्यथो जयति कं मेऽसदिति माघपथं कुर्यात्काशे नेदाविरचं करवाणीति ।...आदित्यज्योतिष-मेवैव करोति । न तास्मिन् कुर्यात् । वस्येत्थादन्काशः स्यात् ।...चित्रं पश्चात्स्यात् ।...यदि चित्रं न स्यादापः पश्चाद्वाचरतो वा स्युः ।...ऊर्ध्वे करोति... । समूले... । न भूमिपाशामभिषिदध्यात् । न शरं नास्मनग्धो नाध्याग्धो न पूक्षिपणी नाश्वरथायात्मिके कुर्यात् विभीतकस्य न तिलकस्य न रज्जुकस्य न हस्तिर्जनेन स्वयोरधरय ये आग्नये पापनामानः... । अग्निविधयाग्निक्षितः इमंज्ञानं करोति ।...तद्वै न मग्नंकुर्यात् । नेत्रमहद्वचं करवाणीति ।...पुरुषनात्रं त्वेव कुर्यात्...पश्चाद्वापः...उत्तरतो वर्षीयः । तद्विधायोपसलविद्वहानिः स्यन्धानिः पर्यातनेति... । शतपथम्. XIII. 8. 1; compare कौशिक 83. 5-7 for similar derivations of माघ, निदाघ &c.

where it would be visible from the village and there should be charming objects to its west (woods, gardens &c.). If there be no charming objects there should be waters to its west or north. He makes it on salt (barren) soil, on such ground as abounds in roots. Let him not make it near where grows the Bhūmipāśa plant or where reeds grow, or Aśvagandhā or Adhyandā, or Prāniparṇī grows. He should not make it near an aśvattha tree or near a vibhitaka tree or a tilvaka, a sphūrjaka or a haridru or nyagrodha tree or other trees that have an evil name (like śleṣmātaka or kovidāra). For one who has performed Agnicayana, he makes a tomb after the manner of the fire altar. One must not make it too large lest he should make the sin (of the deceased) large. He should make it just a man's size, broader behind (to the west) and broader on the north side. He encloses it with cords twisted in the non-sunwise way. He then bids them to cut out the earth which would be just sufficient for making the mound of a man's size.

The Kāt. Śr. (21. 3. 1 and 6) closely follows the above directions contained in the Śat. <sup>561</sup> Br. The Śat. Śr. 29. 1.2 provides that when the day of cremation is not known or remembered one may erect a mound over the bones (with clods of earth or bricks) on the New Moon day that comes immediately after the Full Moon day of Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, Vaiśākha or of the summer months (Jyestha and Āśāḍha).

The Śat. Br. (XIII. 8. 2-4) pursues the subject of sepulchral monuments as follows: Godly people make their sepulchres so as not to be separate from the earth; while those who are of the Asura stamp, the Easterns and others, make the sepulchral mounds so as to be separate from the earth, either on a stone basin or a similar thing. He then encloses it with an undefined number of stones silently. He then sweeps the sepulchral site with a palāśa branch with (Vaj. S. 35.1 'May the niggardly god-haters go away') and prays that Yama may grant him (the deceased) an abode. He throws out the branch to the south side. He then yokes the team of six oxen to the plough on the south side or on the north side, as he chooses. Having given the order 'Yoke' he (the performer) utters the

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<sup>561</sup> The grave is to be constructed in such a way that the four corners would lie in the direction of the four quarters, as Kāt. Śr. (21. 3. 23-29) states 'dikarakti puruṣamūtram mīmīte n(tarataḥ) pṛthu paścācca'.

mantra (Vāj. S. 35. 2).<sup>562</sup> Having turned round the plough from right (south side) to the north, he ploughs the first furrow with Vāj. S. 35.3 'May Vayu purify' along the north side towards the west; with 'May Savitr purify' along the west side towards the south; with 'Agni's lustre' along the south side towards the east; with 'Sūrya's brilliance' along the front side towards the north. Four furrows he ploughs with a Yajus formula. He then ploughs across the body (of the sepulchral site) silently with an undefined number of furrows. He then unfastens the team of oxen. To the right side (south-west) he removes this (the plough and the team).

He then sows seeds of all kinds of herbs with a single verse (Vāj. S. 35.4); for long life he thereby prays for these (the performer's family) and accordingly each subsequent one of them dies of old age. He then pours out that (jar of bones). He does so before sunrise so that the sun should rise over him while he is doing it. He does so with Vāj. S. 35. 5-6. He then says to some one 'Proceed in that (southern) direction without drawing breath and having thrown down the jar, return hither without looking behind.' He then mutters Vāj. S. 35.7. He then arranges the dead man (the bones) limb by limb with Vāj. S. 35.8-9. Now thirteen unmarked<sup>563</sup> bricks each measuring a (human) foot (*pada*) have been made and are laid down

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562. It is not possible, owing to considerations of space, to set out all the verses of the Vāj. S. chap. 35 mentioned as mantras by the Sat. Br. Only a few are set out here in order to show how appropriate they are as referring to the actions prescribed by the Sat. Br. Verse 1 first half is 'अपेतो यस्तु पणयोऽ-  
हुम्ना देवपीयः ॥'; सविता ते शरीरेभ्यः पुण्यिष्याल्लोकमिच्छतु । तस्मै युज्यस्तामुन्मियाः ॥  
वाज. सं. 35. 2; वायुः पुनातु सविता पुनात्वग्नेर्ब्रोजसा सूर्यस्य वर्चसा । विदुष्यस्तामुन्मियाः ॥  
वाज. सं. 35. 3.

563. The bricks of the fire altar are marked with lines (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, p. 1248). The bricks in Agnicayana are as long as the foot of the sacrificer. Thereon gods have to be worshipped. Here it is the fathers to be honoured. Throughout Sat. Br. XII, 8.2-3 a distinction is drawn between what is done for the gods and what is to be done for pitrs in order to keep the divine distinct from what belongs to the fathers. In Agnicayana a bird-like pattern is the most frequent (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 1249). It is hence that the Sat. Br. speaks of wings and tails. The heights prescribed for men of the several varṇas and for women are symbolic. Kṣatriyas, brāhmaṇas and vaiśyas represent the arms, the mouth and thighs of the Puruṣa (as stated in Rg. X. 90.12). The Kāt. Sr. (21.4 13-14) gives an option in the case of a kṣatriya viz. the mound may be as high as the chest or as high as a man with upstretched arms.

silently (and not with mantras as in the case of the Agnicayana). One of the thirteen he places in the middle, with the front towards the east (this represents the trunk); three are placed in front (representing the head); three on the right (that is the right wing); three on the left (that represents the left wing); three behind (representing the tail). He then directs them to bring some soil from a cleft in the ground. Some dig in the intermediate (south-eastern) quarter and fetch it from there; others dig in the south-west and fetch it northwards; he may do as he likes (there is an option). Let him not make the sepulchral mound too large. For a kṣatriya he may make it as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a vaiśya up to the thighs, for a śūdra up to the knee; or let him rather make it so high (for all) as to reach below the knee. While the mound is being made, they hold a bundle of reed grass to the north of it. Let him not throw it down after holding it up or after bringing it, but let him set it up in the house (as it represents offspring). Having prepared it he sows barley grain, thinking 'May they ward off (*yavaya*) sin from me!' He covers it over with *Avakā* plants in order that there may be moisture (*ka* or joy) for him and with *darbha* grass for softness.

They fix pegs round it, a *palāsa* one in front, a *śamī* one on the north corner, a *varāṇa* one behind and a *vṛtra*<sup>564</sup> peg on the right (south corner). On the south side they dig two somewhat curved furrows and fill them with milk and water and they dig seven on the left (north) side and fill them with water for sin not to pass beyond. They throw three stones each into the northern furrows and pass over them with Vāj. S. 35. 10 (= Rg. X. 53. 8). They cleanse themselves with *Apāmārga*<sup>565</sup> plants with Vāj. S. 35.11; they thereby wipe away sin. They bathe at any place where there is water. With Vāj. S. . 35. 12 he takes water with his joined hands and he throws it in the direction in which he who is hateful may be and thereby overthrows him.<sup>566</sup> Having bathed and put on garments that have never yet been washed they hold on to the tail of an ox and return to their

564. The meaning of *Vṛtra-Saṅku* cannot be stated. Kāt. Sr. 213.31 reads देहशङ्कु for वृत्रशङ्कु and the Com. explains वृत्रशङ्कु as पाषाणशङ्कु.

565. अपामर्गमप किल्बिषमप कुर्यामपो रिपः । अपामर्गं त्वमस्मदप दुःखवर्णं तुव ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 11.

566. तुमिषिया न आप ओषधयः सन्तु तुमिषियास्तस्मै सन्तु योऽस्मान्नेष्टि च च वरं द्विभ्यः ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 12.

home. They proceed towards the village muttering Vāj. S. 35.14 (ud vayam). When they have arrived, ointments for their eyes and feet are given to them; such indeed are human means of embellishment and therewith they keep off death from themselves. Then in the house having kindled (domestic) fire and laid enclosing sticks of *tarāṇa* wood round it he offers by means of a *sruva* (spoon) an oblation to Agni Āyusmat. Vāj. S. 35. 16 serves <sup>567</sup> as a *puronuvākya* (invitatory formula). He then offers with Vāj. S. 35.17. He says this so that Agni may guard and protect these men. The sacrificial fee is an old ox, old barley, old chair with a head cushion. He may give more if he desires. This is the procedure in the case of one who has performed *Agnicayana*.<sup>568</sup> In the case of him who has not performed *Agnicayana*, there is the same procedure for selecting a site and the same performance save that of the fire-altar. Having fetched a clod from the boundary he deposits it midway between the sepulchral mound and the village with Vāj. S. 35. 15 (imam <sup>569</sup> jivebhyah). He then makes this a boundary between the Fathers and the living, so as not to commingle the two.

The Sat. Śr. 29.13 ff. and Baud. P. S. I 17-20 provide a lengthy procedure for erecting a mound over the bones of one who has performed the special rite of *agnicayana* which is passed over here. In building a mound the urn deposited under a tree is taken out and after the bones are purified in various ways (such as the spilling on them of curds mixed with *vājina* from a jar, the digging up of the clods by means of a plough to which a certain number of oxen are yoked). The Sat. Śr. (29.1. 3-12) deals with one kind of procedure in which there is no *dhavana*, while 29.1. 13-32 deal with the procedure where *dhavana* is employed and sūtras from 33 deal with procedure common to both *pakṣas* (viz. one without *dhavana* and the other with *dhavana*) The building of a mound with clods (*loṣṭaciti*) in which there is *dhavana* is rather an obscure matter in its nature and had some symbolic significance which is now lost. It may be briefly described as follows :— The members of the deceased's house

567. अग्न आहुतिं पवस आ सुवोर्जमिषं च नः । आरे वाचस्व कुचशुनाम् ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 16.

568. आपुष्मानग्ने हविषा वृषानो वृत्तप्रसीको वृत्तबोनिरेधि । वृत्तं पीत्वा मधु खाद गव्यं पितेव पुत्रमभिरक्षतादिमान् स्वाहा ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 17.

569. इमं जीवेद्यः परिधिं दद्यामि मेधां तु नाक्षपरो अर्धमेतत् । शतं जीवन्तु हारदः सुसन्धीरन्तर्दुस्तुं वृक्षतां पर्वतेन ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 15.

build a shed or a seat for a bed. They drive in the eastern half or middle or western half of it a three-pronged palāśa peg. In front of it one born of a śūdra woman or a *brahmacāndhu* (a brāhmaṇa only in name) sits down for a dialogue. He asks the principal wife (of the deceased) 'will you dwell with me.' That woman replies to him 'I shall not give (what you ask).' The same dialogue takes place on the 2nd day. Then on the third day she replies 'I shall give for one night.' Or if this peculiar practice (of talking about dhavana, which literally means 'sexual intercourse') was intended to last for more days than three she was to give a suitable reply (viz. for three nights or for five nights &c). When the words of the reply are uttered by the wife, the performer deposits the bones (of the deceased) at the root of the peg and places between the three prongs of the peg a jar having a hundred holes at the bottom. The mouth of the jar is covered with a hide and *kuśa* grass. On that jar he sprinkles curds mixed with *vājina* with the mantra 'Vaiśvānare haviridam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6.1). When the liquid oozes from the jar on the bones he invokes the two verses 'drapsaś-caskanda' and 'imam samudram' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6). Then the Sat Śr. (29.1. 26-29) provides that four *brahmacārins* or other brāhmaṇas, that are pure, tie up their locks on their heads that are to the right and keep dishevelled those on the left side of the head, they strike their right thighs and also the hide that is wound round the jar of bones, fan it with the fringes of their garments, go round the peg thrice with their left side towards the jar and the people living in the same house (with the deceased) and women also do the same,<sup>570</sup> that lutes (viṇā) are played upon and also conches are blown and other instruments like *nālika*, *tūṇa*, *paṇava* are beaten and there is also dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments. This practice of *dhavana* (symbolic) may go on for five, seven, nine, eleven days, half a month, a month or a year during which time one has to donate food and money (gold &c.) according to one's ability or on the last day according to some.<sup>571</sup> If one may offer a conjecture, this rite was intended to assure the deceased man (represented by the charred bones) that his wife had remained faithful and

570. Compare कौशिकसूत्र 85.10-11 'कस्ये वृजाना इति त्रिः प्रसप्तं मकीर्णकस्यः परियन्ति वक्षिणाधूकनाभ्यानाः । एवं मध्यरात्रे अपररात्रे च ।' ; कस्ये वृजाना is अथर्ववेद 18. 3. 17.

571. On एकरात्राय वृजानीति तुलीये (सत्त्वा. श्रौ. 29. 1. 19.) the वेजयस्ती remarks 'एतच्च वृजानमात्रम् । न तु तेन सह वातः कार्यं वृजनेतेनाह'.

unattached to any one else even long after his death. The Baud. P. S. (I. 17.8) also states that female dancers dance in this rite. Various measurements are given in the sūtras for the mounds that are constructed over the bones. Sat. Śr. (29.1.5-6) says <sup>572</sup> that the site of the mound (*śmaśānāyatana*) is five *prakramas* on all four sides (or six on the east and five in the other directions, acc. to some). The height of the mound is variously given even in the same sūtra. <sup>573</sup> Sat. Śr. states that the height may be two finger-breadths, or three or four or a *prāṇika* (the distance between the thumb and index finger when both are stretched away) or a *vitasti* (twelve finger-breadths), or it may be up to the knee or thighs or buttocks. The Baud. P. S. I. 18 gives different <sup>574</sup> measurements. It states 'if the mound to be raised is as high as the neck towards the west, then it is up to the navel on the east; if it is as high as the navel on the west, then it is as high as the knee on the east; if up to the knee on the west then on the east it is level with the ankle'. The Kausikasūtra <sup>575</sup> (85.4-10) gives certain options viz. the *maṇḍapa* on which the mound is to be erected is either 7, 7, 5, 3 *prakramas* on the south, north, east and west or 9, 9, 7, 5 on the same sides in order or 11, 11, 9, 7; that in the case of those who worshipped the gods, the length was eleven on all sides; that in the case of the Śaunakins the sides (of the mound) are to be measured in odd numbers (of *prakramas*) and the mounds are either round or four-cornered; that such mounds are seen (in those days) and that the grave built for one who had set up vedic fires was to be of the height of a man with arms upraised. These passages show that the graves were generally

572. अपराद्धे श्मशानायतनं विमिमेते पञ्च पञ्च प्रक्रमान् सर्वतः । यद् पुरस्तादित्येके । सत्या. श्रौ. 29. 1. 5-6; the Com. वैजयन्ती explains 'तथा च पञ्च प्रक्रमसंमितं सम-चतुरस्रं लोहचित्तेरायतनं भवति । प्रक्रमो द्विपदाक्षिपदो वेत्युक्ते कुल्लेपुः'.

573. श्मशानस्य मात्रा द्व्यङ्गुलं त्र्यङ्गुलं चतुरङ्गुलं यादेशो विनास्तिर्जातुदधनमूर्धदधनं स्विगद्वयं वैषोत्तमा मात्रा श्मशानस्य । सत्या. श्रौ. 29. 1. 70. The com. says 'इदानी-मूर्धन्यप्रमाणमुच्यते । तत्र द्व्यङ्गुलादीनामष्टानामन्यतममूर्धन्यप्रमाणं स्थलस्य तस्यापरीष्टका-भ्येतयाः ११'.

574. तस्य मात्रा यदि शीवदधनं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जाभिदधनं यदि नाभिदधनं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जा-मुदधनं यदि जामुदधनं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जुदधनं &c. । को. पि. ख. I. 18.6; Dr. Caland's text reads the exact opposite (I. 15 p. 21) 'यदि शीवदधनं पुरस्ताज्जाभिदधनं पश्चाद्यदि नाभिदधनं पुरस्ताज्जामुदधनं पश्चाद्यदि जामुदधनं पुरस्ताज्जुदधनं पश्चात्'.

575. एकादशमिर्द्व्यङ्गुलिमात्रं । अयुरममानानि परिमण्डलानि चतुरस्राणि वा शौनकि-नाम् । तथाहि दृश्यन्ते । चावाग्युक्च ऊर्ध्वबाहुस्तावानिनिक्षितः । कौशिकसूत्र 85. 7-10.



quadrangular but sometimes round also (acc. to certain schools). The mounds at Lauriya referred to above are round.

Another feature to be noted is that clods were employed (and so the mound was called *loṣṭaciti*) or baked bricks in building the mound or grave over the bones by piling up layers of clay or bricks. In laying down the bricks first on the east, then on the north, then on the west and then on the south, the sūtras such as Sat. Śr. (29.1.53),<sup>576</sup> Baud. P. S. (I 19.4-7) four verses were respectively employed that are (in order) Rg. X. 18.13, 10, 11, 12 (which are also A. V. XVIII 3.52, 49 50, 51 and Tai. Ā. VI.7.1). One of these (Rg. X. 18.12) speaks of pillars and the other (Rg. X. 18.13) of a post (*sthūnā*). Vide above p. 189. The discovery of two wooden posts in two mounds (at Lauriya above) in which the bones were deposited indicates that the Lauriya mounds followed a vedic custom which is mentioned by the śrautasūtras. The main difference between the Vedic and sūtra ritual on the one hand and the Lauriya mounds on the other is the height of the latter, which betokens a later age than that of the sūtras.

The Sat. Śr. describes in the 28th *praśna* what is called *pitṛmedha* while in *praśna* 29 it describes the *brahmamedha*. The difference between the two is pointed out in Sat. Śr. 29.3.4-18 and it is stated<sup>577</sup> (in Sat. Śr. 29.3. 20, 22) that the mantras called 'catur-hotārāḥ' are spoken of as *brahma* (in Tai. Br. III. 12.5) and that the procedure of *Brahmamedha* is to be employed only for an *ācārya* or a *śrotriya* and for no one else. The Vaijayanti by Mahādeva states (in the Introductory verses) that *praśnas* 28 and 29 of Sat. Śr. are taken from Bharadvāja. It may be stated here that the procedure of *dhavana* described above in Sat. Śr. is no longer followed in India in

576. विधितिलोद्यान् प्रतिविशमन्वीक्षमाण उपवधात्युत्ते स्तन्मोमीत्येतैः प्रतिमन्त्रं तिल-  
मिश्राभिधानाभिधिः प्रदक्षिणं परिकिरत्येधीर्धाना इति । सत्या. श्रौ. 29. 1. 53, on which  
the Com. says अत्रापि पूर्वस्यो विन्यारम्भः । ; अथ क्षेत्रवितुष्णीं चतुरो लोद्याद्वपवधात्युत्ते  
स्तन्मोमि...मिनीत्येति पुरस्तादुपवधाति ।...उच्छृङ्खलमाना पृथिवी हि तिष्ठसि सहस्रं मित उप हि  
अवन्तात् ।...सम्पन्नेति दक्षिणतः । श्रौ. पि. छ.

577. On 29. 3.2. (यं ब्रह्ममेध इत्याचक्षते) of सत्या. श्रौ. the वैजयन्ती explains  
'अत्र सहेतुकोऽधिकारः । यस्माद् ब्रह्मसंयुक्तो मेध इति विग्रहः । यज्ञशाखिना मेधशब्देन व्यप-  
देशसंस्तुतिः । चतुर्होतृसंयुक्तो दहनकल्प इत्यर्थः ।' On 'ताव परं ब्रह्मेत्याचक्षते' सत्या. श्रौ.  
29. 3. 20, the वैजयन्ती says 'तान्चतुर्होतृन् । परब्रह्मज्ञानः तान्चतुर्होतृन्वाची । ब्रह्म वै चतु-  
र्होतार इति । . .

modern times. In the Baud. <sup>578</sup> P. S. I. 17 there are passages that bear a close resemblance to some passages of the Sat. Śr. on *dhavana*. Similarly, Kāt. Śr. <sup>579</sup> 21. 3. 6 provides (immediately after the months in which mounds were to be constructed) that as many jars should be taken as there are persons performing *dhavana* (or *dhuvana*) and the commentator explains that word as meaning 'fanning'.

It will be seen that the disposal of the dead in ancient India was divided into four stages viz. cremation, collecting the charred bones and depositing them underground in an urn, expiatory rites (called Śāntikarma) and erection of a monument over the bones. The last was not necessarily done in every case. The Andhau Inscription of the time of Rudradāman in the year 52 (probably of the śaka era) refers to the erection of a staff (*laṣṭi* i. e. *yaṣṭi*) as a funeral monument to the memory of a sister, brother and wife by Madana son of Sihila (vide E. I. Vol. 16 pp. 23-25). In a long passage of the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (pp. 885-886) it is stated that the charred bones of a cremated person should be collected in an urn and deposited at the root of a tree or cast in the Ganges, that the place of cremation should be purified with cowdung and water, that a puṣkaraka tree should be planted there or an eḍūka (a structure) should be built over it. <sup>580</sup>

The Sat. Śr. 28. 4. 28 and Baud. P. S. II. 3. 2 state as shown above that the rites immediately after death were performed only up to the depositing of the urn (containing the bones) underground in the case of those householders who had not set up the vedic fires and in the case of married women and that in the case of him who had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana a mound with bricks or clods was built up on the bones.

578. एकाहं धुमुपकीर्ण्यहानि धुमुयुः पञ्चसतनरैकादशाहास्यर्धमासं धुमुयुयुरमा रात्रीरर्धमासान् मासाद्वद्वत् संवत्सरं वा संपाद्य संधुमुयुरिति ।...अथान्तरेण ग्रामे च इमंज्ञानं आगारं वा विमितं वा कारितं भवति । बो. पि. सू. I. 17. 1 and 3; compare सत्या. ओ. noted above p. 252.

579. पावन्तो पुविष्यन्तः स्युस्तावतः कुम्भानावाय उत्राणि आपारिमितानि । कात्या. ओ. 21. 3. 6. On this the com. says: 'अग्रे अमात्यानां पुत्रपौत्रादीनामुपवाजनं वक्ष्यति । उपवाजनं धवन्म्'.

580. गृहीत्वास्थीनि तज्जलम् नीत्वा तोये विनिसिपेत् । ततः संमार्जनं घृतेः कर्तव्यं गोमया-  
म्बुभिः ।...घृतेराच्छादनार्थं तु वृक्षः पुष्करकोऽथवा । एदुको वा प्रकर्तव्यस्तत्र सर्वैः स्वघ्न्युभिः ॥  
ब्रह्मपुराण q. by अपराक्षे p. 886; the same passage is quoted in रघुनाथ's Com-  
mentary on विश्वामोकी (verse 28. p. 253) which explains पुष्करकः as पुष्करिणी  
and reads एदुकाः for एदुकाः and explains it as चत्वरः.

It is remarkable that while slaves and even attendants were often buried with the master in Babylon and Celtic Britain, there is no similar reference to the burial or cremation of anybody with the deceased even in the ancient procedure found in the Śat. Br. It is only possible to say that in some cases in the pre-Vedic age the wife might have burnt herself along with the deceased husband on the funeral pyre. There is no doubt that later works like the Viṣṇudharmasūtra recommended to women the practice of *Sati* as an option to leading the life of perfect celibacy after the husband's death.

The persons entitled to perform the funeral rites after death (*antyakarmādhikārin*) are the same as those entitled to offer śrāddha. There is a good deal of difference as to the order of the persons so entitled. For example, Gautama (Dh. S. 15, 13-14) states 'On failure of sons the sapindas (e. g. brother, brother's son), the sapindas of the mother (e. g. maternal uncle or his son) and pupils may perform śrāddha for the deceased; in default of these the family priest and the ācārya (veda teacher).' Śaṅkha says<sup>581</sup> 'The offering of piṇḍa and water should be done by the son for the father; in default (i. e. absence or death) of the son, the wife (of the deceased) should offer, but in default of her the full brother.' The Viṣṇupurāṇa<sup>582</sup> provides: 'the son, grand-son, great grandson (of the deceased), the offspring of the brother (of the deceased), the offspring of a sapinda become entitled to offer (piṇḍa).' The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa provides (30, 19-21, chap. 27, 19-23 of the Venk. ed.) 'On failure of the sons, sapindas, on failure of them the samānodakas, then the sapindas of the mother, and samānodakas of her, should perform these rites; a daughter's son should perform them (if the man dies sonless), the putrikāputra should perform them for his maternal grand-father; in default of all these, women should perform these rites for their husbands but without Vedic mantras; in default of wife the king should get the rites performed by some one belonging to the family (of the deceased)

581. पितुः पुत्रेण कर्तव्या पिण्डदानोपकक्रिया । पुत्राभावे तु पत्नी स्यात्पत्यभावे तु सोदरः ॥ गङ्गा q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 335, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 380.

582. पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रो वा तद्वद्वा भ्रातृसन्ततिः । सपिण्डसन्ततिर्वापि क्रियाहं ह्यप्यजायते ॥ तेषामभावे सर्वेषां समानोदकसन्ततिः । मातृपक्षस्य पिण्डेन संबद्धा ये जलेन च । कुलद्वयेपि कोस्तके क्षीणिः कार्यं क्रिया ह्यपि । सङ्घातात्मनोर्तेषांपि कार्या येवस्य च क्रिया । उत्सन्न-बन्धुरिदधानां कार्येयद्वयोपपत्तिः । विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 31-33 q. by अथर्वसि. p. 433, स्मृतिच. II. p. 336, बरा. मा. I. 2. p. 461, स्मृतिच. p. 383. The विष्णुपुराण mentions the king as the अधिकारी in v. 34.

or by persons of his caste, since the king is the relative of all varṇas.<sup>583</sup> There was a close connection between taking the estate of a man and performing the rites after death up to the 10th day. For the doctrines represented by the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Dayabhāga*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 734-743. Even those that regarded that inheritance was based on relationship by blood and not on the capacity to offer *pinda*s held that it was obligatory on everyone who took the estate of another (including the king who took as the ultimate heir by escheat) to arrange for the rites after death and *śrāddha*. Viṣṇu<sup>584</sup> Dh. S. XV. 40 declares 'whoever inherits the estate of a deceased person has to offer *pinda* to him.' Yāj. II 127 says the same thing about the *Kṣetraja* son (ubhayorapyasau rikthi *pinda-dātā* ca dharmataḥ).

The *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 94) states the order of *adhikārins* as follows; a competent son is the first *adhikāri* for offering *pinda*; in default of a son, husband, wife and co-wives; in default of these, the brother's son, the brother, daughter-in-law, daughter, daughter's son, any other *sagotra*, a *sapinda*, a fellow-student, a friend, a pupil, the teacher, any relative and anyone who takes the wealth of the deceased may offer *pinda*. The father is not competent to perform *śrāddha* rites for his (deceased) son, an elder brother for his younger brother; these may even do so through affection but they cannot perform the *sapindikarapa*. Parents may offer *pinda* to unmarried daughters, and even to married daughters in the absence of another (proper) giver. The daughter's son and the maternal grandfather may offer to each other; the daughter's son to maternal grand-mother; the son-in-law and father-in-law to each other, the daughter-in-law to her mother-in-law, brothers among themselves, teacher and pupil to each other. For the order of *śrāddhādhikārins*, according to the *Dayabhāga*, vide H. of Dh.

583. पुत्राभावे सपिण्डास्तु तदभावे सहोदकाः । मातुः सपिण्डा ये च स्युर्ये वा मातुः सहोदकाः ॥ कुपुत्रेन विधिं सम्यगपुत्रस्य स्मृताहृतः । कुपुत्रोत्तामहायैवं पुत्रिकातनयास्तथा । सवाभावे क्षियः कुपुत्रः स्वभर्तृणामन्यत्रकम् । तदभावे च द्रुपतिः कारयेत् स्वकुटुम्बिना । तज्जानी-येनैः सम्यग्दाहायाः सकलाः क्रियाः । सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां बान्धवो द्रुपतिर्यतः । मार्कण्डेयपुराण 30. 19-24 (B. I. ed.) q. by स्मृतिः II. p. 336, परा. मा. I 2. p. 463 (reads कारयेत्तस्य रिक्थतः). These verses (पुत्राभावे...द्रुपतिर्यतः) occur with the addition of a few half verses and variants in the ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 76-80 and the reading of the ब्रह्म (द्रुपतिः कारयेत्स्वकुटुम्बिना by someone who does not belong to the family of the deceased) is better and makes good sense.

584. द्रुतस्य रिक्थग्राहिणा येन केनापि राजपर्यन्तेनौषदेहिकं दग्नाहन्तं कार्यम् । तथा च विष्णुः । यथायहः स पिण्डदायी स्मृत इति । व्यवहारमूल p. 145.

vol. III p. 739. The *Nirṇayasindhu*<sup>585</sup> says that in the Kālī age only two kinds of sons viz. *aurasa* and *dattaka* are allowed (out of the twelve mentioned by Yaj. II 128-132) and the order of śrāddhādhikārin is given by it as follows: *aurasa* son, then grandson, then great grandson, then adopted son. If there are many sons then the eldest alone is the *adhikārin*; if the eldest be not present or is *patita*, then the son next to the eldest is the *adhikārin* (and not the youngest). If the sons are divided from each other, then all the rites up to *sapindikarāṇa* are to be performed by the eldest alone who may make the other sons contribute to the expenses, but the yearly śrāddha may be performed by each son separately. If the sons (of the deceased) are not divided, then all rites including the yearly śrāddha also are to be performed by the eldest alone. When the eldest son not being present, the younger one or the youngest performs the cremation, he should perform all rites up to and including the sixteen śrāddhas, but not *sapindikarāṇa* and he should wait for one year for the arrival of the eldest. If the eldest comes to know of the death within one year, he alone should perform the *sapindikarāṇa*. If the eldest son does not come even at the end of one year, then even the youngest may perform *sapindikarāṇa*. If before the expiry of one year the youngest son or some one other than a son performs the monthly, *anumāsika*, *sapindikarāṇa* śrāddhas, then the eldest son or a son should again perform these. If there is a grandson who has his *upanayana* performed and there be a son whose *upanayana* is not performed it is the latter who is a preferable *adhikārin*, provided he is either three years old or has the *cūḍā* ceremony performed as stated by Sumantu<sup>586</sup>. Manu II. 172 states that a boy should not repeat the Veda before the performance of *Upanayana* except the mantras that are required for the śrāddha of his deceased father or mother. Such a son may perform with Vedic mantras the funeral rites on the death of his father or mother and their yearly and other śrāddhas. If he is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, he may simply perform the cremation with mantras and the rest may be got performed through another person. In the

585. औरसाभावे पौत्रः तदभावे प्रपौत्रस्तदभावे दत्तकादय इति ज्ञेयम्। निर्णयसिन्धु p. 381, which relies on Manu IX. 137 (= Vas. 17.5 and Visṇu 15.46) and Yāj. I. 78. This is opposed to the धर्मसिन्धु p. 368 'दत्तकाभावे पौत्रः पौत्राभावे प्रपौत्रः। अन्ये तु औरसाभावे पौत्रः तदभावे प्रपौत्रः प्रपौत्राभावे दत्तक इत्याहुः'.

586. अक्षपेतोऽपि कुर्वति मन्त्रवत् पेतुमेधिकम्। यद्यसौ कृतवृत्तः स्वाध्याये स्वाञ्च धिक्वत्तरः। सुमन्तु प. by परा. मा. I. 2 p. 465; निर्णयसिन्धु p. 382, मद्. परा. p. 403.

same way he should make only the declaration (*saṅkalpa*) of *darsaśrāddha* and *mahūlaya* and the rest may be performed by some one else. An adopted son becomes an *adhikārin* for funeral rites and the like only if the upanayana has been performed. If there be no lineal descendant up to a great-grandson and also no adopted son, then the wife should perform with mantras the funeral rites and yearly and other śrāddhas but if she is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, then the same rules apply as in the case of an *anupanita* son. Even if the husband be not divided from his brother, or be re-united with his brother, it is the wife and not the brother who is to be preferred as having *adhikāra* for śrāddha, though the brother gets all the property. Though some of the latest works on dharmasāstra like the *Nirṇayasindhu*<sup>587</sup> and *Dharmasindhu* (*bhāryayāpi samantrakam-eva-aurdhvadehikādikam kāryam*) allowed the wife to perform rites after death with vedic mantras, several works such as the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and the *Brahmapurāṇa* did not allow the wife to repeat Vedic mantras (vide note 583 above). In default of the wife, the daughter has the right to perform rites after death if the deceased was separated and not re-united. But if the deceased was joint then his full brother would be the proper *adhikārin* after the wife. Among daughters the married one is preferred, though an unmarried daughter is a preferable heir. In default of daughters, the daughter's son is an *adhikārin*; then a brother, then a brother's son. Among brothers a full brother is preferred to a half brother and if there be both elder and younger brothers, then the younger is preferred for performing rites after death (in order to make as near an approach as possible to the relation of father and son). If there be no younger brother, then even an elder one could be *adhikārin*; in default of full brother, a half brother. Some held that even if the deceased was separate from his brother and had a daughter or daughter's son as heir the funeral rites were to be performed by the brother (and not by the daughter or her son), since a *sagotra* is to be preferred as an *adhikārin* to one of a different *gotra*. If there be no brother, then a full brother's son was to be preferred, then the half brother's son, then father, then mother, then daughter-in-law, then sister. In case of there being

587. असंस्कृतेन पत्न्या च ह्यग्निदानं समञ्जकम् । कर्तव्यमितरसर्वं कारणेदम्यमेव हि ॥  
 कात्यायन q. by मव. पा. pp. 402-403, which remarks 'यदा त्वज्जपनीतः पुत्रः संस्कृतो  
 पत्नी वा तदाग्निदानमेव समञ्जकं कार्यम् ।'. This is opposed to the view of the  
*Viṣṇu-saṁhitā*, *Varaṇasī* and other works.

full sisters, half sisters, younger and older sisters the same rules apply as in the case of brothers; in default of any sister, sister's son. If there be many sister's sons, the rules as to brothers would apply. Then come paternal uncle, his son, other sapindas;<sup>588</sup> then samānodakas, then other persons born in the same family. In default of these, the sapindas of the mother, such as the maternal grand-father, maternal uncle, maternal uncle's son in that order; in default of the sapindas of the mother, the sons of the deceased's paternal or maternal aunt; in default of these the *pitṛ-bandhus* such as the sons of the father's father's sister, of the father's mother's sister, of father's maternal uncle; then the *mātṛ-bandhus* such as mother's father's sisters's son; in default of these, a disciple (of the deceased); in default of disciple, son-in-law of the deceased (or the father-in-law of the deceased); in default of these, a friend; in default, any one who takes the wealth of a brāhmaṇa (deceased); if the deceased was other than a brāhmaṇa the king (who took the wealth of everyone dying heirless, except the wealth of a brāhmaṇa) who arranges for funeral rites through another.

In the case of women the following order of those entitled to perform rites of a deceased woman is given in the *Dharma-sindhu* (p. 370); If the female be unmarried then her father is the *adhikārin*, then her brother and the like; if the woman was married, her son, then her co-wife's son, then co-wife's grandson and then great-grandson; in default of these, the husband; in default of husband, daughter, then daughter's son; then husband's brother; then husband's brother's son; then daughter-in-law; then (the deceased) woman's father; then her brother; then her brother's son and the rest.

An adopted son should perform the śrāddha of his natural father if the latter left no son or other *adhikārī*. If a brahmacārin dies, his monthly, yearly and other śrāddhas should be performed by his father and mother. A brahmacārin may carry the dead body of his parents, or of his maternal grand-father, *upādhyāya* and *ācārya* and perform the cremation and other rites; but if another *adhikārin* is available, he should not do these even for the parents and the other three. A brahmacārin

588. The word *sapinda* here means a man of the same gotra as the deceased but within seven degrees of the common ancestor, tracing relationship through males only; a *samānodaka* means one of the same gotra from 8th to the 14th degree descended from a common ancestor tracing descent through males only and *gotraja* means a relative of the same gotra as the deceased but beyond the 14th degree from the common ancestor.

should not at all carry the dead body of any one except of the above five or perform the cremation and other rites for any one else. If a brahmacārin performed all the rites for ten days he had to observe *āśauca* for ten days, but if he performed only the cremation he had to observe *āśauca* only for one day. Even while in mourning his obligatory acts do not stop; but he should not eat the food cooked for his relatives that are in mourning nor should he dwell among them; if he did (both these) he had to undergo *prāyaścitta* and perform *upamayana* again.

It is somewhat curious that Baudhāyana, the *Līngapurāṇa* (quoted in *Śrāddhaprakāśa* pp. 361-371), the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, the *Pitr̥dayitā* (p. 82) and several other works allow man himself while living to perform his own rites after death (*antyesti*).<sup>589</sup> This will be dealt with briefly later on under *śrāddha*. Further, if a man became *patita* and refused to undergo *prāyaścitta*, he was driven out of the Hindu fold by the procedure of *ghaṭasphoṭa* (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 387-388), and Gaut. Dh. S. 20. 2 and Manu XI. 182-183 provide that such a man was to be held to be dead and his relatives were to perform all rites for him such as offering water and *śrāddha* and were also to observe *āśauca* for him.<sup>590</sup>

Many commentators and digests quote certain verses of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (III. 13. 34-39) wherein the rites (*kriyāḥ*) after death performed for a person are enumerated as falling into three classes, viz. *pūrva*, *madhyama* and *uttara*. The rites from cremation up to the end of the 12th day are called *pūrva*, the *śrāddhas* performed monthly and *sapindikarāṇa* and *ekoddiṣṭa* are called *madhyama* rites and those that are performed after *sapindikarāṇa*, when the deceased has reached the position of *pitr̥* after being a *preta*, are designated *uttara*.<sup>591</sup> The *pūrva* and

589. अन्त्येष्टिमात्मनः कृत्वा क्षास्त्रतश्चोर्ध्वदोहेकम् ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 3.45 (B. I. ed.).

590. तस्य विद्यायुक्त्योनिसम्बन्धाश्च संनिपात्य सर्वान्युद्धकादीनि प्रेतकार्याणि कुर्युः । गो. ध. सू. 20 2.

591. पूर्वाः क्रिया मध्यमाश्च तथा चैवोत्तराः क्रियाः । त्रिप्रकाराः क्रिया होतास्तासां भेदं स्पष्टं मे ॥ आद्याहाह् द्वादशाहाश्च मध्ये याः स्युः क्रिया मताः । पूर्वास्ता मध्यमा मासि मार्येकोद्विस्त्रिताः ॥ प्रेते पितृव्यमापके सपिण्डीकरणादनु । क्रियन्ते याः क्रियाः पित्र्याः प्रोच्यन्ते ता ह्ये. उत्तराः ॥ पितृमातृसपिण्डीश्च समानसलिलैस्तथा । तस्मिन्नुत्पत्तगंतेश्चैव राज्ञा वा धनहारिणा ॥ पूर्वाः क्रिया मध्यमाश्च पुत्राद्यैरेव चोत्तराः । दौहित्रैर्वा नरभेद कार्यास्तसन्-येस्तथा ॥ सूताहनि च कर्तव्याः क्षीणामप्युत्तराः क्रियाः । प्रतिसंवत्सरं राज्ञोकोद्विस्त्रिभामतः ॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 34-39, q. by अपरार्क pp. 433-434, स्मृतिसं- II, p. 336; परा. मा. I. 2 p 464, मद्. पर. pp 478-79, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 387. The printed *विष्णुपुराण* reads आद्याहवार्जुधाद्विस्त्रिभामतस्तु याः क्रियाः । It has been provided in *विष्णुपुराण* III. 13. 21 that after the *brāhmanas* are fed on the 11th day after death the relatives should touch water, weapons, whip or a staff respectively according as they belong to the four *varṇas* and then they become pure.



madhyama rites of the deceased may be performed by the father, the mother, sapindas, samānodakas and those belonging to the deceased's group (gotra) or by the king if he takes the wealth of the deceased. But the rites called *uttara* are to be performed only by the son, grandson, great-grandson, daughter's son or the latter's sons. Even in the case of women, on the day of the anniversary of death every year an *ekoddīsta śrāddha* may be performed for them. There is also another classification of *śrāddhas* viz. *Navaśrāddha* (those rites up to ten days after death), *Navamīśra* (those performed after ten days up to six seasons), *Purāṇa* (those performed after a year).<sup>591 a</sup>

As stated above, for ten days after death a handful of water mixed with sesame was to be offered to the deceased on a stone (*aśman*) placed on kuśa grass and one large piṇḍa (called *pūraka-piṇḍa*) was to be offered on kuśa grass everyday with the face to the south and the sacred thread on the right shoulder (*prācināvitī*) for the purpose of freeing the departed from the state of being a *preta*. On the piṇḍa, water mixed with sesame was to be offered and leaves of *Bhr̥ngarāja* (called *mākā* in Marathi) and *Tulasī* also. The verse 'anādi-nidhano' was to be repeated<sup>592</sup>. The performer throws the piṇḍa in water and then bathes. Vide A. K. D. pp. 43-50 and *Antyestī-paddhati* of Nārāyaṇa for detailed treatment of the procedure of these ten days. Besides this, the Āśvalāyana-*gṛhyaparīśiṣṭa*<sup>593</sup> III, 6 speaks of five *śrāddhas* called 'nava-

591 a. नवश्राद्धं दशाहानि नवमिधं तु षड्भूतान् । अतः परं पुराणं वै त्रिविधं श्राद्ध-  
मुच्यते ॥ आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टे Q. by अपरार्क p. 525, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 395.  
अपरार्क (p. 521) says: एकोद्विहस्तु तत्र त्रिविधम् । नवं मिधं पुराणं च । तत्रैकादशाहान्तं  
नवम् । तदूर्ध्वमा संवत्सराभिश्च । तत् उत्तरं पुराणम् । The printed आश्व. गृ. परि. III. 9  
(B. I. edition) reads अर्धैकोद्विहं तत् त्रेधा भवति नवं मिधं पुराणं चैत्यन्तर्दशाहे नवं  
मिश्राणि मासिकानि चतुर्विंशदौ पुराणानि । The स्मृतिच. on अशौच p. 175 quotes  
मजापति 'नवश्राद्धं दशाहान्तं मिधं संवत्सराधि । एकादशाहमात्रं कुर्यात्पेतवस्तुके ॥'.

592. अनादिनिधनो देवः शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः । अक्षयः पुण्डरीकाक्षः पेतमोक्षप्रदो भव ॥  
quoted by अश्वेष्टिपद्धति of नारायण.

593. अथ नवश्राद्धानि दशाहेषु विषमदिनेषामेव कुर्यात्पेतमभिस्तथाव ब्राह्मण-  
मुद्व्युक्तमुपवेद्य तस्मिन्स्पर्णां तिलानवकीर्य काश्यपगोत्रं देवदत्तामुष्मिन्नहनि एतदामं त्वामुप-  
तिष्ठतामिति तदहःसम्बन्धेनेत्युक्तं पिण्डं चामग्न्योक्तव्यप्रदाय स्नायादेव चिथिरन्तर्दशाहकर्मणि ।  
आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टे III. 6. The नवश्राद्धs are एकोद्विह and several details  
which occur in other श्राद्धs are omitted here and the word पितु is not to be  
employed, but only the word पेत. The गृह्यपुराण (II. 29. 35-37) enumerates  
eighteen details that were to be omitted in पेतश्राद्धs. Vide छान्दिपकाश pp. 215,  
221; 'तथाचाक्षरः । प्रथमेद्विंशतिं पुनर्येद्विंशतिं पञ्चमे सप्तमे तथा । नवमेकादशे चैव तत्रनवश्राद्ध-  
मुच्यते ।' Q. by मद्र. पा. p. 618, the मिश्र. on पा. I. 252 (without name) and  
महोजि ०२ चतुर्विंश. p. 168.

śrāddhas' (or Viśamaśrāddhas) performed on the uneven days (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 9th) with uncooked food. According to the Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 34. 36 which speaks of six śrāddhas on uneven days from 1st day to 11th) and Āpastamba they are six (Dharmasindhu p. 464, Nirṇayasindhu p. 588, Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 214-216, Śrāddhatattva p. 619) and according to others there is an option. Āngiras and Vasistha speak of six Navaśrāddhas on uneven days from the 1st to the 11th, while Baud. Pīṭṛmedha S. II 10. 6 speaks of five. Some prescribe the placing of some cooked food sprinkled with ghee on the hand of a brāhmaṇa. Others do not approve of this. They prescribe the placing of uncooked corn in front of a brāhmaṇa or in front of a figure of a brāhmaṇa made with kuśas (called *cata* in Marathi). The Garuḍapurāṇa (II 5. 67 ff) holds that the navaśrāddhas are those performed at the place where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way, when the bones were collected and those performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th day. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 214 quotes similar views from Kātyāyana and the view of Yṛddha-Vasiṣṭha that the deceased does not become free from the status of a *preta*, unless the *navaśrāddhas* are performed. The Garuḍapurāṇa, Pretakhaṇḍa (chap. 34. 27-28, 44, 48) states that by the piṇḍas offered for ten days the several limbs of a subtle body are provided for the departed spirit which at first wanders like thin air. There are several differing views on the navaśrāddhas which are passed over here. On the uneven days if navaśrāddha is performed two piṇḍas will be offered (one the daily one and the other, of the navaśrāddha). The Padma (Śrṣṭikhaṇḍa 10. 19) prescribes that one should not partake of the food at *navaśrāddha* and on doing so should undergo the cāndrāyana expiation.

In modern times, after the rites of the first day of cremation and of the collection of the bones, the rites for the dead generally begin on the 10th day. The performer goes to the place where the rites of the first day were performed, makes a *sankalpa* and offers a piṇḍa with the words 'May this piṇḍa wait upon the *preta* named N. N. and of the gotra (Kāśyapa &c.) in order that hunger and thirst affecting the *preta* may be removed'. Then he offers water mixed with sesame, places leaves of *bhṛṅgarāja* and *tulasī*, repeats the verse 'anādinidhano' (note 592), removes the piṇḍa to another place from the place where it was offered. Then he prepares a *vedi* with

loose earth with a triangular shape, purifies it by means of cowdung, decks it with turmeric powder and places thereon five jars full of water and on each of them a ball of rice. Then he offers a request to the middle jar with the words 'May this pinda together with the jar of water wait upon the *preta* by name N. N., of such and such a gotra in order that his hunger and thirst may be allayed'. There is a prayer before the jars to the east, south, west and north respectively to those whom the *preta* had befriended, to Yama, to crows, to Rudra respectively. There is a difference of view here, some prescribing four jars, some three, while others offer a pinda with the jar of water only on the place meant for the *preta* and mere pinda to others. Then water is offered over the pinda and to each of the above he offers sandals, umbrella, banner, bread. Then the performer waits till a crow seizes or eats the pinda placed to the west<sup>594</sup>. Then the *aśman* (stone) is anointed with oil and cast in water. Then the performer requests the relatives, who offer one handful or three handfuls of water to the *preta* on the bank of the reservoir of water. Then the sons and others according to usage cut their hair and nails. Then all persons of the same gotra, according to the custom of the country, bathe with sesame and myrobalan, wear pure and dried garments, go home and take their meals there.

594. In modern times great importance is attached by many people to a crow touching and pecking at the pinda food. There is a common belief that if a crow does not touch the pinda then the deceased had some intense wish at his death that was unfulfilled and it is certainly heart-rending and a source of poignant sorrow even for passers-by to see the relatives waiting for hours and tempting the crow or crows to come down from trees with dainty pieces of *copra* and other things and also loudly declaring that they would do this or that and fulfil the last desire of the deceased. Often it so happens that no crow touches the pinda food in honour of the deceased, a very old and venerable man, and relatives are very much distressed to find that their venerable ancestor who could have hardly any ambition or desire at the advanced age of 80 or 90 (except to die speedily), judging from the reluctance of the crow, had some unfulfilled desire. Often the crow immediately touches the pinda offered to one who died very young (say 25 or 30 years old) and who would naturally be presumed to have many unfulfilled desires. In such cases the relatives feel very much relieved at the thought that their young relative passed away without any unfulfilled desires. The *Suddhikaumudī* refers to this offering to crows as a usage. तथाचारत् काकचलिदानम् । पिण्डक्षेपणं यात्रे कृत्वा अहकगोत्रस्य प्रेतस्याहकहर्मणो विक्षेपमुत्तरे यमद्वारावस्थितवायसाय एव बलिर्नम इत्युत्सृज्य कृताञ्जलिः—काकं त्वं यमदूतोऽसि दद्यान् बलिद्वयमम् । यमलोकगतं प्रेतं त्वमाप्तायितुमर्हसि । काकाय काकपुत्राय वायसाय महात्मने । दुःखं बलिं ययच्छामि यैस्त्वय सुसिद्ध्येते ॥ इति पठेत् । छद्दिक्कोट्टरी p. 135.

Some of the Purāṇas and medieval digests assert that after a man dies, the soul or spirit assumes what is called an *ātivāhika* <sup>594 a</sup> body consisting of three of the five elements (viz. fire, wind and *ākāśa*) that rise up from the dead body (while two viz. earth and water remain below), that such a body is obtained only by men and not by other beings, that with the aid of the *piṇḍas* that are offered to the departed at the time of cremation and during ten days thereafter, the soul secures another body called *bhogadeha* (a body for enjoying the *piṇḍas* offered) and that at the end of a year when *sapīṇḍikarāṇa* is performed, the soul secures a third body wherewith the spirit reaches heaven or hell according to the nature of his actions. The word '*ātivāhika*' is comparatively an ancient one. It occurs in Vedāntasūtra IV. 3.4 (*ātivāhikās-tal-lingāt*). But there the meaning is somewhat different. The Upaniṣads speak of the soul as going by the path of *arcis*, day &c. The sūtra says that these (viz. *arcis*, *ahāḥ* &c.) are superintending deities that take the soul gradually onward by the path that leads to *Brahma*. Govindānanda in his commentary on the Prāyascittaviveka (pp. 13-14) holds that there are only two bodies (and not three as appears at first sight), viz. the *ātivāhika* or *pretadeha* and the *bhogadeha*. The belief was that the man on whose death no *piṇḍa* was offered or the sixteen *śrāddhas* (to be described below) were not performed remained for all time in the condi-

594 a. तत्क्षणादेव युष्माति शरीरमातिवाहिकम् । ऊर्ध्वं ब्रजन्ति धृतानि क्षीण्यस्मात्तस्य विग्रहात् ॥ आतिवाहिकसंज्ञोऽसौ देहो भवति भार्गव । केवलं तन्मनुष्याणां नाग्येषां प्राणिनां काचित् ॥ मृतपिण्डैस्ततो दत्तेर्देहमाप्नोति भार्गव । भोगदेहमिति मोक्तं क्रमादेव न संशयः । मृत-पिण्डा न क्षीयन्ते यस्य तस्य विमोक्षणम् । इमंज्ञानिकेभ्यो देवेभ्य आकल्पं नैव विद्यते ॥ तत्रास्य यातना घोराः शीतवातातपोद्भवाः । ततः सपिण्डकिरणे बाग्धवैः स कृते नरः । पूर्णे संवत्सरे देह-मनोर्यं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ततः स नरको याति स्वर्गं वा स्वेन कर्मणा । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण quoted by माय. वि. pp. 13-14, and छुद्धितत्त्व p. 324. गोविन्दानन्द explains क्षीणि धृतानि as 'शुषिण्यत्तेर्जाति' and thus differs from रघुनन्दन. The गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड chap. 10. 79. ff) says the same: 'उत्क्रामन्तं...ज्ञानचक्षुषः ॥ आतिवाहिकमित्येवं वायवीयं वदन्ति हि । ...पुत्रादिभिः कृताश्चेत्तुः पिण्डा दश दशाहिकाः । पिण्डजेन तु देहेन वायुजश्चैकतां ब्रजेत् । पिण्डतो यदि नैव स्याद्वायुजोर्हति यातनाम् ॥.' The first verse (उत्क्रामन्तं) is गीता 15.10. The गरुडपुराण states: विहाय सुमहत्कुलं शरीरं पाञ्चभौतिकम् ॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मजम् ॥...स्वशरीरं सद्यस्तु न वायुधृतस्तु गच्छति । chap. 214. 29-30 and 51; निमित्तं किञ्चिदासाद्य देहो प्राणीर्विमुच्यते ॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मभिः । अग्निपुराण 230. 2-3; युष्माति तत्क्षणाद्योगे शरीरं आतिवाहिकम् । आकाशावायुतेजांसि विग्रहादूर्ध्वगामिनः ॥ जलं मही च पञ्चत्वमापकाः पुरुषः स्मृतः । आतिवाहिकदेहं तु यमवृता नयन्ति तम् ॥ अग्नि. 371. 9-10. The मार्कण्डेय (10. 63-64) says 'वाय्वग्रसारी तद्वयं देहमन्यं प्रपद्यते । तत्कर्मजं यातनार्थं न मातापितृसम्भवम् ॥.'

tion of a *piśūca*, from which he would not be freed even if numerous other śrāddhas were later on offered for him.<sup>595</sup> The Brahmapurāṇa calls the body 'yātāniya' (i. e. one that has to undergo trials and torments), while the Agnipurāṇa calls it 'yātāniya' or 'ātivāhika' and asserts that this body is made up of the elements of *ākāśa*, *vāyu* and *tejas*. The Padmapurāṇa (IL 67. 98) states that persons who commit certain sins secure after death a body similar in shape to the physical body for undergoing torments. The underlying conception was that when the gross body was destroyed after death by cremation, burial or other methods an intermediate subtile body had to be built up before the departed soul was compelled to assume another body in a fresh incarnation. The subtile body was gradually built up, as stated by the Mārka. 10.73, by the rites performed on death and on several days after death. Though this conception is very clearly set forth in the Purāṇas it should not be supposed that it was altogether a new one. It had its roots deep down in the earliest Vedic period and was implicit in some of the hymns as indicated by Rg. X. 15. 14, X. 16. 4-5 translated above. Though in the Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1-2 and in passages of the Tai. Br. and Śat. Br. to be set out later on it is said that the offerings are made to the paternal ancestors, it does not follow that the brāhmanas were not fed at the same time on the food prepared for being offered to the ancestors, just as in the solemn Vedic sacrifices offerings were made to the gods, Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and others and at the same time priests engaged in the sacrifices were fed and given presents (*dakṣiṇā*). Therefore, it need not be necessarily supposed that feeding the brāhmanas at śrāddha was a later idea and offering food to the dead was the original idea.

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595. अस्मैतानि न दीयन्ते मेतश्चाद्धानि षोडश । पिशाचत्वं भुवं तस्य इत्येः आङ्-  
 शतैरपि ॥ यम प. by आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 362 and तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी on प्रा. नि. p. 14. Almost  
 the same verse is लिखितस्थिति V. 16 and गण्डवपुराण, मेतश्चाद्धानि 34. 131.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUDDHI

Suddhi (purification) is a very comprehensive topic including within it purification after āsauca (impurity on birth and death), purification of a person after contact with an impure object or on account of certain occurrences, purification of pots, wells, food &c., after they are polluted. Āsauca, however, is the most important subject under suddhi and therefore the Śuddhi-kaumudī defines 'suddhi' as 'the state of being fit for or capable of performing the rites that are understood from the Veda.'<sup>596</sup> The Smṛtis employ the word suddhi in relation to purification after āsauca. For example, Manu V. 57 starts by saying that he will expound purification after a man is dead (pretasuddhi) and purification of things (dravyasuddhi). Manu V. 83 (= Dakṣa VI. 7) avers that a brahmana becomes pure after ten days (on the death or birth of a relative), a ksatriya after twelve &c. The Parāśara-smṛti starts chapter three by declaring 'I shall expound suddhi on birth and death.' Yaj. III. 14, 25 also employ the word suddhi. Therefore āsauca on birth and death will be first dealt with.

The word *āsauca* is formed from *śuci* (pure) according to Pāp. V. 1. 131<sup>596a</sup> and Pāp. VII. 3. 30 (vide note below) with the negative particle *na* (a). In some smṛtis such as that of Devala the form 'āsucya' also is found (see Hāratalā pp. 2, 9, 36 in quotations from Devala<sup>596b</sup>). Another word which is often used as a synonym for āsauca is 'agha'. It has been seen above (p. 6) that the word *agha* means 'sin' in the Vedic Literature (as in Rg. I. 97. 1-8, X. 117.6). But in the Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 11,

596 वेदबोधितकर्माहता शुद्धिः । शु. कौ. p. 1.

596 a. इयन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात् । पा. V. 1. 131 (अन् अनुवर्तते)—शुचेर्भावः कर्म वा शौचम् । न शौचमशौचम् । This is one way of explaining the word. We may also explain न शुद्धिं अशुद्धिं, अशुचेर्भावः कर्म च आशौचं or अशौचं according to नम्रः शुचीभरक्षेत्रजकुशलनिपुणानाम् । (पा. VII. 3. 30).

596 b. जनने मरणे नित्यमाशुच्यमवस्थावति । देवल q. by हारलता p. 2 ; आशुच्यं वशारात्रं तु सर्वत्राप्यपरे विदुः । देवल q. by शुद्धिः p. 41.

Manu V. 84 (na vārdhayed-aghāhāni) the word 'agha' has come to mean the same thing as āsauca.<sup>597</sup> The Padmapurāṇa II. 66. 73-74 states that since the outlets of the body always emit mucus, urine &c. it is always impure.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 1 defines<sup>598</sup> āsauca as an emergent attribute attaching to a person, which is got rid of by lapse of time or a bath and the like and which is the cause of the positive direction to offer (to a deceased person) piṇḍa, water and the like and of the cessation of Vedic study and other actions. The Mit. adds that āsauca is not merely the absence of the privilege or power to do religious acts, since even those who have incurred impurity (on death &c.) are enjoined to do certain religious acts such as offering water (to the deceased). This definition of the Mit. appears to be an echo of the Garuḍa-purāṇa (pretakhaṇḍa) 5. 9 and is probably based on a verse of the work called Saṅgraha. Haradatta<sup>599</sup> on Gautama 14. 1 states that āsauca may be defined as 'the absence of the privilege to perform religious acts, unfitness for being one whose food may be partaken of, untouchability and the loss of the privilege to make religious gifts.' A comparatively early writer Bhaṭṭācārya,<sup>600</sup> appears to have defined 'suddhi' as the 'removal of sin' or as 'being fit for performing religious acts.' This was accepted by the Smṛti-candrikā, but rejected by Nandapāṇḍita, commentator of Śaḍasīti (pp. 2-3). Even the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 18) emphasizes that āsauca has two characteristics, viz. it takes away the privilege of performing

597. नाघाहानि वर्धयेदुरिति ह स्माह कौपीताकिः । शां. औ. IV. 15. 11. The com. says 'अघाहनेनात्र मरणमुच्यते । येन हः स पिण्डमरणं संवृत्तं तावदाहानि मरणाद्वारम्येकरात्रादीनि यानि ज्ञतेर्योसांयुक्तानि तानि न वर्धयेदुः नाभ्यधिकानि कुरुः । कर्मानधिकार-ज्ञतेरन्यमप्युः ।'.

598. आशौचज्ञेन च कालस्नानाद्यपनोद्यः पिण्डोदकदानादिभिधेः अध्ययनादिपर्युदासस्य च निमित्तभूतः पुरुषगतः कश्चनातिशयः कथ्यते न पुनः कर्मानधिकारमात्रम् । मिता. on य. III. 1; अपनोद्यं त्विदं कालादिभिराद्यु निषेधकम् । पिण्डाध्ययनदानादेः पुंगतोतिशयो हि तत् ॥ गवह (प्रेतखण्ड 5.9); निमित्तं पिण्डदानादेः पुरुषस्यमद्युद्धिक् । कालस्नानापनोद्यं यत्तदाशौचमितीयेत ॥ संग्रह q. by स्मृतिसु. (आशौच) p. 477.

599. किं पुनरिदमाशौचक्षणम् । कर्मण्यनधिकारोऽभोजयावताऽस्तृप्यता दानादिष्वनधिकारिता । हरवत् on गो. 14. 1.

600. छान्दिगद्धार्यस्तु पापक्षयः छान्दिधर्मयोग्यत्वमेव वा इति भट्टाचार्योक्तो ब्रह्मव्यः । पापक्षयः सपिण्डादौ जने मरणे वा तत्सम्बन्ध्यादावुत्पत्तयः पापविशेषस्य क्षयः । धर्मयोग्यत्वं दानादिधर्मवृत्तानाह्वयम् । एवं छान्दिगद्धार्यो मतमेवेन द्विधा विहृतो भट्टाचार्यैः । स्मृतिसु. (आशौचकाण्ड p. 2). स्मृतिसु. p. 477 mentions this view.

religious acts and it renders a person untouchable. The *Smṛtimuktāphala* follows this. Rudradhara in his *Suddhiviveka* (D. C. ms. No. 309 of 1887-91 folio 1) says that *suddhi* is a special attribute which brings about a capacity or privilege for the performance of all dharmas, while *āsuddhi* is an attribute opposed to *suddhi* and arises on the occasion of the birth of a *sapiṇḍa* or the like.<sup>601</sup>

Āśauca is of two kinds, viz. that arising on birth<sup>602</sup> (and so called *jananāśauca* or *sūtaka*) and that arising on death (and therefore called *śāvāśauca* or *mṛtakāśauca* or *maranāśauca*). *Śāva* is derived from *śava* (meaning a corpse). The word *sūtaka* occurs in the<sup>603</sup> Ait. Br. (chap. 32. 8) and is there probably used in the sense of impurity on both birth and death. There it is said that if an *āhitāgni* partook of food from the house of him who was affected by *sūtaka*, then the *prāyaścitta* was to offer a *puroḍāśa* cooked on eight potsherds to Agni Tantumat. Tantu means also 'son or progeny' and so it may be argued that it is an indication that *sūtaka* is used in the Ait. Br. in the sense of impurity on birth. The word *sūtaka* is used in the *smṛtis* in three senses: (1) impurity on birth (vide Manu V. 58); (2) impurity both on birth and death, as in Gobhilaśmṛti III. 60 and 63;<sup>604</sup> (3) impurity on death alone (as in Dakṣa VI. 1 and Gobhilaśmṛti III. 48)<sup>605</sup>. In some of the modern vernaculars (such as Marathi) the word '*sūtaka*' is used in the 3rd sense alone. In each of these two divisions there are two varieties viz. where the duration is brief or comparatively long (Śaḍaśīti, verse 2).

A question arises why birth and death should cause impurity to the members of the family or to relatives. Only a

601. शुद्धिस्तावदखिलधर्माधिकारापावको धर्मविशेषः। अशुद्धिस्तु तद्विरोधी धर्मविशेष एव। स च सपिण्डजन्मादिनिमित्तकः। शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

602. आशौचं द्विविधं कर्मानधिकारलक्षणं सृष्ट्यन्तलक्षणं च। स्मृतिश्रु. (p. 477).

603. तदाहुर्य आहिताग्निर्यदि घृतकाकं प्राश्नीयात्का तत्र प्राप्यभक्षितरिति। सोऽग्नये तन्तुमतेऽष्टाकपालं पुरोडाशं निर्वपेत्तस्य याज्यानुवाक्ये तन्तुं तन्वस्त्रजसो भातुमिन्वह-क्षानहो नक्षत्रनोत् सोम्या इति। आहुतिं बाह्वनीये जुहुयादग्नये तन्तुमते स्वाहेति। ऐ. ब्रा. 32. 8. तन्तुं तन्वन् is Rg. X. 53. 6 and अक्षानह is Rg. X. 53. 7.

604. घृतके कर्मणां त्यागः सन्ध्यादीनां विधीयते। होमः शीतस्तु कर्तव्यः शुष्काक्षेनापि वा फलेः॥ गोभिलस्मृति called छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट q. by हारलता p. 6, छ. कौ., and आश्वम. p. 83.

605. घृतकं तु प्रवक्ष्यामि जन्ममृत्युनिमित्तकम्। यावज्जीवं तृतीयं तु यथावदनुपूर्वशः॥ दक्ष. VI. 1; अष्टांगामलाये पार्णानि शकलान्युक्तयाहता। भर्जयेदस्थिसंलयानि ततः प्रभृति घृतकम्॥ गोभिल III. 48. The 4th pāda of the latter is q. by हारलता p. 2.



few have to say anything on this question. Hārīta says: 'the family incurs death impurity because by death the family feels overwhelmed (or frustrated), while when a new life appears the family increases (and there is gratification or joy)' <sup>606</sup>.

The literature on Śuddhi (including āsauca) is very extensive. Apart from the sūtras, smṛtis and Purāṇas there are numerous digests dealing with the subject at great length. Some of them have been printed. The smṛtis contain a mass of contradictory dicta to such an extent and different from the usages of medieval times that the Mit. on Yāj. III. 22 after quoting the views of Parāśara, Śātātapa, Vasistha and Āṅgīras on the periods for which impurity had to be observed by persons belonging to the four varṇas refuses to evolve order out of them and remarks that the usages in its day were different from the dicta of those sages <sup>607</sup>. The Madana-pārijāta (p. 392) agrees with the Mit. and also suggests other modes of dealing with the conflict. Two examples may be cited of the way in which different smṛtis approach the same problem. Atri 83, Parāśara III. 5 and Dakṣa VI. 6 provide that a brāhmaṇa who has consecrated the three Vedic fires and has mastered the Veda becomes free from impurity (on birth and death) in one day, one who has merely mastered the Veda (but has not consecrated the śrauta fires) in three days and one who is devoid of both in ten days. Manu V. 59 gives various options viz. 10 days, 4 days, 3 days, 1 day but does not state explicitly to whom his remarks apply. Brhaspati <sup>607a</sup> (q.

606. अथ च कुलस्यापित्वे कारणमाह हारीतः । प्रेताभिभूतत्वाच्छावमाशौचं जीने वृद्धियोगेन कुलस्य भवति । इति । जायमानश्चिपमाणयोः सम्बन्धिनां सन्तपेदासन्तोषदाभ्यां वृद्धिस्तययोगाद्वा कुलस्याप्याशौचं भवतीत्यर्थः । छुद्धिश्चन्द्रिका on षडशीति p. 4. The स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 11 reads somewhat differently "नन्वपस्याशौचं सपिण्डगतितिकानां न भवति कारणभावादेत्याहङ्कणमाह हारीतः 'प्रेताभिभूतत्वाच्छावमाशौचं जीने वृद्धियोगेन केनेति सीमासन्ते नाप्यच्छिन्नकालानामुच्छेदभूयस्ताच्च कुलस्याशौचं भवति' इति ।"

607. इत्येवमनेकोच्चावचाशौचकल्पा वर्जिताः । तेषां लोके समाचाराभावाकानीय व्यवस्थाप्रदर्शनमुपयोगीति नात्र व्यवस्था प्रदर्श्यते । मिला on या. III. 22 ; लोकसमाचारावनादरणीयमिति केचन । अथवा वेशाचारात्तो व्यवस्था । उत गुणवद्वगुणवद्विषये यथाक्रमं न्यूनाधिककल्पाश्रयेण निर्वाहः । किंवा आपवनापदेनैव व्यवस्था । मद्र. पा. p. 392.

607 a. त्रिरात्रेण विशुध्येत योऽग्निवेदसम्बन्धितः । पञ्चाहेनाग्निहीनस्तु दशाहाह् ब्राह्मणव्रतः । बृहस्पति q. by कल्प. (छुद्धि) p. 4, हारलता p. 5 and शु. को. p. 7. अङ्गिरस् defines ब्राह्मणव्रत as 'गर्भाधानादिसंस्कारेर्दुक्तश्च निष्कमव्रतः । नाप्यापयति नाधीते रिक्षेयो ब्राह्मणव्रतः' .

by Hāratalā p. 5 and Haradatta on Gautama 14. 1) states that a brāhmaṇa who is endowed with Veda and śrauta fires becomes pure after three days, one who is devoid of śrauta fires (but is master of the Veda) in five days and one who is only a brāhmaṇa by caste (has not studied the Veda or does not teach it) in ten days. The Śān Śr. and Manu <sup>608</sup> (both quoted above) urge a man not to increase through laziness the number of days for which impurity is to be observed. It is possible that persons claiming to be learned observed impurity for a few days only, while neighbours disputed their claim to this special dispensation in favour of Vedic learning and keeping śrauta fires. The result was that later on a flat number of ten days was prescribed for all brāhmaṇas whether learned or not and the provision for lesser number of days of impurity was relegated to *Kalivarjya* usages. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 941-42.

Another example of the dependence of the days of impurity on the caste of the deceased and of varying dicta thereon may be cited. Manu V. 83, Dakṣa VI. 7, Yāj. III. 22, Atri (verse 85), Śāṅkha (15. 2-3), Matsyapurāṇa (18. 2-3), Brahmapurāṇa 220. 63, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 1-4, all lay down periods of 10 days, 12 days, 15 days and a month for impurity among brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras respectively. Yaj. III. 22 makes the virtuous śūdra observe impurity only for 15 days as a concession. Gaut. (15. 1-4) prescribes 10, 11, 12 days (or half month) and a month respectively for the four varṇas, while Vas. (4. 27-30) gives the periods of 10, 15, 20 and one month for the four *varṇas*. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his article on Nāgara brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Bengal, protests that the Kāyasthas of Bengal (owing to social tyranny) still observe āśauca for one month as if they are ordinary śūdras (I. A. for 1932 at p. 71). On the other hand, Āṅgiras (quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 22) states that Śātātapa declared that all *varṇas* become purified after ten days whether the impurity is due to birth or death.<sup>609</sup> Parāśara (III. 9) quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 18

608. On न वर्षयेद्व्याहानि (मनु. V. 84) कुल्लूक comments: यद्यपि तु वृत्तस्त्राध्यापाद्यपेक्षया पूर्वमर्वाक्संज्ञवनावस्थनाम्-इत्याद्याशीचक्ष्णोश्च उक्तः स निष्कर्मा सुखमासिध्ये इति उज्ज्वला नाशीचविनानि वशाहादिरूपतया वर्षयेत्संक्षुब्धिताशीचविनेवशपि ।

609. अङ्गिरास्त्राह-सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां द्वातेन द्वातेन तथा । दशाहाष्टद्विद्विदेषामिति शाततापोऽप्यधीत् ॥ मिता. on वा. III. 22.

provides that a *sapiṇḍa* who is 4th in descent from the common ancestor of the deceased and himself becomes pure after ten days, one who is 5th after 6 days, one who is 6th in descent after four days and one who is 7th after one day. The Mit. says that this should be discarded as it is in conflict with many other smṛtis and is disapproved of by people.<sup>610</sup> Some of the rules mentioned by Vijñāneśvara (about 1100 A. D.) themselves underwent changes in 500 years as noted by the Nirṇayasindhu (composed in 1612 A. D. <sup>611</sup>).

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 18 declares that when a child that has not completed two years dies, it is the parents that have to observe āśauca for ten days and not all sapiṇḍas and that their āśauca entails untouchability for them. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 517) remarks that what Vijñāneśvara said is not now (in its time) the usage and that the Smṛtyarthasāra also did not accept Vijñāneśvara's view.

In view of the above-mentioned circumstances no useful purpose would be served by setting out in detail the varying dicta of the smṛtis, Purāṇas <sup>612</sup> and the digests upon the several matters that fall to be treated under āśauca. Digests on this subject are too numerous to mention. The following printed ones and a few mss. have been made use of in preparing the following account. In the first place, there are several works that deal with this subject in verse. The Āśaucāṣṭaka attributed to Vararuci (published in the Trivandrum series) with a

610. यः पुनः स्मृत्यन्तरवचनम्-चतुर्थे वंशरात्रे ह्यत्यग्निरातः पुंसि पञ्चमे । षष्ठे चतुरहोऽष्टदिः सप्तमे स्वहरेषु तु ॥ इति तद्विधीतत्वादावर्णीयम् । यद्यप्यविधीतं तथापि मनुष्यकौटुम्बिकलभनवलोकविद्विष्टत्वात्तुष्टेयम् । अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेत् न-इति मनुस्मरणात् । मित्ता. on या. III. 18. अस्वर्ग्यं is the latter half of या. I. 156.

611. यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरेणोक्तं-ऊनाद्विधेः उभयोः क्षतकं मानुरेव हीति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेः गर्भस्थे येन मानुर्दशाहं जात उभयोः कृते नास्ति सोदराणां च इति पैङ्गवोक्तेः च पित्रोः सोदराणां च वंशाहमसृज्यत्वमिति तत्तेदानीं मन्वराति । अत एव स्मृत्यर्थसारं तस्माद्वतम् । निर्णयसिन्धु p. 517. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 80) states 'अनुपनीतमरणे मातापित्रोर्दशाहाराक्षी-पक्षोऽनादृतः'.

612. Several among the Purāṇas devote considerable space to āśauca. For example, the Kūrma (Uttarārdha Chap. 23), Liṅgapurāṇa (Purvārdha, Chapter 89. 77-92), Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa Chap. 5), Agnipurāṇa (Chapters 157-158), Vāmana (14. 96-102) do so. In the Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 5) several verses are taken from Yājñavalkya, Manu and other smṛtis.

commentary by an anonymous writer that names the bhāṣya of Maskarin on Gautama-dharmasūtra (on p. 35) deals with the subject in eight *sragdharā* verses. The Āśaucadaśaka or Daśaśloki attributed to Vijñāneśvara seems to have been a very popular work. There are several commentaries on it. The one by Harihara is the earliest of them. In the Deccan College collection of Mss (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona) there are several Mss of it, two of which were copied in *saṃvat* 1539 (D. C. No. 216 of 1879-80) and *saṃvat* 1579 (D. C. No. 196 of 1884-87) and which expressly state that the work was composed by Vijñāneśvara-yogindra. The ten Śārdūlavikrīḍita verses of the Āśaucadaśaka are set out in the appendix. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara has a section on śuddhi which has been recently published in the G. O. S. The Hāratalā of Aniruddha is very useful (B. I. Series). The Āśaucakāṇḍa of the Smṛticandrikā has been edited by the late Dr. Shamsastry and published as No. 56 of the Mysore University Sanskrit publications. The Trīṃśacchloki with the commentary of Raghunātha composed in *śake* 1645 has been published at the Poona Ānandaśrama press and contains 30 Sragdharā verses on āśauca. The Ṣaḍaśīti (86 verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre) of Kauśikāditya with the commentary Śuddhicandrikā by Vināyaka *alias* Nandapāṇḍita (composed about 1600 A. D.) has been published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The Śuddhikaumudī of Govindananda (B. I. Series); the Śuddhitattva of Raghunandana (ed. by Jivananda pp. 233-412), the Śuddhiprakāśa (part of the Viramitrodaya of Mitramiśra) published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series, the Śuddhimayūkha of Nilakaṇṭha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) and the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) are compilations that are useful in their own way. These exhaustive treatises on āśauca show one thing unmistakably that brāhmaṇas of the medieval ages attached an extremely exaggerated importance to ceremonial purity of the body on birth and death.

The periods of impurity depended on many circumstances. There was a difference between impurity on birth and that on death; so also the duration depended upon whether the deceased was an infant or a male or a female or one whose *upanayana* had been performed or not performed; it depended on caste and also on the question whether the deceased died near the relative or far away; also upon the degree of relationship; and on the time that elapsed from the birth or death till it reached the ears

of the relative. The intensity of impurity was different in each of the following: a *sūtikā* (a freshly delivered woman), *rajasvalā* (woman in monthly illness), impurity on death, impurity on birth (the last being the least).

Dakṣa (VI. 2-3) states that there are ten varieties in impurity, viz. immediate purity (after taking a bath), one day, three days, four days, six days, ten days, twelve days, a fortnight, a month and till the end of one's life.<sup>613</sup> Dakṣa then explains in what cases these different periods apply. As to what is meant by impurity till life's end (lit. till he is reduced to ashes), Dakṣa (VI. 8-10) says: 'those who take their meals without bathing or offering to gods or without making gifts—all such persons are in impurity till life ends. One who is permanently afflicted with a disease, who is close-fisted (i. e. stints himself, wife and son and religious acts through greed), who is always in debt (i. e. who has not paid off his debts to gods, sages and manes), who is bereft of religious acts (*nitya* or *naimittika*), who is a fool and is under the thumb of his wife, whose mind is bent on vices (gambling, prostitution &c.), who is always dependent (a king's servant or the like), who is devoid of faith and benevolence (charitable gifts)—he incurs impurity which ends only with his ashes (i. e. only when he is cremated).<sup>614</sup> These words are not to be taken literally; what is meant is that such a man is to be shunned by others (i. e. it is an *arthavāda* conveying merely censure).

We shall now turn to the impurity on birth.

That the impurity on birth lasted for ten days even in Vedic times can be inferred from the story of Śunahśēpa narrated in the Ait. Br. (chapter 33. 2), where occurs the passage 'when the animal is more than ten days from birth he becomes pure (and fit to be offered in sacrifice).' The same

613. सद्यःशौचं तथैकाहस्वहस्वतुरहस्तथा । षड्विंशद्वाद्दशाहान् पक्षो मासस्तथैव च ॥ मरणान्तं तथा चाप्यष्ट दश पक्षास्तु सूतकः । दक्ष VI. 2-3, referred to by विश्वरूप on या. III. 30 and q. by कल्प° (on छुद्रि) p. 5, अपरार्क p. 894, परा. मा I, 2. p. 207.

614. अस्मात्वा चाप्यहृत्वा च दायत्वा ये तु भुञ्जते । एवंविधानां सर्वेषां यावज्जीवं न सूतकम् ॥ व्याधितस्य कर्षस्य क्रणयस्तस्य सर्वदा । क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य क्षीजितस्य विशेषतः । व्यसनासक्तचित्तस्य पराधीनस्य नित्यशः । अज्ञात्यागविहीनस्य भस्मान्तं सूतकं भवेत् ॥ दक्ष VI. 8-10 q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 30, कल्प° (on छुद्रि) p. 15, हारलता p. 14, अपरार्क p. 895. The last verse of षड्विंशति is to the same effect as the first verse quoted above. The कूर्म (उत्स.) 23. 9 provides 'क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य महारोगिण एव च । पथेष्टाश्चरणस्येह मरणान्तमशौचकम्' q. by हारलता p. 15.

inference can probably be drawn from Tai. Br. II. 1. 1.3, where it is said 'therefore people do not take the milk of a cow for ten nights when a calf is born.'<sup>65</sup>

Abortion in the first four months <sup>66</sup> of pregnancy is called *srūva*, abortion in the 5th or 6th month is called *pāta* and from the 7th month of pregnancy onwards it is called *prasūti* or *prasava* ( according to Parāśara III. 16, Śaḍaśīti verse 9 ). When there is *srūva* the mother incurs impurity for three days, in the case of *pāta* the mother has to observe impurity for as many days as correspond to the months of pregnancy ( i. e. 5 days or 6 days ). The impurity consists in the mother being untouchable. The father alone has to bathe when there is *srūva*, but when there is *pāta* the father and sapinḍas have to observe impurity for three days ( according to Madana-pārijāta p. 380-381 and others ) but they don't incur impurity as on death. These rules hold good for all castes. But when the foetus comes out dead in any month from the 7th or the child is still-born, then the impurity is for ten days for both parents and the sapinḍas for all varṇas or for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varṇas as laid down in Yāj. ( III. 22 ) and the samānodakas have to observe āsauca for three days and sagotras for one day ( Dharmasindhu p. 427 ). The above rules are more or less laid down by Gautama 14. 15-16, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 136, Parāśara III. 24, Manu V. 66, Yāj. III. 20 ( latter half ) and the first verse of Āsaucaśāstra. The mother is untouchable for ten days on birth, still-birth or abortion in 7th, 8th or 9th month but the father and sapinḍas <sup>67</sup> when they take a bath after the *prasava* are not untouchable ( Yāj. III. 19 ). In ancient times there were several differing views about *jananūśauca* for the father as vouched for by Baud.<sup>68</sup> Dh. S. I. 5. 125-128. Although a woman

615. अजनि वै ते पुत्रो यजस्व माऽनेनेति । स होवाच यदा वै पञ्चनिर्दशो भवत्यथ स मेधो भवति । ऐ. वा. 33.2; तस्माद्दत्तं जातं वंशपात्रीनं दुहन्ति । तै. वा. II. 1.1.3.

616. अचतुर्थ्यर्द्धवेत्तावः पातः पञ्चमषष्ठयोः । अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रसूतिः स्याद् वंशाहं सूतकं भवेत् ॥ सावे मातृशिराश्च स्यात्सपिण्डाशौचवर्जनम् ॥ पाते मातृवर्धामासं पित्रादीनां दिन-त्रयम् ॥ मरीचि q. by मिता. on य. III. 20, हरवच on मौ. 14.15, स्मृतिस. ( आशीच ) p. 4. The first is पराशर III. 16 and is quoted as such in स्मृतिष. p. 16.

617. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 452-455 for the meaning of sapinḍa and samānodaka ( H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 752-753 ). These words mean in this section generally ( unless otherwise expressly stated ) persons descended from a common male ancestor through unbroken male descent.

618. जनने तावन्मातापित्रोर्वंशाहमाशौचम् । मातृरित्येके । तत्परिहरणाद् । पितृरित्य-परे छकमाध्यायात् । अयोनिजा अपि पुत्राः स्यन्ते मातापित्रोरेव नु ससर्गसामान्यात् । जी. घ. ख. I. 5. 125-128 q. by स्मृतिस. ( आशीच ) p. 9.

becomes touchable in ten days after delivery she is not fit to take part in religious rites for 20 days after she becomes touchable (i. e. 30 days from birth) if she gave birth to a son but for 30 days (i. e. 40 days from birth) if a daughter was born.<sup>619</sup> Women of all varṇas become pure (i. e. touchable) ten days after delivery—says Pracetas.<sup>620</sup> Devala states that there is no āsauca on the ground of birth when the period of (ten or twelve) days has expired.<sup>621</sup> If a woman was delivered at her father's or brother's house, then her parents and her brothers staying with the father had to observe āsauca for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427), but if a woman was delivered of a child at her husband's house then her father or brother had to observe no āsauca (on birth). Even when *sagotras* have to observe āsauca on birth they are not untouchable (Śaḍaṣīti verse 6).

It would be better to state here certain general rules once for all. When any text employs the word day (*ahāḥ*) or night (*rātri*) in prescribing the duration of āsauca what is meant is *ahorātra* (both day<sup>622</sup> and night). When counting the days of āsauca one has to begin from the day of the cremation, if the deceased was an *āhitāgni*, but from the day of death in the case of one not an *āhitāgni*<sup>623</sup> (Āsauca-daśaka verse 4, Kūrma, Uttarārdha 23. 52). Birth and death are causes of āsauca only when they are known to the person who is to be affected by it and not by the mere fact of the birth or death. This follows from certain

619. यथाह संवर्तः। जाते पुत्रे पितुः स्नानं सचैलं तु विधीयते। माता ह्यप्येदं दशहेन स्नानात् स्पर्शनं पित्रः। माता ह्यप्येदं दशहेनेत्येतच्च संन्यवहारयोग्यतामात्रम्। अद्वयार्थेण पुनः कर्मसु पैठीनसिना विशेष उक्तः। स्त्रिका पुत्रवतीं विंशतिरात्रेण कर्माणि कारयेत्। मासेन जीजनमीम्। इति। मिता. on पा. III. 19.

620. स्त्रिका सर्ववर्णानां दशहेन विदुष्यति। ऋतौ तु न पृथक् शौचं सर्ववर्णेभ्यम् विधिः। प्रचेतस् q. by हारलता p. 20, शास्त्रिचन्द्रिका on verse 6. रसुतिच. (आशौच-काण्ड) p. 5 quotes it but explains it differently.

621. आशौचं पञ्चवत्स्यास्ति व्यतीतेषु दिनेष्वपि। श्वेल. q. by कुल्लूक on मनु V. 76; रघुनाथ in his com. on विश्वश्लोकी verse 6 p. 27 reads 'आशौचं पञ्चवत्स्यास्ति व्यतीतेषु दिनेष्वपि'.

622. अत्राशौचप्रकरणे अहर्ग्रहणं रात्रिग्रहणं चाहोरात्रोपलक्षणार्थम्। मिता. on पा. III. 18.

623. इदं आशौचमाहिताग्नेष्वपरे संस्कारादिवसप्रभृति कर्तव्यम्। अनाहिताग्नेस्तु मरणदिवसप्रभृति। मिता. on पा. III. 20; दाहादाहिताग्नौ मरणदिवसतोऽप्यत्र कुर्यात्तदाहम्। विश्वश्लोकी verse 11 (second पाद); दाहादाशौचं कर्तव्यं द्विजानामग्नेहोविनाम्। सपिण्डान् च मरणे मरणादितरेषु च ॥ कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 23. 52).

passages of Pāraskara gr. III. 10 and Manu V. 75-76 and the Brahmapurāṇa. Pāraskara (III 10) provides: <sup>624</sup> 'if one who had gone abroad dies, (his relatives) should on hearing (of his death) sit down and offer him water and should remain untouchable for the days that remain out of the proper period (viz. 10, 12, 15, 30 days); if the prescribed period (of āsauca) has expired they should observe āsauca for one night or three nights.' Manu (V. 75-76) is to the same effect. The Brahmapurāṇa states: 'if a donor makes a gift and the acceptor accepts it when both are not aware of there being a birth or death in their family, no blame attaches.'

We should now turn to āsauca on death. Here again there is no unanimity and therefore the views perferably of the latest works (such as the Dharmasindhu) will be set out after referring to a few smṛti passages. Āsauca on death renders those who incur it untouchable and unable to perform religious rites. Pār. gr. III. 10, 29-30 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 357) stated generally that the impurity caused by death lasts through three nights and that according to some teachers through ten nights. If a child dies within ten days of birth, the father and mother have to observe *Jananāśauca* and become purified by the end of the āsauca on birth and the father remains untouchable for those days (Kūrma-purāṇa q. by S. K. p. 21). If a child died before it struck teeth the *sapinḍas* had only to undergo a bath, while the parents had to observe āsauca for three days if the child was a son and for one day if a daughter (vide Yāj. III. 23, Śaṅkha 15. 4, Atri 95, Āsaucadaśaka verse 2). If the child died after striking teeth but before Cūḍā (or the end of the third year) the *sapinḍas* had to observe āsauca for one day and night (Yāj. III. 23, Śaṅkha 15. 5), but the parents had āsauca (of death) for three days. If the child was a girl the *sapinḍas* became pure by a bath up to the girl's third year. If death occurs between Cūḍā (or three years) and *upanayana* or marriage (in the case of girls) the *sapinḍas* including the father have to observe āsauca for three days and *samānodakas* become purified by a bath alone. After *upanayana* all *sapinḍas* have to observe āsauca (on death) for ten days (Gaut. 14. 1, Manu V. 59, Āsaucadaśaka 2) and all *samānodakas* for three days. In the case of a śūdra dying

624. श्रोतव्यं श्वेत्येवात् अजपमयुति कुतोद्वाः कालनेषमासीरजतीतश्चेत्करात्रं विरात्रं वा । पारस्करसूत्र III, 10.



after three and before marriage or 16 years the āsauca is three days for all sapindaś. After sixteen years or marriage (in the case of a śūdra) it is the āsauca prescribed for his caste. In the case of a girl dying after three years and before vāgdāna (betrothal) the parents have āsauca for three days and the sapindaś (up to three generations) one day. If a girl dies after vāgdāna and before marriage the sapindaś of her father as well as of the proposed bridegroom had to observe āsauca for three days. In the case of women and śūdras if death takes place after marriage or after 16 years (if the Śūdra was unmarried) the period of āsauca for all sapindaś is ten days. If a woman dies at her father's house after marriage, her parents, step-mother, full brothers and step-brothers have to observe āsauca for three days and her paternal uncle and the like that stay in the same house with her father for one day. Some say that if the married daughter dies in a village other than that of the father, the parents have to observe āsauca for a pakṣiṇī<sup>625</sup> (i. e. two nights with a day between or two days with a night between). There are other views on this point which are passed over. For example, Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra (22. 32-34) says that in the case of a married woman there is no āsauca on the parents' side; but when she is delivered of a child or dies in the father's house then the impurity is for one day or three days respectively.<sup>626</sup> A married woman has to observe āsauca for three days for the death of her parents or step-mother if ten days have not elapsed from the day of death or for the remaining days out of the period of ten (Yaj. III. 21 latter half). If the married daughter hears of the death of the parents or step-mother at a time more than ten days after the death or within one year she has to observe āsauca for a pakṣiṇī. If a brother whose upanayana has been performed dies at his married sister's house or *vice versa*, āsauca has to be observed for three days by them, but if they do not die at each other's house but in a different one

625. Gaut. Dh. S. 14.17 (अथ चोर्ध्वं वृक्षस्थाः पक्षिणी), Manu. IV. 97 and V. 81 employ the word पक्षिणी. हरदत्त explains 'अहर्द्वयमध्यमता रात्रिः पक्षिणी रात्रिर्द्वयमध्यमतमहर्वा'. The *अमरकोश* gives only the first meaning 'आगामिपूर्वमाना-हर्वाकायां निक्षिप पक्षिणी'. The *शुद्धिप्रकाश* p. 36 remarks 'ब्राह्मणैकैकानिश्च पक्षिणी-त्यभिधीयते—इति भट्टनारायणभूतवचनात् । पक्षिणी इति पक्षिणी पक्षिणीति ।'.

626. जीर्ण विवाहः संस्कारः । संस्कृताय जीवु नाशीर्चं भवति पितृपक्षे । तत्पक्षमरणे चेत्पितृपक्षे स्थाता तदैकारार्चं चिरार्चं च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 32-34.

then the āsauca is for a pakṣiṇī and if the death occurs in another village then there is āsauca only for one day. The same rules apply to step-brothers and step-sisters and also among sisters. A married woman on the death of her paternal grand-father or paternal uncle has to undergo only a bath. If a maternal uncle dies, the nephew and the niece have to observe āsauca for a pakṣiṇī. If the maternal uncle dies in the house of the nephew then there is āsauca for three days and for only one day if the maternal uncle had not his upanayana performed or died in another village; the same rules apply to one's mother's step-brother. If the wife of a maternal uncle dies, the nephew or the niece of the maternal uncle have to undergo āsauca for a pakṣiṇī. If a nephew whose thread ceremony has been performed dies, his maternal uncle and maternal aunt have āsauca for three days. The same rules apply if the deceased be the son of a step-sister of the maternal uncle. If the niece (sister's daughter) dies there is only a bath for the maternal uncle. If a maternal grandfather dies, the grandchild (the son or daughter of a daughter) has to observe āsauca for three days, but only for a pakṣiṇī if the maternal grandfather dies in a different village. On the death of the maternal grandmother the grandchildren have to observe āsauca for a pakṣiṇī. Some works do not prescribe āsauca for a female descendant such as a niece or grand-daughter. If a daughter's son, whose upanayana had been performed, died, the maternal grandfather and grandmother had to observe āsauca for three days and for pakṣiṇī if the daughter's son had not upanayana performed for him. On the death of a daughter's daughter the maternal grandfather and mother incur no āsauca. In all these matters the general rule is that a male whose upanayana had been performed and a married woman alone are liable to undergo āsauca for any relative other than the parents (i. e. on the death of a parent a male though without upanayana and a woman though unmarried are liable to undergo āsauca).

If a man's father-in-law or mother-in-law die near (in the house of) the man, he has to undergo āsauca for three days, but only for pakṣiṇī if the death is elsewhere than with the son-in-law. On the death of a son-in-law, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law have to observe āsauca for one day or they have only to take a bath, but if the son-in-law dies in the house of the father-in-law then the āsauca is for three days. On the death of one's wife's brother, the āsauca is for one day.

upanayana had been performed; but if no upanayana was performed or if he died in another village a mere bath is enough.

On the death of one's mother's sisters (full or half) the person (whether man or woman) has to undergo āsauca for a pakṣiṇī; the same rule applies on the death of the father's sister. If it is a step-sister of the father then a mere bath is enough. The father's sister has to undergo a bath if the nephew dies. If one's father's sister or mother's sister dies in one's house then the āsauca is for three days.

In the case of *bandhus* (described by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 as *bhinna-gotra sapinḍas*) of<sup>627</sup> the three kinds, the āsauca is for a pakṣiṇī, provided the bandhu is *upanīta* but if he died before upanayana then āsauca is for one day and if the bandhu died in one's house then for three days. If the daughter of the father's sister (and of the other bandhus enumerated in the three verses) dies married, the āsauca is one day, but if they die unmarried only a bath is necessary. Among the three kinds of bandhus, a man himself and his three *ātma-bandhus* have to observe āsauca for each other's death; but the case is different as to *pitṛ-bandhus* and *mātṛ-bandhus*. If any one of these latter dies, there is āsauca for the man whose bandhus they are, but if a man dies, his *pitṛ-bandhus* and *mātṛ-bandhus* have to observe no āsauca.

If an adopted son dies, his natural father and adoptive father have to observe āsauca for three days (the Vyavahāra-mayūkha differs from this) and the *sapinḍas* for one day.

If the adoptive or natural father dies, the adopted son has to observe āsauca for three days and for one day for the *sapinḍas* of any one of them. On the death of the son and the grandson of an adopted son, the *sapinḍas* of the natural father and the adoptive father have to observe āsauca for one day and

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627. The bandhus are of three kinds, आत्मबन्धु, पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु. In three verses variously attributed to Baudhāyana or Sātātapa three illustrations of each of the three kinds of bandhus are given. आत्मपितृव्यसुः पुत्रा आत्ममातृव्यसुः सुताः । आत्ममातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया आत्मबान्धवाः ॥ पितुः पितृव्यसुः पुत्राः पितृमातृव्यसुः सुताः । पितृमातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृबान्धवाः । मातुः पितृव्यसुः पुत्रा मातृमातृव्यसुः सुताः । मातृमातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवाः ॥ q. by the mīta. on Yāj. II. 135. गृह्य. वि. p. 455, परा. जा. III. p. 528, सङ्ग. वा. p. 674. For further details, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 754-762.

*vice versa*. These rules apply if the son adopted is not a sapinda or samānodaka of the adopter, when he was in his family of birth. But if a sagotra sapinda or a samānodaka be adopted, then the āśauca is for ten or three days respectively.

If one's ācārya<sup>628</sup> dies, the pupil has to observe āśauca for three days, but only one day if he dies in another village (Gautama 14. 26, 52, Manu V. 80). On the death of the ācārya's wife or son the āśauca is for one day.<sup>629</sup> On the death of a guru (who instructs in Vedic mantras) the āśauca is three days and pakṣiṇī if he dies in another village. On the death of a teacher who imparted instruction in grammar, astronomy and other aṅgas (subsidiary lore) of the Veda, the āśauca is one day. Similar rules are laid down about the death of a pupil, ṛtvik (sacrificial priest), a sacrificer, a dependent śrotriya, a fellow-student, a friend, which are all passed over as not now useful. Vide Gaut. 14. 19-20 (which prescribe one day's āśauca on the death of a fellow-student or a dependent śrotriya).

These provisions about āśauca on the death of the ācārya and ṛtvik who were not sapindas show how closely the bond between teacher and pupil was thought to be in ancient times, almost equalling the tie of blood. When a yati (ascetic) dies,<sup>630</sup> all his sapindas have simply to undergo a bath (and nothing more). Conversely, a yati and brahmacārin have to observe no āśauca. Manu V. 82, Yāj. III. 25, Viṣṇu 22.45, Śaṅkha 15. 15 provide that on the death of the ruler of the country in which one resides one has to observe āśauca up till

628. An ācārya is defined by Manu II. 140 as one who performs the upanayana of his pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpasūtra and Upaniṣads. Ṛtvik is defined by Manu II. 143 as one who is chosen for the performance of Agnyādheya, the pākayajñas and the solemn sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma.

629. आचार्यपत्नीपुत्रोपाध्यायमातुलश्चुरन्धुर्यसहाध्यायिष्वेवतितिवेकरात्रेण । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 44. अन्धुर्य means wife's brother. Manu (V. 80-81) prescribes three days' āśauca on the death of the ācārya, his wife and son, and śrotriya. Gaut. 14.26 does the same.

630. वानप्रस्थे यती योपरमति कुलजे वण्डको ब्राह्मनः स्यात् । विश्वधौकी 5th verse, 3rd पादः. Vide मनु V. 91 (= Viṣṇu 22.86) about a ब्रह्मचारिन् carrying the corpse of his parents.

the coming of the day or night next to that on which the king dies.<sup>631</sup>

As long as a corpse is not removed from the village in which a man dies, the whole village is in āsauca. Āp. Dh. S. 1. 3. 9. 14 declares that there is no Veda study till a corpse lies in the village. The Smṛti-muktāphala (p. 541) quotes<sup>632</sup> several smṛtis to the effect that in a village in which a corpse lies unremoved, there is to be no eating, no Vedic study and no sacrifice, but that this does not apply where in a village there are more than four hundred brāhmanas. The Dharma-sindhu (p. 433) also says the same about a village, but adds that this rule does not apply to a town.

The ideas of ritualistic purity went so far as to provide (as stated in the Śuddhitattva quoted by the Nirṇayasindhu) that if a dog died in a brāhmana's house the house became impure for ten days, that, if a śūdra,<sup>633</sup> a *patita* or a *mleccha* died in a brāhmana's house, the house became impure for a month, two months or four months respectively and the house had to be abandoned if a *śvapāka* died therein.

*Atikrāntūśauca* (impurity on coming to know of birth or death after the several periods fixed). The general rule<sup>634</sup> is

631. प्रेते राजनि सज्योतिर्यस्य स्याद्विषये स्थितः। मनु V. 82. सज्योतिः is explained by the Mit. as 'ज्योतिषा सह वर्तते इति सज्योतिराशौचम्'। अङ्गि चेद्यावत्स्वयं दर्शनं राज्ञी चेद्यावत्स्वयं दर्शनमित्यर्थः। वा. III. 25 (निवासराजनि प्रेते तदहः शुद्धिकारणम्) is explained by the Mit. in the same sense as मनु V. 82, but the अङ्गि p. 36 holds that the āsauca for king's death is for a whole day and night provided he is a good king protecting his subjects.

632. स्मृत्यन्तरे। ग्रामस्थे शवच्छण्डाले शुद्धाद्यशुचिर्सानिधी॥ नाध्येतत्त्वं न भोक्तव्यं न होतव्यं कदाचन॥ इति।...स्मृत्यन्तरे विशेषो दर्शितः। चतुःशताधिकैर्वर्षैः सम्पूर्णं ग्राममध्यके। विशेषं संप्रवक्ष्यामि जपहोमार्चनं यति। अन्तःशवस्य दोषस्तु नास्ति तत्र समाचरेत्। स्मृतिदु. (आशौच) p. 541.

633. शुद्धितत्त्वे बृहन्मनुः। श्वशुद्रपतिताश्चान्त्या द्युताश्चेद् द्विजमन्दिरे। शौचं तत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि मनुना भाषितं यथा। दशरात्राच्छुनि सृते मासान्च्छुदे भवेच्छुचिः। द्वाभ्यां तु पतिते गेहमन्ये मासच्छतुष्टयात्। अत्यन्ये वर्जयेद्देहमित्येवं मनुर्वर्णितं। अन्त्यो म्लेच्छः। अत्यन्यः श्वपाक इति पाच्यस्तिः। निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 528; these verses are quoted by अङ्गिम. p. 100 also.

634. देशान्तरगतः श्रुत्वा कुल्यानां मरणोद्भवौ। यच्छेषं दशरात्रस्य तत्र देवाशुचिर्भवेत्॥ शङ्ख 15.11. The स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 47 reads 'कुल्यानां मरणं तथा' in the 2nd पाद. The same verse occurs in अग्निपुराण 137.12-13 which reads देशान्तरस्थ श्रुत्वा तु, मोषितश्चेत्येषाश्च वृणयणमृति कालशेषमासीरजतीतश्चेदेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं वा। पार. दृ. III. 10.

that, if a person stays in a different country and hears of a birth or death among his sapinḍas, he has to observe āśauca not for ten days after hearing but for that number of days that are short of the ten days (counting from birth or death) prescribed for sapinḍas. Vide Manu V. 75, Yāj. III. 21 (latter half), Śāṅkha 15.11, Pār. gr. III. 10. Āśauca interferes very much with one's activities and it is hence that often-times people send a closed letter to their relatives living in a different place stating thereon that it be opened on a particular day (which is the 10th day from the death of a sapinḍa). Everyone knows the meaning of such a direction and by such a subterfuge inconvenience is avoided and the dictates of the śāstra are deemed to be satisfied. If a son hears of the death of a parent he has to observe āśauca for ten days from the day of hearing, but if he hears of the death of a parent before the collection of bones then he has to observe āśauca only for the days that remain (Smṛti-muktāphala p. 534). There is great divergence about the period of āśauca if the death of a sapinḍa comes to one's ears more than ten days after the day of death. Manu V. 77 provides that on hearing of the death of a sapinḍa or the birth of a son after ten days (from the event) a man becomes pure after plunging into water with the clothes on and Yāj. III. 21 (last pāda, 'pūrṇe dattvodakam śuciḥ') states that he becomes pure after (a bath and) offering water when the period fixed has passed off. From the words of Manu that only the father, even if he hears of the birth of a son more than ten days after the event, has to take a bath the Mit. infers that there is no atikrāntāśauca for sapinḍas on birth<sup>635</sup>. The Mit. quotes Devala in support (vide note 621 above). The Dharma-sindhu follows the Mit. Manu V. 76, Śāṅkha 15.12, Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha) 23.21 state that when ten days have passed after the event of death, the man who hears of the death is impure for three days and if he hears of the death more than a year after death, he becomes pure after a bath. In order to remove the conflict among smṛtis Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha lays down: 'āśauca is for three days if the news of death is heard within three months (but later than ten days after death), for a pakṣiṇi if it is heard within six months (but later than

635. जन्ममृतिकाम्नाशौचं सपिण्डानां नास्तीति गम्यते। पितृस्तु निर्देशेऽपि जनने स्नानमस्त्येष श्रुत्वा पुत्रस्य जन्म च इति वचनात्। एतच्च पुत्रग्रहणं जन्मानि सपिण्डानां मृतिकाम्नाशौचं नास्तीति ज्ञापकम्। अन्यथा 'निर्देशं ज्ञातिमरणं श्रुत्वा जन्म च निर्देशम्' इत्येवावश्यम्। न चोक्तम्। मिता. on या. III. 21 (latter half).

three months), for one day if heard before nine months (but later than 6 months) and thereafter (i. e. up to one year but later than nine months) one becomes pure by a bath. But the Mit. says <sup>636</sup> that this holds good as to all except one's parents and quotes Paithīnasi and another smṛti for the proposition that whenever a son staying in a distant country hears of the death of a parent whether within a year or after a year he has to observe āsauca for ten days from the day he becomes aware of it. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (20.88) lays down the same exception in the case of a son. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 21 last half) further says that the rules about *atīkrāntāśauca* apply only to a deceased person whose upanayana had been performed. The Dharmasindhu (p. 433) remarks that there is no *atīkrāntāśauca* as regards the periods of one day and three days prescribed on the death of one whose upanayana had not been performed or as regards the periods of pakṣiṇi and three days on the death of the maternal uncle and others of a different gotra. Similarly, there is no *atīkrāntāśauca* with reference to the āsauca for three days prescribed in the case of samānodakas; but in these cases even after the lapse of the fixed time a bath is necessary. The rules about *atīkrāntāśauca* apply only to āsauca on death for ten days. As in the case of the son, so in the cases of husband and wife and of co-wives among themselves even after the lapse of more than a year and even if the death is in a different country the husband or wife or co-wife has to observe āsauca for ten days. The parents, even when they hear of the death of an *aurasa* son after a year, have to observe āsauca for three days. On the news of the death of a sapinda living in the same country coming to a sapinda's ears after ten days but up to three months, the period of āsauca is three days, pakṣiṇi up to 6 months, up to nine months one day and up to one year a bath. Here also there are various views such as those of Mādhava and others. Vide Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 49-51 for various views.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 21 (latter half) makes a distinction between knowledge of the death of a sapinda staying in the

636. तथा च वृद्धवसिष्ठः । मासत्रये त्रिरात्रं स्यात्पश्चात् पक्षिणी तथा । अद्वस्तु नवमासपूर्वार्धे स्नानेन छुष्यति ॥ इति । एतच्च मातापितृभ्यामतिरिक्तविषयम् । ...संवत्सरादूर्ध्वमपि प्रेतकार्यमाशौचदानादिकं कार्यं न पुनः स्नानमात्राच्छुद्धिरित्यर्थः । मित्त. on यāj. III. 21 (latter half). The परा. मा. I. 2. p. 232 quotes a similar verse of वेदवल् 'आ विपक्षात् त्रिरात्रं स्यात्पश्चात् पक्षिणी ततः । परमेकाहमा वर्षादूर्ध्वं स्नातो विष्णुष्यति ॥ इति । The वृद्धवसिष्ठ (34) includes the verse of वृद्धवसिष्ठ. The verse मासत्रये० occurs in Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti 20.86.

same country coming to a person's ears after ten days from death and of the death of a sapinda staying in another country separated by a big river &c. In the latter case the sapindas coming to hear of the death after ten days but even before three months are purified by a mere bath. It quotes<sup>637</sup> a smṛti verse 'on hearing that a person (sapinda) died in another country and in the case of the death of an impotent person or a forest hermit or an ascetic purification follows after a bath and the same applies to *sagotra* sapindas in the case of abortion.' The Śaḍaṣṭi (35) has a similar verse.<sup>638</sup> The Mit. quotes two verses of Bṛhaspati which define what *deśāntara* (a different country) means:<sup>639</sup> 'Where there is a large river or there is a mountain which separates (one territory from another) or where the languages differ then there is *deśāntara*. Some say that a different country means the distance of sixty *yojanas*, while others put it down at forty *yojanas* and still others at thirty *yojanas*.' There is a difference of opinion as to whether in order to constitute a different country all three must co-exist (viz. a large river, a mountain and difference of speech) or any one of the three will suffice or whether 60, 40 or 30 *yojanas* would constitute a different country or whether the requirement of ten days for news to be carried to a place would constitute *deśāntara*. The Sm. C. and Śaḍaṣṭi 37 hold the view that any one of the above three is sufficient while others hold other views. The Śuddhiviveka<sup>640</sup> holds that a distance of 60 *yojanas* constituted *deśāntara* by itself, but even within sixty

637. यस्तु जघादिष्यवाहिते देशान्तरे श्रुतस्तस्मापिण्डानां दशाहापूर्ध्व मासत्रयादर्वाण्यपि सद्यः शौचम् । देशान्तरमृतं श्रुत्वा कृत्रिं वैखानसे यती । श्रुते स्नानेन ह्युपयन्ति गर्भजाश्च च गो-  
त्रिणः ॥ इति । मिता. on या. III. 21.

638. ज्ञातिसुर्यौ यदाशौचं दशाहात् नृदिः श्रुतौ । एकदेश इदं भोक्तं स्नात्वा देशान्तरे  
श्रुचिः ॥ बहशीति 35.

639. देशान्तरलक्षणं च बृहस्पतिनोक्तम् । महानद्यान्तरं यत्र गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः ।  
वाचो यत्र विभिद्यन्ते तद्देशान्तरमुच्यते ॥ देशान्तरं ब्रह्मस्येके बहियोजनमायतम् । चत्वारिंशद्-  
दन्त्यग्रे त्रिंशदग्रे तथैव च ॥ इति । मिता. on या. III. 21. The first verse is ascribed  
to बृहस्पतु by अपराक्ष p. 905, स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 52 and to बृहस्पतु by छुद्रिष. p. 51. The स्मृतिच. p. 53 adds one more verse and छुद्रिष. p. 51 and the com.  
on बहशीति 37 add the same and another half verse from बृहस्पतु viz. देशानाम-  
नदीभेदो निकटे यत्र वै भवेत् । तेन देशान्तरं भोक्तं स्वयमेव स्वयम्भुवा ॥ दशरात्रेण या वार्ता  
यत्र न श्रूयतेऽर्थवा । लघ्वान्मलायन 20.87 is पर्यन्तश्च (स्व) महानद्या व्यवधानं भवेद्यदि ।  
त्रिंशद्योजनदूरं वा सद्यःस्नानेन ह्युपयति ॥

640. एतेषां च पक्षाणां देशपरिग्रहेण व्यवस्था । छुद्रिविवेके तु बहियोजनान्तरत्वं तद-  
व्यन्तरेपि भाषाभेदविदिमहानदीव्यवधानानि चेति लक्षणद्वयमेव निष्कर्षेणोक्तम् । रघुनाथ on  
त्रिंशद्योजकी verse 6 p. 29.



yojanas if a large river, a mountain and difference of speech occurred together, that could give rise to *deśāntara*. The *Smṛtyarthasāra*<sup>641</sup> avers that *deśāntara* is differently described in the *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas* and the works on *tīrthas*. For *yojana*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III n. 185 pp. 145-146.

The *Dharmasindhu* (p. 435) provides that if the bones of an *āhitāgni* were not found and only an effigy of *palāsa* leaves were burnt, still the *āsauca* is for ten days even if he died in a different country and a long time had elapsed. Similarly, in the case of the effigy of one who is not an *āhitāgni*, the *āsauca* is for ten days for his son and wife if they have not already observed any *āsauca* for him but if they had observed it (on hearing of his death) then for three days (on the burning of the effigy). For other *sapiṇḍas* (than the son and wife) in the same circumstances three days and bath are respectively prescribed.

It is provided in the *Gṛhya kārīkas*, the *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 94), *Dharmasindhu* (p. 435) and other works that if a man<sup>642</sup> went to a distant country and no news of his being alive was heard, then his son (or other relative), after the lapse of 20 years from the time when no news was heard if the man went away when he was young\* or 15 years if he left when he was of middle age or 12 years if he left later in life, should perform three *cāndrāyaṇas* or thirty *kṛcchras*, prepare an effigy of the man with *kuśas* (or with *palāsa* leaves), should burn it and then observe *āsauca* and perform *śrāddhas* &c.

To summarize the above discussion it is clear that as indicated by *Medhātithi* on *Manu* V. 58 there is a distinction as regards the periods of *āsauca* and the persons affected by it in several ways. (1) There is a distinction between *āsauca* on birth and *āsauca* on death; (2) As to *āsauca* on death numerous distinctions arise viz. (a) when there is abortion (*garbhasrāva* or *garbhapāta*, as in *Śaṅkha* 15. 4, *Brhat-Parāśara* VI. p. 186); (b) when the foetus comes out from the 7th to the 9th month of

641. देशान्तरमनेकधा स्मृतं स्मृतिपुराणतीर्थकल्पेषु। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 90.

642. देशान्तरगतस्य तु जीवद्वार्तानाकर्णने विशेषो यथाकारिकायाम्। दूरदेशान्तरगते जीवद्वर्तौ पुनः पुनः। इतस्ततः समन्त्रिच्छेत्यर्थोलीच्य गतायतैः॥ तस्यामभ्युपगमायां वयःकाल-विशेषतः। तस्य पूर्ववयस्कारय विशिष्यबोधयतः क्रिया॥ ऊर्ध्वं पञ्चदशाब्दान् मध्यमे वयसि स्मृता॥ आग्नायणत्रयं कुक्ष्य त्रिशङ्कुवद्भाणि वा सुतैः। कुशैः प्रतिकृतिं तस्य दग्धवासीजादिकाः क्रियाः॥ कार्या इति शेषः। रघुनाथ's com. on त्रिशङ्कुकी verse 15 p. 97.

pregnancy or the child is still-born or dies after being born but before the appearance of teeth (Yāj. III. 23, Atri 95); (c) after the appearance of teeth but before cūdā or three years (Viṣṇu 22. 29, Yāj. III. 23); (d) after cūdā or three years up to upanayana (Manu V. 67); (e) after upanayana (Yāj. III. 23, Manu V. 59, Gaut. 14. 1); (f) as to āśauca on death after upanayana the duration at one time depended in the case of brāhmaṇas on Vedic study, the performance of śrauta rites and whether the brāhmaṇa subsisted on ears of corn left in the field after the crops were harvested<sup>643</sup> (Parāśara III. 5, Śaṅkha 15. 1, Atri 83, Agnipurāṇa 158. 10-11); (g) the duration of āśauca depended on caste (Gaut. 14. 1-4, Yāj. III. 22 &c.); (h) the duration of āśauca depended on nearness of blood i. e. whether the person affected was a sapinda or a samānodaka (Gaut. 14. 1 and 18, Manu V. 59, 64); (i) the duration depended also on the nearness or distance from the place of death (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 85, 89); (j) it also depended on whether the deceased died in a different country separated by a large river, a mountain or thirty yojanas (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 87); (k) duration depended on the time that elapsed before it came to the knowledge of the relative; (l) the duration depended upon whether another āśauca supervened when the period of the first was not over.

If a person is born or died at night or news thereof is received at night, a question arises as to from what day the periods of āśauca are to be calculated. For example, if a man died at 1 A. M. on Monday, was Monday to be included in counting ten days of āśauca or was it to be excluded? There are two views on this point.<sup>643a</sup> One view is that any time before midnight is to be counted as belonging to the previous day, while any time after midnight is to be taken as belonging to the next day. On this view in the above illustration Monday would be excluded in the calculation of ten days. The other view is that the night is to be divided into three

643. शिलोच्छ्वायाचितैर्जीवन् सद्यः क्षुध्येद् द्विजोत्तमः। संग्रहकार q. by परा मा. I. 2. p. 216. For शिलोच्छ्वृत्ति vide मनु X. 112 and या. I. 128.

643. a. रात्रौ जननमरणे रात्रौ मरणज्ञाने वा रात्रिं त्रिभागां कृत्वा प्रथमभागद्वये पूर्वदिनं तृतीयभागे उत्तरदिनमारभ्याशौचम्। यद्दार्धरात्रात् प्राक् पूर्वदिनं परतः परदिनम्। अत्र देशाचारसदिना व्यवस्था। धर्मसिन्धु p. 435. This view is based on verses of पारस्कर and कादयप 'अर्धरात्रावस्ताञ्चेत्युक्ते सुतेके तथा। पूर्वमेव दिनं प्राद्यमूर्ध्वं चे-  
द्रुजरेऽहनि॥ रात्रिं कुर्यात्त्रिभागां तु द्वौ भागौ पूर्ववासराः। उत्तरांशः परदिनं जातेषु च सुतेषु च॥ पारस्कर q. by सूतिश्च. (आशौच) pp. 118-119.

parts and if death occurs in the first two of the three parts then the day is to be included in the calculation; if the time of death falls in the 3rd part, the ten days are to be calculated from the next day. On this view Monday would be included in the ten days. The Dharmasindhu (p. 435) remarks that in this matter the usage of the country is to be followed. Vide Madanapārijāta pp. 394-395 also.

Several rules are mentioned in the smṛtis about the periods of āsauca for the relatives of higher castes when they marry women of lower varṇas (i. e. when there are anuloma marriages). For example, Dakṣa VI. 12 says that if a brāhmaṇa has married wives of the four varṇas, then the impurity on the delivery or death of these women respectively lasts for 10, 6, 3 or 1 day. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (22. 22-24) provides that when a ksatriya has sapinda of the vaiśya or śūdra varṇa the āsauca on the birth and death of these lasts for six or three days, if a vaiśya has a śūdra as sapinda then impurity is removed after six days. But when people of lower varṇas have sapindas of higher varṇas then impurity on birth and death ceases when the impurity of the higher varṇa sapindas ceases. Laghu-Hārita 84 (= Āpastambasmṛti IX verse 13) has similar provisions. Other smṛtis and purāṇas like the Kūrma (Uttarārdha 23. 30-36) mention differing views quoted in Hāralatā pp. 54-60, Smṛ. M. pp. 495-496. The Madanapārijāta remarks (pp. 425-426) that some say that these varying provisions may be discarded or that they may be assigned their proper place according to the usages of the several countries or they should somehow be explained as based upon the person affected being possessed of virtues or not or they may be held to be applicable to seasons of distress or otherwise.

According to the Mit. on Yāj. 644 III. 22 persons belonging to the *pratiloma* castes have no periods of āsauca, but they have to observe rules of purification similar to those relating to answering the call of nature. Others like the Smṛti-muktāphala 645 p. 495 aver, relying on Manu (X. 41), that the *pratiloma* castes are like śūdras and have to observe the āsauca prescribed for śūdras. The Hāralatā (p. 12) quotes Ādipurāṇa to the effect that varṇasankaras (i. e. *pratilomas*)

644. प्रतिलोमानां त्वसोच्चाभाव एव प्रतिलोमा धर्महीनाः—इति मनुस्मरणात्। केवलं स्त्री प्रसवे च मलापकर्षणार्थं सूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गवद् स्नानं भवत्येव। मिता. on यज. III 22. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः is यौ. 4. 20.

645. सङ्करजातीनां सुमेघन्तर्भाषासेषां सूत्रवदास्नोचन्। स्वतिसु. (आसोच) p. 495.

should follow the sūtras in the matter of āśauca and purification. The *Smṛtyartha-sāra* (p. 92) states that those born of pratiloma unions should observe āśauca if they perform *prāyaścitta*, but if they do not perform *prāyaścitta* then there is no āśauca for them.

It has already been stated (p. 215) how it was the duty of *sapinda*s to take out the corpse and to cremate it and how carrying the dead body of a poor brāhmaṇa was highly eulogised (*Parāśara* III. 39-40). But, as *Manu* V. 101-102 provide, if a brāhmaṇa carried through affection the dead body of one <sup>646</sup> who was not his *sapinda*, as if he were a *bandhu* or carried (the dead body) of his mother's *bandhus* (such as mother's brother or sister) he became pure after three days; but if he partook of the food of those who were bereaved by death he became pure after ten days and if he does not stay in the house of those bereaved nor partakes of their food he becomes pure in a day (but if he stays in their house though not partaking of their food he has to observe āśauca for three days). Vide *Kūrmapurāṇa* (*Uttarārḍha* 23, 37) and *Viṣṇu* 22. 7-9 also. *Gautama* (14. 21-25) has rules on the same subject but they somewhat differ and *Haradatta* remarks that this āśauca is somewhat different from the āśauca observed by *sapinda*s, viz. he becomes untouchable but he need not follow the other rules such as sleeping on the ground &c. If a person carried a dead body through greed (for money), a brāhmaṇa, *ksatriya*, *vaiśya* or *sūdra* had to observe āśauca respectively for 10, 12, or 15 days or a month. This was called *nirhārāśauca*, the word '*nirhāra*'<sup>647</sup> including the covering of the dead body with a garment, decking it with garlands, perfumes and ornaments, carrying it and cremating it. *Sapinda*s who are observing āśauca for the death of the same person may dine in the same house and partake of the food cooked, but not others who are not undergoing the same āśauca.<sup>648</sup>

646. अतपिण्डं द्विजं मेतं विप्रो निर्वृत्य बन्धुवत् । अशित्वा च सहोषिरा दशरात्रेण ध्रुष्यति । कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23.37) ; नाशौचे कस्यचिदन्नमश्नीयात् । ब्राह्मणादीनामाशौचे यः सकृदेवान्नमस्याति तस्य तावदाशौचं यावत्तेषाम् । आशौचापगमे मायाश्वितं कुर्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22.7-9.

647. निर्हारशब्दार्थः स्मृत्यन्तरे दर्शितः । मेतस्य वासःस्रग्मन्धधूषणाद्यैरलंक्रिया । बह्वर्हं दहनं चेति निर्हारार्थो निरुच्यते । इति । q. by. स्मृतिस्तु. (आशौच) p. 544.

648. तथा स्तकास्त्रभोजनमपि न कार्यम् । उभयत्र दशहानि कुलस्यान्नं न भुज्यते-इति वमस्मरणात् । उभयत्र जलनमरणयोः...कुलस्य स्तकस्तुक्तस्य सम्बन्धस्यमसक्तुत्वेन भोक्तव्यम् । सकुलपाना पुनर्न दोषः । स्तके तु कुलस्यान्नमदोषं मलुर्भवती-इति तेनैवोक्तत्वात् । निता. on पा. III. 17. कस्यतश्च (on आशौच) p. 23 and अपराकं ascribe (p. 892) the verse उभयत्र to मलु. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 17.

Gaut. 14. 29, Manu V. 103, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 42 prescribe that a brāhmaṇa should not follow the funeral procession of a deceased brāhmaṇa, but if he does so, he has to bathe, touch fire, take in ghee and then he becomes pure. Parāśara III.43-46 and Kūmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23.45) provide a rising scale of the days of āśauca if a brāhmaṇa follows the corpse of a ksatriya (āśauca for one day and pañcagavya), a vaiśya (āśauca for two days and six prāṇyāmas), a śūdra (āśauca for three days, bath in a river going to the sea, 100 prāṇyāmas<sup>649</sup> and drinking of ghee). Vide Trīmśac-chloki verse 13.

If a brāhmaṇa who is not a sapinda of the deceased went to the bereaved family and wept along with the relatives before the collection of bones he had to observe āśauca for a day and then a bath if the deceased was a ksatriya or vaiśya, but āśauca for three days if the deceased was a śūdra; but he had to undergo only a bath if he went after the collection of the bones; when the deceased was a śūdra and the weeping took place after the collection of bones he had to observe āśauca for a whole day and night. Vide Kūmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23.46-47), Agnipurāṇa 158.47-48, Par. M. 1.2. pp. 283-285, Smṛ. M. (āśauca) p. 543 and Āśaucadaśaka verse 9 (for *nirhāra*, following a funeral procession and weeping).

Persons<sup>650</sup> undergoing an āśauca on birth or death for one person were forbidden to touch other persons undergoing āśauca for the birth or death of another person altogether. If they did so they had to perform prāyaścitta (Prājāpatya or Śantapana).

Even if a person's wife left him and lived in illicit relationship with a person of the same or higher caste he had to observe on her death āśauca for one day. But if she lived with one lower in varṇa than her husband, the latter had not, on her death, to observe any āśauca at all (Yāj. III.6). Similarly, one had to observe one day's āśauca on the death of sons that were not *aurasa* (such as ksetraja). Vide Yāj. III.25 and Viṣṇu 22.42-43.

Certain exceptions were recognized to the above rules about partaking of food at the house of one who is afflicted with

649. एकाहास्त्रिदिने शुद्धिर्द्वये च स्याद् द्व्यहेन तु । श्वेते दिनत्रयं शोकं याजायाम-  
कृतं पुनः ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23.45) q. in शुद्धितत्त्व p. 293, शुद्धिय. p. 63.

650. आशौचिनामप्येवमसंस्पर्शं निबोधति श्रुतः । शावाशौचे सदुत्पत्तेरुत्तरे च द्विजा-  
तिभिः । अग्न्याशौचवतां स्पर्शो न कर्तव्यो द्विजमनाम् ॥ आशौचेऽप्यग्नाशौचं स्तुतेश्चिदपि च  
कामतः । चरेत् सात्त्विकं कुर्व्यं याजापत्यमकामतः ॥ स्तुतिः. (आशौच) p. 302.

āsauca. While a marriage<sup>651</sup> rite (as also *caula* and *upanayana*), festival in honour of a deity and a sacrifice (like *Jyotiṣṭoma*) are in progress, if impurity due to birth or death overtakes the performer, the materials (money and other things) already set apart for them may be dedicated or donated to the deity or brāhmaṇas and no fault is incurred. As regards food, a *smṛti* text<sup>652</sup> quoted by the *Mit.* says 'if in marriage, in a festival in honour of a deity or in a sacrifice āsauca on birth or death intervenes, the cooked food should be served through others (not affected by the āsauca) and the donor and the partaker of the food incur no blame. Acc. to Āngiras,<sup>653</sup> *Paithīnasi* (q. by *Sm. C.*) and *Viṣṇu Dh. S.*, when once a sacrifice (like a *Somayāga*), a marriage, a sacrifice or festival in honour of the mother Goddesses or a deity or the dedication or foundation of an idol or temple has been begun a supervening āsauca does not matter. Even in modern times this is followed as regards upanayana and marriage. When exactly a sacrifice or marriage ceremony may be said to have begun is laid down by *Laghu-Viṣṇu* as follows:<sup>654</sup> in the case of a sacrifice it may be said to begin when the priests are chosen, in the case of *vratas* and *japa* when the *saṅkalpa* (declaration) is made, in the case of marriage when the *Nāndīśrāddha* is performed, and in the case of a *śrāddha* when the food meant for the brāhmaṇas has been cooked completely. Certain things could be taken from the house of one who was undergoing āsauca<sup>655</sup> on birth or death and who was the owner thereof (though not actually

651. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञेषु स्वन्तरा सुतसूते। पूर्वसङ्कल्पितं द्रव्यं क्षीयमानं न वृष्यति ॥  
पराशर III. 27. The latter half is also ascribed to क्रतु by the *mita*, on या. III. 29.

652. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञादिश्रद्धरा सुतसूते। शेषमक्षं परैर्देयं दानुभोक्तुं न शृणोत् ॥  
q. by *mita*, on या. III. 29 and परा. मा. I. 2. p. 262. हारलता (pp. 105-106) quotes a very similar verse from *आदिपुराण* 'विवाहयज्ञयोर्मध्ये सूतकमभि चान्तरा । शेष...शृणोत्'.

653. Vide *स्मृतिच.* (आशौच p. 70) for the verses of अङ्गिरस् and पैठीनसि ; न शेषमतिष्ठाविवाहयोः पूर्वसम्भृतयोः न देशविघ्नमे आपद्यपि च कटाषाम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22.53-55 q. by *mita*, on या. III. 29 (with variants).

654. व्रतयज्ञविवाहेषु आदौ होमार्चने जपे । मारम्भे सूतकं न स्याद्वनारम्भे नु सूतकम् ॥  
मारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे संकल्पो व्रतजापयोः । नान्दीआदौ विवाहादौ आदौ पाकपरिक्रिया ॥  
लघुविष्णु q. by छात्रिमकाश. p. 94, मद् या. p. 423. The *स्मृत्यर्थसार* p. 17 begins मारम्भादूर्ध्वमाशौचे विवाहः कार्य एव च, then has the verses मारम्भो वरणं...परिक्रिया and adds 'निमज्जनं वा आदौ नु मारम्भः स्यादिति स्मृतिः ।.'

655. कलानि पुष्पं शार्कं च लवणं काष्ठमेव च । तत्र दधि दत्तं तैलमौषधं कीरमेव च ।  
आशौचिनां गृहाद्याह्नं शृङ्गाक्षं चैव निष्पशः । कूर्मपुराण, उत्तरार्ध 23.66 q. in हारलता p. 31.

from his hand, but with his permission). The Kūrmapurāṇa enumerates such articles. They are 'fruits, flowers, raw vegetables, salt, firewood, butter-milk, curds, ghee, oil, drugs, milk and dry food' (like *laddus*, *lājas*). Marici (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III 17) and Trimsac-chloki verse 20 present even longer lists of such things.

Some smṛtis and commentators lay down rules about the āsauca to be observed by slaves when their masters are in āsauca. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.19, Devalasṁṛti verse 6, Brhaspati quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. 14.4. But as slavery has long been abolished this topic is passed over here.

*Āsaucasannipāta* or *āsaucasampāta* (the knowledge of another āsauca coming to a person already observing one āsauca).<sup>656</sup> The rules about this matter were promulgated early enough and they are based on convenience and common sense. The rules try to give relief to persons who may be sorely tried if it were held that, when another āsauca supervenes while a person is already in the midst of one, he has to finish all the days of the first āsauca and then begin the period of the second āsauca. The Gaut. Dh. S. 14.5 starts by saying that if another āsauca supervenes on one already being undergone, purification results after the remaining days of the first āsauca are over. Then sūtras 6 and 7 provide that if the second āsauca supervenes in the last night of the first āsauca then purification results in two days after the first āsauca ends and if the second āsauca comes to be known in the last watch of the night of the last day of the first āsauca, the second ends in three days after the first ends. Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 123 appears to be similar to Gaut. 14.5-6. Manu V. 79, Yāj. III 20, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 35-38, Śaṅkha 15. 10, Parāśara III 28 lay down the general rule promulgated by Gautama 14.5.

Some general rules concerning this topic may first be stated. The first rule is that in a conflict between āsauca on death and āsauca on birth, that on death is stronger.<sup>657</sup> The

656. सम्पातो नामाशौचिनमेकाशौचित्वज्ञाने पराशौचित्वज्ञानम्। धर्मसिन्धु p. 436.

657. अथानां यौगपद्ये तु शुद्धिर्ज्ञेया गरीयसा। मरणोत्पत्तियोगे तु गरीयो मरणं भवेत्॥  
खेपल q. by शुद्धिकल्प. p. 31, स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 57. शुद्धिप. p. 74, and as from  
कूर्मपुराण by परा. मा. I. 2. p. 265; स्वतकाहं द्विगुणं श्रावं श्रावार्हं द्विगुणमार्तवम्। अर्तवार्हं  
द्विगुणा सतिः सतेष्व श्रावदाहकः ॥ लघ्वन्नि (Jiv. vol. I. p. 10) chap. V, अङ्गिरस् according  
to हरवत्स on शौ. 14.5, वृद्धान्नि according to निर्णयसिन्धु p. 539; काशीशौचं सद्यस्यके

2nd rule is that if both āśaucaśāstra are of the same kind and the second is of the same duration or of lesser duration than the first then a man gets rid of both at the end of the first, but if the second, though of the same kind, has a longer duration than the first, then purification follows at the end of the one that is of longer duration. It has to be remembered that birth and death give rise to āśauca<sup>658</sup> only when they are known by a person.

On this topic there is a good deal of divergence between the views of the followers of the Mīṭākṣarā, of the Gaudāśa and Māthīlāśa (vide Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 74-82, Nirṇayasindhu 536-540). Following the Nirṇayasindhu it may be said that twelve alternatives are possible, when another āśauca supervenes on an already existing one. They are set out here. (1 & 2) If both āśaucaśāstra are due to birth and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the first āśauca there is purification from both (Viṣṇu 22.35, Śāṅkha 15.70); (3) If both āśaucaśāstra are due to birth and the second one is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śāṅkha 15.10, Śaḍaśīti 19); (4 and 5) If both āśaucaśāstra arise on death and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the period of the first āśauca there is purification from both; (6) If both āśaucaśāstra arise on death and the second that intervenes is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śaḍaśīti 21); (7, 8 and 9) When the first āśaucaśāstra is one arising from birth and an āśaucaśāstra due to death intervenes, the āśaucaśāstra on death must run its full course (i. e. there is no purification by the lapse of the first āśaucaśāstra due to birth), whether the āśaucaśāstra due to death is of lesser duration than the āśaucaśāstra on birth, or whether it is of the same or of longer

(Continued from the last page)

सूतकं तु यदा भवेत् । कालेन कृष्यते सूतिर्न सूतिः कालकोधनी ॥ लघुहारीत verse 80, यद्-  
विश्रान्त according to हरदत्त on गौ. 14.5 and परा. मा. I. 2 p. 264; यदि स्यात्सूतके  
सूतिर्मरणे वा सूतिर्भवेत् । शेषेणैव भवेच्छुद्धिरहःशेषे विरात्रकम् । मरणोत्पत्तियोगे तु मरणेन  
समाप्यते । कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23. 18-19) q. by कृष्णद्विप. p. 74 (reads विरात्रकम्);  
सूतके सूतकं चेत्याहृतके त्वय सूतकम् । तत्राधिकृत्य सूतकं शौचं कुर्यात् सूतकम् ॥ अङ्गिरस  
q. by परा. मा. I. 2 p. 264, मद. पा. p. 438. This occurs in अग्निपुराण 158.64.

658. समानं लघुशौचं तु प्रथमेन समापयेत् । असमानं द्वितीयेन धर्मराजवचो यथा ॥  
अग्निपुराण 157. 11-12. This echoes शौचं (q. by हरदत्त p. 65) 'समानशौचं प्रथमे  
प्रथमेन...यथा', while परा. मा. I. 2 p. 265 reads शौचं as समानशौचसम्पत्ते प्रथमेन ...  
and explains असमानं as दीर्घकालशौचम् । The reading समानं लघु शौचं तु printed  
in कृष्णद्विप. p. 31 makes no sense.



duration (Ṣaḍaśīti 18); (10, 11) If the <sup>659</sup> first āsauca arises on death and the supervening one is due to birth and is of lesser duration than the one on death or of the same duration then both end at the expiration of the first āsauca on death (Ṣaḍaśīti 21); (12) If the first āsauca arises on death and the supervening one arises on birth and is of longer duration, then both run their proper courses (Ṣaḍaśīti 21).

The Dharmasindhu (p. 436) generally follows the Nirpaya-sindhu but remarks: 'Āsauca on death cannot be done away with by āsauca on birth which is of the same or greater duration; āsauca on death of the extent of pakṣipī cannot get rid of āsauca on birth which is three or ten days in duration and āsauca on birth extending to ten days cannot be got rid of by āsauca on death which is of three days' duration.' These are the views of many writers. A certain writer says that āsauca on birth though longer in duration can be got rid of by āsauca on death which is of lesser extent.

The Mit. on Yaj. III. 20 (first half) states an exception to the above rules about āsauca-sannipāta. When a person's mother dies and then, while the period of āsauca for the mother's death is not over, the father dies, it does not follow that the āsauca for the father comes to an end with the end of the āsauca for the mother, but the son has to observe the full period of <sup>660</sup> the āsauca for father's death. Similarly, if the father died first and then, while the period of āsauca for the father was not over, the mother died, it does not follow that the āsauca for the mother's death comes to an end with the end of the first period of āsauca for the father, but the son after observing the period of the father's āsauca has to observe āsauca for the mother for one pakṣipī in addition. It may be remarked that Aparārka construes this verse differently by stating that if the father dies during the period of āsauca for the death of the mother, then the general rule applies, viz. that purification follows at the end of the āsauca for the mother.

659. जातके नैव घृतकं क्षयं याति न संशयः । बृहस्पत IV. 20; जातके घृतकं वा ह्यग्न्युतके घृतकं तथा । घृतके घृतके शुद्धिर्हते शुद्धिस्तु घृतके ॥ लघुहारीत 58.

660. तथा सजातीयान्तःपातित्वेपि मातरस्य कश्चित्पूर्वशेषेण शुद्धेरभावः स्वरूपगते दर्शितः । मातर्यशेषे ममीतायामक्षुद्धौ क्षियते पिता । पितुःशेषेण शुद्धिः स्वभ्यामुः कुर्यात्, पाक्षिणीम् ॥ मिता. on Yaj. III. 20. The verse is ascribed to शङ्ख by अपरार्क p. 900, प्लत. मा. I, 2, p. 267, शुद्धिमहाश p. 76. Verses 24-25 of the पञ्चशतिका contain the same idea; मङ्ग. पा. p. 438 ascribes it to अङ्गिरस्.



(pp. 340-341) explains <sup>664</sup> 'sadyaḥ' as meaning 'a portion of the day or of the night' and cites several authorities in support. The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 92) explains that 'sadyaḥśauca' in some contexts means 'absence of āsauca,' while in others it means 'bath' and with reference to those killed in battle and the like (to whom piṇḍas have to be offered) it means 'a part of the day or of the night.' The Smṛtimuktāphala <sup>665</sup> (āsaucakāṇḍa) p.481 says that 'sadyaḥśauca' means 'impurity that comes to an end by a bath.' That piṇḍas have to be offered to those about whom there is 'sadyaḥśauca' is stated by the Ādipurāṇa. <sup>666</sup> According to the Śuddhikaumudī (p. 73) 'sadyaḥśauca' has two meanings, viz. (1) the entire absence of āsauca as in the cases of sacrificial priests &c. (Yāj. III. 28), (2) āsauca that is removed by a mere bath (as in Manu V. 76).

The rules about āsauca for several days do not operate in five classes of cases, viz. certain *persons* are exempted altogether, certain activities of certain persons who would ordinarily be untouchable owing to āsauca are allowed without causing pollution, certain *articles* can be taken by anybody without fear of pollution from those who are affected by āsauca, no āsauca is to be observed *for certain deceased persons* owing to their faults, in the case of certain persons *express texts* say that no āsauca need be observed for them. These five classes will briefly be dealt with in order. In the principal texts these five classes of cases are rather mixed up. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13.7 it is provided that there is sadyaḥśauca on the death of a child, or of a person dying in another country, of a patita, or of an ascetic or on the death of a person committing suicide by water, fire or hanging. Vide also Gaut. 14.11 and 42 and Vāmanapurāṇa 14.99.

664. अत्र सद्यःपदमहोरात्रार्थपरम्।...हे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुस्त्रिसन्ध्यैकाहिकः स्मृतः। द्वयद्वयैकरात्रिश्च पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते ॥ इति भट्टनारायणवचनात्। हे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुस्त्रिसन्ध्यैकाह उच्यते। दिनद्वयैकरात्रिस्तु पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते इति नव्यवर्धमानभूतवचनाच्च। सद्य एकाहेनाशौचमिति पारिजाते सद्य एकाहेनेति स्मृतिसारे। एकमहः सद्य इति शुद्धियङ्ग्या इतिनाञ्जति। तन्नाथं दिनमात्रं रात्रिमात्रं च। एतदेव काचित् सज्योतिःपदेन व्यपदिश्यते। शुद्धि- तत्त्व pp 340-341. शुद्धियकाश p. 93 states that the verse हे सन्ध्ये सद्य<sup>०</sup> occurs in the गोभिलभाष्य of नारायणभट्ट.

665. सद्यःशौचं नाम स्नानाशतमयम्। सद्यःशौचे तु तावत्स्यादाशौचं संश्रितस्य तु। पावत्स्नानं न कुर्वन्ति सद्यैलं वारधवा बाहिः ॥ इत्याहुःस्मरणात्। स्मृतिह. p. 481.

666. दिवसे दिवसे पिण्डो देय एव क्रमेण तु। सद्यःशौचेपि दातव्याः सर्वेपि पुनपत्न्याः आदिपुराण q. by हारलता p. 165. The latter half is cited as from ब्रह्मपुराण by रजुनाथ on त्रिशप्तोक्ती verse 28 p. 249. It is not unlikely that the ब्रह्मपुराण which is mentioned in several works as the first of the 18 पुराण was therefore called आदिपुराण.

Yāj. (III. 28-29) prescribes that there is sadyahśauca (purification after a bath) in case of birth or death (of a sapinda) for priests chosen for a sacrifice (after they are offered Madhuparka), for those who have undergone dikṣā for a vedic sacrifice (like *Somañyāga*) and those who are engaged in performing the constituent parts of a Vedic sacrifice, those who continuously distribute food at a charity house, those who are engaged in prāyaścittas like cāndrāyana or the vows of snātakas, for brahmacārins (when performing the duties of their āśrama), for persons who everyday make gifts of a cow, gold etc. (at the time of making the gift), for those who have realized Brahman (ascetics); there is sadyahśauca at gifts (when once begun), at marriage, in a Vedic sacrifice, in battle (for those who are about to be engaged in it), when there is commotion in a country (through invasion), and in a severe calamity (like famine when one can accept food from any body). Gaut. (14. 43-44) says that there is sadyahśauca in the case of kings as otherwise there will be obstacles in their duties and also in the case of brāhmaṇas in order to prevent the cessation of their duties of teaching. Śaṅkhalikhita say the same 'Rāja dharmāyatanaṃ sarveṣāṃ tasmādanavaruddhaṃ pretaprasavadoṣaiḥ' (Śuddhikalpataru p. 62). It is stated in Manu V. 93 that kings,<sup>667</sup> those engaged in *vratas* and *sattras* (like *Gavām-ayana*) are not liable to undergo the blemish of āśauca, because they (kings) occupy the position of Indra (ruler) and are like Brahman (which is free from all taint) and Manu V. 94 clinches the matter further by observing 'sadyahśauca is ordained for the position of a king which can be obtained only by great merit (in past lives) for the sake of the protection of the subjects and the reason of this (rule) is the position that he occupies.' Similarly, Gobhilaśmṛti<sup>668</sup>

667. न राज्ञामघदोषोऽस्ति ब्रह्मिणां न च सत्रिणां । ऐवं स्थः न सुपासीना बह्वभूता हि ते सदा ॥ राज्ञो माहात्म्ये स्थाने सद्यःशौचं विधीयते । प्रजाणां परिकार्यमासनं चात्र कारणम् ॥ मनु V. 93-94. The first verse is the same as Vasīṣṭha 19.48 (Further's text is corrupt, which must be corrected into नाघदोषोऽस्ति) which cites it as Yama's. It is the position that he holds that renders the king (whether a ksatriya, brāhmaṇa or śūdra) free from āśauca. The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र (22. 47-52) restricts the absence of āśauca by saying 'kings are free from āśauca when they are performing the duties of a king (such as administration of justice)': 'न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि न ब्रह्मिणां ब्रते न सत्रिणां सत्रे न कारुणां स्वकर्मणि न राजाज्ञाकारिणां तद्विच्छया ।'

668. न त्यजेत्स्वकी कर्म बह्वचारी स्वकं कश्चित् । न वीक्षणात्परं यज्ञे न कुण्ड्यादि तपश्चरन् । पितर्यपि सुते चैवां दोषो भवति कश्चित् । गोभिलस्मृति III. 64-65 q. by हारलता p. 107. अपराकं p. 919. शुद्धिकल्प. p. 64.

(III. 64-65, often quoted as Chandogaparisiṣṭa of Kātyāyana) states 'in a sūṭaka, a brahmacārin should not give up his peculiar duties (Veda study and vratas), a sacrificer his various actions (required) in a sacrifice after he has undergone dīkṣā, one who is practising penance should not give up kṛcchra and the like; these do not incur impurity even on the death of their father (or mother)'. The Kūrmapurāṇa<sup>669</sup> provides 'no impurity is declared on death in the case of perpetual or temporary brahmacārins, forest hermits or ascetics'. Similar rules are given by Atri 97-98, Liṅga-purāṇa, pūrvabhāga, chap. 89.77. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 28 remarks that in the case of the three āśramas of *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha* and *yati* there is freedom from impurity in all cases and at all times; ascetics and brahmacārins have to undergo a bath with clothes on the death of their father or mother (Dharmasindhu p. 442); in the case of several others such as those who are continually making gifts or are observing vratas there is freedom from impurity only when they are engaged in those particular actions and not when they are engaged in any action whatever or when they mix up among others for everyday work.<sup>670</sup> Similar rules occur in Parāśara III.21-22. It has already been stated following Manu V. 91 (= Viṣṇu 22.86) that a brahmacārin was not to perform the last rites (of carrying the corpse, cremation) for anybody except for five persons (viz. his parents, upādhyāya, ācārya and guru). He did not incur āśauca by performing the funeral rites of his parents and offering water and piṇḍa to them. But if he did so for any one other than the five mentioned by Manu he had to observe āśauca for ten days, and to undergo prāyaścitta and had his *upanayana* performed again. A brahmacārin had to observe after *samāvartana* (returning from the Vedic teacher) āśauca for three days for all relatives that died during the period of his studenthood (Manu V. 88, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.87). Gautama (14. 42-44) says generally<sup>671</sup> that on the death of child-

669. नैष्ठिकानां व्रतध्यानां यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणां । नाशौचं कीर्तितं सद्भिः पतिते च तथा सुते ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23.61 q. by हारलता p. 114, परा. म. I. 2. p. 254. Sewall has almost the same verse, नैष्ठिकानां...शौचं सुतके भोक्तुं शक्ये वापि तथैव च ॥ q. by परा. म. I. 2. p. 254, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 543. A similar verse occurs in लिङ्ग-पुराण (पूर्वार्ध) chap. 89.77.

670. सन्निपातं व्रतिनां सन्ने व्रते च ह्युद्धिर्न कर्ममात्रे संन्यतहरे वा । ... ब्रह्मविद्यतिः । एतेषां च ब्रह्मण्यमाध्यामिणां सर्वत्र ह्युद्धिः । विहिरे प्रमाणाभावात् । मिता. on य. III. 28.

671. बालवैशाख्यरितभञ्जितासपिण्डानां सद्यःशौचम् । राज्ञां च कार्यविरोधात् । ब्राह्मणस्य च स्वाध्यायनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । मी. 14.42-44. पराशर III. 10 and कामन्दुराण 14.99-100 contain verses almost in the same words as the first sūtra.

ren (before the appearance of teeth or before Cūḍā), of those who are separated by a country, of ascetics and of those who are not sapinḍas, the relatives are purified by only a bath; so also there is sadyaḥśauca for kings, for otherwise there would be conflict with their duty (of protecting the subjects) and for a brāhmaṇa also in order that there may be no cessation of Vedic study.<sup>672</sup> The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 93) remarks that though there is no āśauca (as stated by Yāj. III. 28) yet a sacrificial priest and a dikṣita had to bathe on the death of a sapinḍa, a brahmacārin also would have to take a bath if he followed the funeral procession of his father or mother &c., but an ascetic would not have even to bathe and that usage was the same in its day.

The second class of exceptions refers to cases where certain persons, though they have incurred āśauca, are allowed to do certain acts or carry on their activities without bringing pollution to those with whom they deal or come in contact. For example, Parāśara (III. 20-21) says; 'craftsmen (such as those who draw pictures or washermen), workers (cooks and the like), physicians, male and female slaves, barbers, kings and śrotriyaś are declared to be sadyaḥśauca, as also one observing a vrata (cāndrāyana &c.), one purified by being engaged in a sattra (such as Gavām-ayana), a brāhmaṇa who has established śrauta fires; the king has not to observe āśauca and also any one (such as his purohita) whom the king for his own purpose desires not to observe it.' The Ādipurāṇa<sup>673</sup> gives the reason why craftsmen, physicians and others were allowed not to observe āśauca when engaged in their peculiar tasks, viz. what these people do cannot be done by any one else at all or at least so well or so easily.

672. शिल्पिनः कारुका वेद्या दासीदासाश्च नापितः। राजानः भोजिपाश्वैव सद्यःशौचाः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ सप्ततः सत्रपूतश्च आहिताग्निश्च यो द्विजः। राजश्च द्यूतकं नास्ति पश्य चोच्छति पापिवः॥ पराशर III.20-21.

673. तथा आदिपुराणे। शिल्पिनश्चित्रकाराद्याः कर्म यत्साधयश्चलम्। तत्कर्म जाप्यो जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धः स्वकर्मणि। द्यूतकारेण यत्कर्म करणीयं नरोपिह। तदग्नौ नैव जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धः स द्यूतकृतः॥ चिकित्सको यत्कुरुते तदग्नौ न ज्ञायते। तस्माच्चिकित्सकः स्पर्शो द्यूतो भवति नित्यशः॥ वास्यो दासाश्च यत्किञ्चित् कुर्वन्त्यपि च लीलया। तदग्नौ न भयः कर्तुं तस्मात्ते द्यूचयः सदा॥ राजा करोति यत्कर्म स्वमेव न्यस्य तत्कथम्। एवं सति द्यूतः शुद्धः संस्पर्शो द्यूतयुक्ते॥ यत्कर्म राजभृत्यानां हस्त्यश्वगजनादिकम्। तज्जास्ति यस्मादग्नौ तस्मात्ते द्यूचयः स्मृताः॥ q. by परा. मा. I. 2. pp. 255-256. Three of these from द्यूतकारेण are quoted as from आदिपुराण by हारलता p. 110, as from आदिपुराण by द्यूतित्त pp. 289-90 and all from द्यूतकारेण onwards are quoted from आदिपुराण by द्यूतिम्. p. 95; the verse चिकित्सको is q. by भित्ता. on वा. III. 27.

It has <sup>674</sup> to be noted that the absence of āśauca in the case of craftsmen, physicians and the like has to be restricted to the peculiar activities of these and does not extend to all actions such as religious rites, śrāddhas and gifts. This is clear from the words of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra <sup>675</sup> 22. 48-52. The Trīmśacchloki (verse 18) <sup>676</sup> gives a long list of such peculiar activities. The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārḍha 23. 57-64) has nine verses on this topic which are quoted by the Hāratalā (p. 114).

It has already been seen (pp. 238-240) that Par. gr. III. 10 (nityāni vinivartante vaitānavarjam), Manu. V. 84, Yaj. III. 17 (latter half) provide that even those who have to undergo āśauca on death should not stop rites to be performed with śrauta fires, but should perform them themselves or get them performed through others. Thus certain religious rites were allowed to be done even by those who were āśaucin.

The Dharmasindhu (p. 552) emphasizes that this exception to āśauca should be availed of only when there is no other alternative or in a season of distress.

It has already been stated how certain materials and things can be received without any pollution from those who are undergoing āśauca. That is the third class of cases which are exceptions to the rules of āśauca.

The fourth class of cases where rules of āśauca do not apply relate to persons deceased to whom some fault or taint attaches. Gaut. (14. 11) <sup>677</sup> and Śaṅkha-Likhita provide that there is sadyahśauca for those who kill themselves (i. e. commit suicide) by starting on the great journey (to the Himālaya), by fasting, by a weapon (like a dagger), by fire or poison or water or by hanging or by falling down from a precipice.

674. अयं चाशौचः। भावस्तत्तद्वसाधारणकर्मण्यस्तुत्यत्वमतिवेषरूपो बोधयः, न तु सर्वेषु दानभाक्षादिधर्मकृत्येष्वाशौचाभावाः। छुद्रिय. p. 95.

675. (भाशौचं) न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि। न ब्रह्मिणां ब्रह्मे। न सत्रिणां सत्रे। न कार्त्तव्यां कारकर्मणि। न राजाशौकारिणां तद्विच्छया। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 48-52.

676. तत्तत्कार्येषु सत्रिणां तद्वत्तद्विहितत्विकस्ववेषश्रेणीपत्त्वप्यनेकश्रुतिपठनभिक्षादिशिल्पानुराणां। संप्रत्यक्षेषु दानोपनयनयजनभाक्षयुद्धमतितापवृद्धातीर्थार्थप्राज्ञापप-विनयमाश्रित्येवेतदर्थे॥ त्रिशष्ट्योकी 18. तद्वत् means तद्वत्सेवक.

677. For गौ. 14.11 vide note 522 above; प्रायश्चित्तविषयकोद्देश्यमपत्तनै-श्वेच्छताम्। अयं शब्दानाशकाग्निरजु-धृगु-जल-विषममापणेभ्यमेव। शङ्कलिक्रितौ q. by हारलता p. 113; सुव्याघ्रिपाशकाग्नीभिर्भुतानामात्मघातिनाम्। पतितान च नाशौचं विद्युच्छब्द-इत्याद्ये॥ अग्निपुराण 157.32. Vide वामनपुराण 14. 99-100.

Yāj. III. 6 provides <sup>678</sup> that women that have gone over to heterodox views and practices, that do not belong to any particular āśrama, that are thieves (of gold and the like), that (attempt to) kill their husbands, that are unchaste and the like, that drink liquor and that attempt suicide, do not deserve to have water offered to them (on death) and no āśauca should be observed for them. This verse applies to men also as far as possible. Manu V. 89-90 are to the same effect. The Kūrmapurāṇa also prescribes <sup>679</sup> that for him who kills himself by means of fire, poison and the like, no āśauca, no cremation and no offering of water is prescribed, there is no cremation for *patitas*, nor *antyeṣṭi* nor collection of bones, no shedding of tears and no *piṇḍa* and no *śrāddha* should be performed for them. It is provided by Āngiras quoted by Mit. on Yāj. III. 6 that 'death results to evil-minded men from *cāṇḍālas* (with whom a quarrel is purposely got up), from water, from a snake, from a *brāhmaṇa*, from lightning and from animals that have sharp fangs (like tigers). If water and *piṇḍa* are offered to such people (who die wilfully in these cases) they (water and *piṇḍa*) do not reach them and perish in mid air.' These verses refer to death in a wrathful fight with tigers, snakes and the like or suicide in water through wrath or sorrow. But, if one died in water or by fire through inadvertence or negligence, then Āngiras <sup>680</sup> himself provides that water should be offered and āśauca should be observed. Long passages are quoted from the Brahmapurāṇa by Haradatta on Gaut. 14. 11, Suddhiprakāśa pp. 56-57, Nirṇayasindhu p. 550, which elaborate the same ideas as those of Yāj. III. 6, Āngiras and others and wind up by stating that if any one offers water or *śrāddha* to *patitas* through affection or cremates them, he has to undergo *prāyaścitta* (viz. two *Taptakrochras*).

678. For यज. III. 6 read p. 222 above; अपरार्क reads 'पाषण्डानाभिताः' and explains 'पाषण्डान्मोहादीनाभिताः तद्धोत्रायां प्रविष्टाः', while the मिता reads पाषण्डनाभिताः and makes two different classes.

679. पतितानां न दाहः; vide note 522 above; the अग्निपुराण (159. 2-4) states 'आत्मनस्त्रयाग्निना नास्ति पतितानां तथा क्रिया। तेषामपि तथा वाङ्मे तोषेऽस्थनां पतनं हितम्। तेषां वृत्तं जलं चाक्षं गगने तत्पल्लयते। अनुग्रहेण सहता येतस्य पतितस्य च। नारायणचलिः कार्यस्तेनाल्लुप्तमभ्युते॥'

680. यदि कश्चित्पमादेन श्रियेताम्बुदकादिभिः। तस्याशौचं विधातव्यं कर्तव्या शौचक-क्रिया॥ अङ्गिरस्य q. by मिता. on यज. III. 6. A similar verse is औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. vol. I p. 540), chap. VII.



If an *āhilitāgni* were killed by *cāṇḍālas* in defiant fight with them or commits suicide, his corpse should be got cremated by *śūdras* without proper mantras and *Gobhilasmr̥ti* (III. 49-51) provides for the disposal of his *śrauta* fires and sacrificial implements. Though suicide was generally condemned, the *smṛtis* (such as *Atri* 218-219) and *Purāṇas* allowed certain exceptions, viz. very old men (above 70), very weak men who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or those who have no desire left for the pleasures of the senses or who have carried out all tasks and duties, may start on *Mahāprasthāna* or die at *Prayāga*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 926-928 for detailed treatment of this topic. If a man killed himself in the way allowed by the *śāstra* then there was no blemish and *āśauca* had to be observed and water and *śrāddha* had to be offered. It may be noted that starting on *Mahāprasthāna* and suicide on the part of old men by falling down from a precipice or in fire are forbidden in the *Kali* age. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 939 and pp. 958-959.

The *Mit.* on *Yāj.* III. 6 quotes *Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya* and *Chāṅgaleya* to the effect that in the case of those who commit suicide in any manner that is not sanctioned by the *śāstras*, *Nārāyaṇabali* should be performed one year after their death and then the rites of *śrāddha* may be performed thereafter. The *Mit.* <sup>681</sup> on *Yāj.* III. 6) relying on *Viṣṇupurāṇa* describes the *Nārāyaṇabali* as follows: On the 11th day of the bright half of a month, having worshipped *Viṣṇu* and *Yama*, one should with the face to the south offer near them on *darbhās* with ends turned towards the south ten *piṇḍas* laved with honey and ghee and mixed with sesame after bringing to mind the deceased <sup>682</sup> who should be looked upon as having the form of *Viṣṇu* and having uttered the name and gotra of the deceased; he should honour the *piṇḍas* with sandalwood paste and the rest and having performed all the rites up to the removal of *piṇḍas*, should cast them in a river and not give them to the

681. एवं नारायणबलिः प्रेतस्य द्युद्धवापादनद्वारेण आह्वातिसंमदान्तरे योग्यतां जनयतीति और्ध्वदेहिकमपि सर्वं कार्यमेव । अत एव षट्त्रिंशन्मतेऽपि और्ध्वदेहिकस्याप्यमुञ्ज इत्यने । गोबाह्मणहतानां च पतितानां तथैव च । ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरास्कुयोस्सर्वेऽप्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥ इति । एवं संवत्सराः ऊर्ध्वमेव नारायणबलिं कुत्वौर्ध्वदेहिकं कार्यम् । *Mit.* on *Yāj.* III. 6. The same provisions are recommended by *परा. मा.* I. 2 pp. 226-227, *रघुवति* p. 489. Vide *गृह्य.* प्रेतखण्ड, 40. 15-65 for *नारायणबलि*.

682. The *सङ्कल्प* will be अमुकमोक्षस्यामुकस्य दुर्मरणात्मघातजद्वीवनाशार्थमौर्ध्वदेहिकसंयत्नान्त्वयोग्यतासिद्धयर्थं नारायणबलिं करिष्ये इति संकल्प्य । *मिर्णयसिन्धु* p. 559.

wife or to others. Then on the night of the same day he should invite an uneven number of brāhmanas, should observe a fast, should worship Viṣṇu the next day, in the noon he should perform all the rites from washing the feet of brāhmanas up to the query about the gratification of the brāhmanas (by the food served to them) according to the procedure of *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha*, then he should silently go through all the rites from *ullekhana* (drawing lines) up to *avmejana* (anointing) by the procedure of *Piṇḍa-pitryajña*. He should offer four piṇḍas to (images of) Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama together with the attendants, should remember the deceased by name and gotra, should utter the name of Viṣṇu and then offer the 5th piṇḍa. Then having gratified the brāhmanas (after they have sipped water) with fee, he should bring to his mind one (of the brāhmanas) that is the most qualified of all as representing the deceased and having gratified him to the utmost with the gifts of cows, land and money, should then make the brāhmanas that have *pavitrās* on their hands offer to the deceased water together with sesame and should then take his meal along with his relatives.

The passage quoted by the Mit. makes it clear that Nārāyaṇabali is meant only for those who commit suicide and is to be offered one year after the death of the person guilty of suicide. The Hāralatā<sup>683</sup> (p. 212) also says the same and explains a verse of Viṣṇu: extending the performance of Nārāyaṇabali to those killed by cows and brāhmanas and those who become *patita* as a usage restricted to a certain country only.<sup>684</sup>

The Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa describes (on folio 187) Nārāyaṇabali rite at greater length than in the Mitākṣarā. One or two details may be pointed out. Five kaśāṣas (jars) are to be placed over a quantity of rice or *yavas*, then filled with water, then have the three mantras 'Āpo hi śṭhā'

683. आत्मघातिन इत्याभिधानात् आत्मघातकमात्रस्यैवं विधानं न तु महापातक्यादीनामिति दर्शयति। विष्णुः। गोब्राह्मणहतानां च पतितानां तथैव च। ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कुर्यात् सर्वमौर्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥ एतच्च देशविशेषव्यवस्थितमिति आदितुराणवचन एवोक्तं न तु दास्यात्ततोयदानमारण्यबलिद्वययोः पथमसंवत्सराभ्यन्तरविषयत्वं व्यवस्थाप्यम्। हारलता p. 212. A long passage is quoted from आदितुराण in हारलता pp. 203-205, the last verses of which are: क्रियते पतितानां तु गते संवत्सरे कञ्चित्। देशधर्मममाणत्वात् गयाकूपेण चक्षुभिः। मार्तण्डपादमूले वा आर्द्रं हरिहरं स्मरन्।

684. Nārāyaṇabali is described in the Appendix B to the Sholapur District Gazetteer in Bom. Gaz. vol. XX. pp. 522-523.

( Rg. X 9. 1-3 ) repeated over them, then copper plates are to be placed over them on which five images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Yama and the deceased are to be drawn and the worship of these five is to be performed respectively with the Puruṣasūkta ( Rg. X. 90 ), Rg. X. 121. 1-10, Rg. I. 43. 1 ( = Tai. Ā. X. 17 ), Rg. X. 14. 13 and the name and gotra of the deceased, sixteen oblations of cooked rice are to be offered to Nārāyaṇa with the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta ( Rg. X. 90 ). Ten pindas<sup>685</sup> are to be offered on *darbhās* to the deceased after repeating his name and gotra ( as stated in the note below ). After the ten pindas are cast in a river, there is *tarpaṇa* of the deceased sixteen times with the sixteen stanzas of the Puruṣasūkta. Then *bali* is offered separately to Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama with his servants.

In the Mitākṣarā, there is no homa nor bali, both of which are described in the Āntyestipaddhati and the Smṛtyarthasāra ( pp. 85-86 ) copies verbatim the procedure given in the Mit. Bhṛatparāśara ( V. pp. 175-176 ) contains the same procedure that is set out by the Mit. from the Viṣṇupurāṇa. The Nirṇaya-sindhu first describes Nārāyaṇabali as gathered from Hemādri and the Garuḍapurāṇa ( III. 4. 113-119 ). It then describes Nārāyaṇabali to be performed for a deceased ascetic on the 12th day ( along with Pārvaṇasrāddha ), following the procedure laid down by Baudhāyana. It then describes another form of Nārāyaṇabali based on Śaunaka which is meant for all those who commit suicide or who are killed by cāṇḍālas, <sup>686</sup> snakes, lightning, animals with fangs or who die in a distant land or for ascetics and *yogins*. The Vṛddha-Hārta-smṛti ( IX. 123-143 ) describes another method of Nārāyaṇabali for devotees of Viṣṇu.

The Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra ( X. 9 ) sets out a rather brief procedure of Nārāyaṇabali which was intended for the benefit of men who committed suicide or were slain and for ascetics and provides that the same may be performed for those guilty of *mahūpātakas* after twelve years from their death. The

685. अक्षितदेवसमीपे अयुक्तगोत्रायायुक्तशर्मणे श्रेताय विष्णुस्वपिणेऽथ विष्णुः- इति मनुपुत्राह्मनास्तिलमिध्मावृण पिण्डान् विष्णुस्वपिणं श्रेतमनुस्मरन् श्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उच्चार्य वक्षिणाश्रेषु दर्भेषु वक्षिणासुखोऽपसम्पन्नं वत्सा । ततः पुरुषद्वयेन श्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उक्त्वा अहुकं नारायणरूपं तर्पयामीति बौद्धशिवारं तर्पयेत्यष्टौ चम् । अन्त्येष्टिपद्धतिः.

686. चाण्डालादुदकात्सर्पाद्वाह्मणाद्वैद्यतादपि । इक्षिंश्च पशुंश्च मरणं पापकर्मिणाञ्च ॥ श्री. य. शेषसूत्र III. 21. The same is q. by अपरार्के p. 877 as यम's, as स्वरूपम् by छद्दिग्. p. 56 and without name by the मिता, on श्री. III. 6.

Baudhāyana-grhya-śāśasūtra III. 20 and 21 contain two different sets of the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali, the latter of which appears to be the later one. The latter contains the well-known verse about death at the hands of cāṇḍālas, from a snake &c.

The 5th class of exceptions to āśauca rules comprises those that are declared by express texts as not liable to observe an āśauca. Gautama (14. 8-10) provides<sup>687</sup> that (the sapīṇḍas) of those that met death for the sake of cows and brāhmaṇas, of those that met death through the wrath of the king and those that were killed in battle have to observe no āśauca but only 'sadyaśāśauca'. Manu V. 95 and 98 state<sup>688</sup> that (the sapīṇḍas) of those that are killed in a sudden affray or by lightning or by the king (for an offence) or of those that met death in protecting cows and brāhmaṇas and of one who was killed in the fashion of kṣatriyas in a battle by the sword have to observe no āśauca, as also he whom the king desires (for his purpose) to observe no āśauca. It is provided by Śātātapa<sup>689</sup> that as regards a *yati* dying, his sons and other sapīṇḍas are not to offer water or piṇḍa to him or to observe āśauca for him. The Dharmasindhu (p. 449) says that this applies to all ascetics, whether they be *tridaṇḍin* or *ekadaṇḍin*, *hansas* or *paramahansas*. So also on the death of a vānaprastha there is no āśauca. In the case of one who has performed his own śrāddha while alive his sapīṇḍas have an option either to observe āśauca or not. On the death of a brahmacārin āśauca is to be observed. The Dharmasindhu further notes that in all works it is stated that there is no āśauca<sup>690</sup> for one killed in battle, but at least

687. गोब्राह्मणहतानामन्वक्षम् । राजकोपाच्च । युद्धे । गौ. 14. 8-10. हरदत्त explains 'अन्वक्ष्यते मृत्युयते शत्रुस्तान्स्कारान्ते स्नात्वा शुद्धयेरक्षिति', while the *mita*. on Ya. III. 21 (first half) explains 'तत्सम्बन्धिनां चाशक्षमनुगतमक्षमन्वक्षं सद्यःशौचमित्यर्थः.' The *mitakṣara* takes the corresponding passage of Yāj. III. 21 (first half) to mean 'of those that were killed by the king, by bulls or brāhmaṇas'. The *mita*. reads राजकोपाच्चयुद्धे, while हरदत्त says that he does not like to read अयुद्धे but would read आयुद्धे.

688. दिव्याह्वे हतानां च विद्युता पाथिवेन च । गोब्राह्मणस्य चैवार्थे यस्य चैच्छति पाथिवः ॥ मनु V. 95. दिव्याह्वे is explained by कुल्लुक and हारलता (p. 111) as 'वृषति-रहितं युद्धं,' while हरदत्त takes दिव्य to mean जनसंसर्ग and अपराकं p. 916 explains दिव्याह्वे as अशक्षकलह and शुद्धिकल्पते as अशक्षकलहः संमर्दो वा (p. 46).

689. एकोदिष्टं जलं पिण्डमाशौचं येतसत्क्रियाम् । न कुर्यात्पार्षणादयम् ब्रह्मिष्ठताय भिक्षवे ॥ शातातप. - स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 171 ascribes this to बसिष्ठ.

690. युद्धदृष्टेऽप्याशौचं नेति सर्वग्रन्थेष्वलम्यते न त्वेवं ब्राह्मणेषु शिक्षाचार इति । चर्मसिन्धु p. 449.

among brāhmanas (i. e. as to brāhmanas killed in battle) the usage of the *śiṣṭas* is different (i. e. *śāuca* is observed).

Parāśara (III, 12-13) provides that, if a man has gone for many years to a distant land and it is ascertained that he died there but the exact date of his death is not known, then either of three *tithis* viz. the 8th or 11th day of the dark half or the *amāvāsyā* should be accepted as the day of his death and water, *piṇḍa* and *śrāddha* should be offered on that date and the Par. M. I, 2 p. 237 adds that *śāuca* also must be calculated from that date. On the other hand Laghu-Hārita says that if there is some obstacle at the time of a *śrāddha* or when the date of death is not known, then the funeral rites should be performed on the 11th *tithi* of the following dark half (*Śuddhikaumudī* p. 17).

The digests lay particular emphasis on the fact that in matters of *śāuca* the usages of a country must be observed. The *Hāratalā* (pp. 55, 205) quotes passages from the *Ādipurāṇa* where special reference is made to the authority of the usages of a country (*deśa-dharmapramāṇatvāt*). The *Śuddhitattva* p. 275 quotes<sup>691</sup> a verse of Marici 'one should not disregard the manner of observing *śāuca* and religious usages that are current in particular localities; the dharma is of that sort alone in those localities'. On p. 276 it quotes a passage of the *Vāmanapurāṇa* to the same effect.

It deserves to be noted that Dakṣa<sup>692</sup> (VI 15) states that all rules about *śāuca* apply when the times are easy and peaceful but when a man is overwhelmed by distress there is no (enforcement or application) of the (rules of) *śāuca*.

Viṣṇu (19, 18-19) provides<sup>693</sup> that at the end of the period of *śāuca* one should go out of the village, get himself shaved and take a bath after applying a thick paste of sesame or white mustard to the body, change garments and then re-enter the house. Then he should perform a *śūnti* (propitiatory rite)

691. तथा च मरीचिः । येषु स्थानेषु यच्छौचं धर्माचारश्च यादृशः । तत्र तत्रावमश्येत धर्मस्तत्रैव तादृशः ॥ रुद्रधर in *शुद्धिविवेक* (D. C. ms. No 309 of 1887-91, folio 77 b), *शु. को.* p. 360, *शुद्धितत्व* p. 275: "तथा च वामनपुराणं 'देशादुशिष्टं कुलधर्ममन्यं स्वगोत्रधर्मं न हि संत्यजेच्च'" *शुद्धितत्व* p. 276.

692. स्वस्थकाले तथा सर्वे सूतकं परिकीर्तितम् । आपद्बन्धस्तस्य सर्वस्य सूतकेषु न सूतकम् ॥ दक्ष VI. 15.

693. ग्रामाभिष्क्रम्याशौचान्ते कुतश्चक्षुर्कर्मणस्तिलकरक्षेः सर्वेषकत्वेर्वा स्नाताः परिशतितवाससो सृष्टं मन्त्रिकेषुः । तत्र शान्तिं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणानां च पूजनं कुर्युः । *विश्वधर्मसूत्र* 19, 18-19.

and honour brāhmanas. Many medieval digests provide for a more elaborate procedure. For example, the Śuddhikaumudī (pp. 155-164) sets out the procedure of the 11th day separately for the followers of the three Vedas. A few salient points may be mentioned. After a bath for the whole body, the sapindas should touch a cow, gold, fire, *dūrva*, clarified butter and repeat the name of Govinda, then engage brāhmanas to sprinkle śānti water over them and say 'śvasti'. If a brāhmaṇa cannot be had one should himself perform śānti. The Hāratalā and others say that without śānti water āśauca is not completely removed. The followers of Sāmaveda should sing the Vāmadevagāna for śānti or should repeat the four Vāmadevya verses viz. 'kayā nāscitra,' 'kastvā satyo,' 'abhi sū paḥ' (No. 682-684 of the Sāmaveda) together with the last verse of the Sāmaveda ('śvasti na Indro') preceded and followed by the sacred Gāyatrī; these form the śānti mantras for Sāmavedins. For followers of Yajurveda seventeen mantras beginning with 'ṛcam vācam prapadye' and ending with 'dyauḥ śāntiḥ', preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī form the śānti mantras; the Rgvedins should employ for śānti Rg. X. 9. 4, VII, 35. 1, V. 47. 7 &c. preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī. Then some gold with silver as dakṣiṇā should be donated to a brāhmaṇa, then the Vaitaraṇī cow should be donated, if one was not given at the approach of death, then a gift of the bedstead &c. should be made.

We have seen (p. 270) that originally the sūtras (like Śān. Śr.) and smṛtis (like Manu) emphasized that one should not increase the number of the days of āśauca and that men learned in the Veda and consecrating śrauta fires had to undergo only one day's āśauca (Parāśara III. 5, Dakṣa VI. 6). But ultimately a flat period of ten days of āśauca (Manu V. 59) for all sapindas came to be prescribed. In the old days the means of communication were very limited, and hence the news of a birth or death must have taken considerable time to reach relatives staying even at a short distance and hence the restrictions imposed by the rules of āśauca were not felt to be very irksome. It is on account of this reason and also the great *penchant* of dharma-sāstra writers for all sorts of divisions, sub-divisions and classifications that we find medieval writers bestowing an enormously exaggerated attention in very exuberant and enthusiastic style on such a subject as āśauca. Most nations have their own usages to indicate that a person (male or female) or a family is in mourning. But probably no country in the world

can equal (much less surpass) the Dharmasāstra writers in the elaborate rules evolved in books about āśauca on birth and death. In these days when there is a State postal system and the means of communication abound owing to railways, air-mail, telegraph and wireless, the ancient and medieval rules of āśauca are felt by all people to be most galling and troublesome. Mischievous people sometimes create trouble in the celebration of marriages by sending information about a death or a birth to persons against whom they have a grudge. Devices have to be employed for dodging the inconvenience due to rules of āśauca. It is therefore necessary to introduce substantial changes in the rules about āśauca that will prevent trouble, loss of time and work and would at the same time be more or less in agreement with the spirit of the dicta of the smṛtis and the sentiments of most common people. At the end in the appendix note 693a is added which gives the text of the *Āśauca-daśaka* with Sanskrit explanation.

As regards *āśauca* on birth I would recommend that hereafter in the changed set-up of society in these days one simple rule should be observed, viz. it is only the mother that has to observe impurity for ten days and no one else has to observe impurity on birth. This is in general accordance with the ancient smṛtis set out above.

As regards impurity on death four rules should ordinarily suffice.<sup>693a</sup>

(1) *Āśauca* for ten days on death should be observed by the father and the mother for the son and by the son for the parents, by the wife for the husband and *vice versa* and by one who performs the rites of cremation and the rites after death.

(2) For others (than the above) staying near the deceased as members of a joint family āśauca for only three days should suffice.

(3) For all other relatives of the deceased whenever the news of death may reach them within a year after death, only a bath should be enough.

(4) When the death occurred more than a year before the news reached the relatives not even a bath should be required in the case of any relative except those mentioned in the first rule, who should be held clean after a bath.

Practices observed among ancient and modern primitive tribes show that the most important *tabus* were those on the dead, on women in child-birth and women in their monthly illness. Among the ancient Israelites all that were unclean through the dead were put outside the camp and they were not allowed to offer an offering at the Passover (Numbers V. 1-4 and IX. 6). Among the Syrians those who belonged to the family of the dead man were *tabu* for 30 days and could then enter only with shaven heads. Child-birth made a woman unclean and the number of days that she was to be unclean depended on whether the child was a male or a female (Leviticus 12. 2-5). In India also the ancient Aryans probably inherited their ideas about uncleanness on death and child-birth from their remote ancestors. If one may surmise one can say this: it must have been found out by the remote ancestors of the Vedic Aryans that if a person touched a dead body or used the clothes worn by the dead man when living, he also suffered from the same disease (particularly in the case of contagious diseases like plague, cholera, typhoid &c.) and that segregating such a person for ten days from other members of the tribe or community made the latter immune from the attack of such diseases. Therefore, those who touched the dead or carried the corpse for cremation or burial and the members of the family were thought to be unclean and were segregated for ten days. Gradually the ideas about the uncleanness on death and the necessity of segregation were made applicable to death due to all diseases or causes whatever. The uncleanness on child-birth might have been a case of extension by analogy derived from the *tabu* on death. At all events *smṛti* writers put both on the same level (e. g. Manu V. 61 "Just as impurity on death is ordained for ten days in the case of *sapinda*s the same holds good in the case of birth"). Rules about women in their monthly illness were prescribed as early as the *Tai. S.* and have been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 802-805.

We have now to turn to the subject of *śuddhi* apart from *śauca*. *Śuddhi* of a *dravya* means the<sup>694</sup> removal of a taint attaching to a thing and it is of two kinds, purification of the body and the purification of an external object (Manu V. 110 and *Aparārka* p. 253). It has already been seen (note 555

694. *द्रव्यस्य दोषापयमः शुद्धिः । तत्र द्विविधा शुद्धिः शरीरशुद्धिर्बाह्यद्रव्यशुद्धिश्च । अपरार्क pp. 252-253 ; तत्राशुद्धिर्नाम द्रव्यादेः स्पर्शनाद्यनर्हतापादको दोषविशेषः । शुद्धिरन्यदोषकारविशेषोत्पादित्वा तत्किञ्चित् । हेमाद्रि (on आश्र p. 787).*



above) how even the Rg. lays great emphasis on suddhi and being pure (śuci). There are Vedic<sup>695</sup> passages laying down that the cups (*grahas*) used in Jyotiṣṭoma and other sacrifices were to be cleansed with a strainer of wool, but not the *camasas*. In the Ait. Br. 32.4 it is provided that if the milk of an *agnihotrin* that was heated by him for the *homa* became impure (*amedhya*, by an ant or worm falling therein), the milk is to be taken up in an *agnihotrahavanī* and was to be poured upon the ashes near the *Āhavanīya* fire. This shows that great care was taken about the purity of vessels to be used in sacrifices and about the offerings to be made. *Śauca* is one of the eight qualities of the soul (*ātmaguṇas*) mentioned by Gaut. 8.24, Atri (verses 33, 35), Matsyapurāṇa 52. 8-10, Brhaspati (q. by Aparārka p. 164). Haradatta on Gautama quotes a verse that *śauca* is of four kinds viz. monetary purity, mental purity, bodily purity and purity in speech; while Atri and Brhaspati<sup>696</sup> (q. by Aparārka p. 164), aver that *śauca* is constituted by avoiding what ought not to be eaten, by associating (only) with those who are not censured (i. e. are not reprehensible) and by firmly abiding by one's own prescribed duties. Many works divide *śauca* into two varieties viz. *bāhya* (external) and *āntara* or *ābhyantara* (internal). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 651-52 for passages from Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I. 5. 3-4), Hārīta, Dakṣa and others defining and subdividing these. Agni 372. (17-18) is the same as Dakṣa V. 3. The Vanaparva 200. 52 speaks of purity in speech, in actions and that brought about by water. The Padma (II. 66. 86-87) emphasizes that it is the mental attitude that is the highest thing and illustrates it by saying that a woman embraces her son and her husband with different mental states. There is an interesting passage in the Līṅgapurāṇa 8. 34-36 (not quoted there) which after stating that *ābhyantara śauca* is superior to *bāhya śauca* (verse 31) remarks<sup>697</sup> that one void of inner purity is dirty even after a

695. अस्ति ज्योतिष्टोमः । तत्र श्रूयते दक्षपतिज्ञेयं ग्रहं संमार्ष्टे इति । तत्रैवार्थः सम-  
धिगतः सर्वं ग्रहाः संमार्जितव्या इति । इवमिदानीं सन्दिश्यते किं चमसा अपि संमार्ष्टे या  
उत नेति । शशर on जे. III. 1. 16.

696. अभक्ष्यपरिहारश्च संसर्गश्चाप्यनिवृत्तैः । स्वधर्मे च व्यवस्थानं शौचमेतत्प्रकीर्त-  
ितम् ॥ बृहस्पति (q. by अपराक p 164). आत्रि verse 35 (reads आचारेषु व्यवस्थानं).

697. अवगाह्यापि मलिनो ह्यन्तःशौचविवर्जितः । शैबला इत्यका मत्स्याः सखा  
मत्स्योपजीविनः ॥ सखावगाह्य सलिले विद्युद्धाः किं द्विजोत्तमाः । तस्मादाभ्यन्तरं शौचं सखा  
कार्यं विधानतः ॥ आत्मज्ञानाभ्यासे रक्तात्वा सकृदालिप्य भावतः । हृष्यैराग्यमुद्धा ह्युद्धाः शौचमेवं  
प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराण 8. 34-36; भावह्युद्धिः परं शौचं प्रमाणं सर्वकर्मसु । अभ्यधातिङ्गने  
कास्ता भावेन बुद्धिसाम्या...अभ्यधेयं ततः श्रुत्वा भावव्यवस्थया पतिम् ॥ पञ्च (श्रुतिखण्ड  
66. 86-87).

bath, that moss, fish and animals subsisting on fish are always immersed in water, that in spite of that no one would call them pure, that therefore one must always endeavour to secure inner purity and that one should bathe in the water of correct knowledge of the Self, apply once the sandal paste of faith and purify oneself by the clay in the form of desirelessness and that this is declared to be (the real) *śauca*. Manu V. 106 provides that of all kinds of purity mental purity is the highest. He who is pure as to wealth (i. e. who does not deprive another of wealth by unjust means) is the (only) pure man and not he who is purified by water and earth. Viṣṇu 22. 89 is the same except that for wealth (*artha*) it substitutes food (*anna*). The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (prakīrṇaka 21) has the same verse as Manu V. 106. Vide also Anuśāsana 108. 12 (for purity of conduct, of mind, of a holy place, purity due to correct philosophical knowledge); Brahmaṇḍa III. 14. 60 (*śucikāmā hi devā vai*), and Yogasūtra II. 32 (for *śauca* as one of the five *niyamas*).

External purity of the body by various means (rinsing the mouth, bath & c.) has already been described in detail in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 648-668. The ancient and medieval Indians insisted on a daily bath for all, recommended two baths a day in certain cases and three baths to a hermit and did not subscribe to the view of some of the early Christians. St. Agnes was canonized primarily for her refusal to bathe and St. Francis of Assisi considered dirt as one of the proper insignia of holy poverty.<sup>698</sup>

In śrauta rites (such as Agniṣṭoma) the sacrificer had to undergo a severe discipline of consecration (or *dikṣā*), one item of which was the purification of the intending sacrificer's body by the *adhvaryu* priest by rubbing the former's body twice with three bunches of seven darbhas each (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1136). Śātatapa q. by Sm. C. I. p. 120, Śuddhiprakāsa p. 147 provide bath for one who has sexual intercourse with his wife during the period from the 5th to the 16th day after monthly illness begins, but for intercourse after these days the purification is the same as for urination and voiding ordure; bath is also prescribed for vomiting after sunrise, after shaving, after a bad dream, on the touch of foul men (such as *cāṇḍālas*).

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698. Vide Reginald Reynolds' work on 'Cleanliness and godliness' p. 36 (chapter IV).

The Ap. Śr. II 12 provides<sup>699</sup> that *Pavitreṣṭi* should be performed by him who is desirous of *suddhi* and that if one performs in each season the three *iṣṭis*, viz. Vaiśvānari (to Agni Vaiśvānara), Vratapati (to Agni Vratapati) and the Pavitrestṣṭi one purifies ten generations (of his family).

The following pages will deal with the purification of things (*dravyasuddhi*). But a few general observations must first be made. The Āp. Dh. S. (II, 6, 15, 17-20) states that infants do not become polluted or impure (by the touch of a woman in her monthly course) up to the time the *sainṣkāra* of *annaprāṣana* (taking cooked food for the first time), that, according to some, up to one year or as long as they cannot distinguish between the different directions or up to the time of *Upanayana* according to others. Manu V, 127-133, Yāj. I, 186, 191-193, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23, 47-52, Baud. Dh. I, 5, 56-57, 64, 65, Śaṅkha 16, 12-16, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 35, 19-21 state that the following are always pure:—what is not seen to be polluted; what is cleansed with water; what is commended expressly (by a brāhmaṇa as pure, when there is a doubt), water collected on (pure) ground that is not visibly polluted by an impure thing and that in quantity is so much that a cow can slake its thirst therein and that has the smell, colour and taste (of pure water); the hand of a craftsman (such as a washerman or a cook while engaged in his peculiar work); articles exposed for sale in a market such as rice and barley (though touched by many intending buyers); alms (collected by a *brahmacārī* though walking from house to house on the road); the mouth of a woman (at the time of dalliance); meat of animals seized or killed even by dogs, cāṇḍālas, and carnivorous birds; rays (of the sun), fire, dust, the shadow (of a tree or the like), a cow, a horse, land, wind, dew drops, flies, a calf at the time of making the cow flow with milk from the udder—these latter are pure when they come in contact with a person. Then it was said that certain birds and animals were either always pure or as to certain parts of the body e. g. Yāj. I, 194 says that the mouths of goats and horses are pure but not of the cow. Baudhāyana<sup>700</sup> quoted by Aparārka p. 276 provides that

699. आद्रिकामो वा । तद्देशाभियज्ञाया वा गीयते । वैश्वानरं वातपतिं पवित्रेष्टिं तथैव च । ऋताहुती प्रयुजानो पुनाति दक्षयौकषम् ॥ इति । आश्व. औ. II, 12.

700. ह्यखर्वर्जं तु गोमूत्रं वा मार्जारश्चक्रे (1 आक्रमे) आशिः । कौषायन q. by अपरार्क p. 276; almost the same words occur in ह्य 16.14 (latter half).

the cow is pure except as to its mouth, and a cat when it is leaping or moving about. Brhaspati<sup>701</sup> and Yama (q. by Apararka p. 276) state: 'the feet of brāhmanas, and the mouth of goats and horses, the backs of cows and all limbs of women are pure; the cow as to its back, the elephant as to its shoulder, the horse as to all its limbs and the dung and urine of cows, all these are pure'. Atri (240, 241) contains several verses<sup>702</sup> on this point. 'Things taken out from a mine or from kitchens (or places where grain is pounded &c.) are never impure, since all such places (where anything is prepared in the mass) except a place for the manufacture of liquor are pure. All fried (or roasted) things, fried barley and grain, dates, camphor, whatever else is well fried is pure'. In Atri V. 13 we read<sup>703</sup> 'flies, a continuous stream (of any liquid), the earth, water, fire, a cat, a wooden ladle and a mongoose are always pure'. Parāśara (X. 41) states:<sup>704</sup> 'space (ākāśa), wind, fire, water fallen on the earth, darbhas are not to be deemed polluted just as *camasas* in sacrifices are held to be not polluted.' Par. M. quotes a verse of Caturvīṃśatimata<sup>705</sup> that raw meat, ghee, honey, oils extracted from fruits—these even when contained in vessels belonging to *caṇḍālas* become free from taint the moment they are taken out of these vessels. Brhaspati provides:<sup>706</sup> 'machines for crushing grapes and sugarcane stalks, mines, the hands of craftsmen, the milk pail, fluids that come

701. बृहस्पतिः। पादौ शुची जाह्नवानामजाश्वस्य सुखं शुचि। गवां वृष्टानि मेघयानि सर्वात्राणि पोषिताम्॥ यमः। पृष्ठतो गौर्गजः स्कन्धे सर्वतोऽश्वः शुचिस्तथा। गोः पुरीषं च मूत्रं च सर्वं मेघमिति स्थितिः॥ पृष्ठशब्दोत्र सुखम्यतिरिक्तविषयः। अपरार्क p. 276.

702. आकराहृतवस्तुनि नाशुचीनि कदाचन। आकराः शुचयः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा साराकारम्॥ भृष्टा भृष्टयवाश्चैव तथैव खणकाः स्मृताः। खर्युरं चैव कर्पूरमण्डपह भृष्टतरं शुचि॥ अत्रि 240-241. आकराः...कारम् occurs in जो. ध. सू. I. 5.58. The छ. को. (p. 258) after quoting शाङ्ग 16.13 (छुजं नदीगतं तोयं सर्व एव तथाकारः) explains: सर्व एवाकरा धान्यादिमर्दनस्थानानि तथा अजलाजादिलिप्पतिस्थानानि चेत्यर्थः।

703. मक्षिका सन्ततिधारा भूमिस्तोयं हुताशनः। मार्जारश्चैव दुर्बी च नकुलश्च सदा शुचिः॥ अत्रि V. 13. विश्वरूप on या. I. 195 quotes it without name as मक्षिका विप्रयो नार्यो भूमि...दुर्बी च मार्कतश्च etc. मार्जारश्च...मार्कतश्च—occurs in लघुहारीत 43, छुजिकौस्तुबी p. 357 explains: सन्ततिः शिष्टः पञ्चवर्षाभ्यन्तरवयस्कः धारा तु पतन्ती।

704. आकाशां वायुरग्निश्च मेघं भूमिगतं जलम्। न प्रकुपयन्ति दुर्भाष्य यज्ञेषु चमसा यथा॥ पराशर X. 41.

705. आगं मांसं घृतं कौश्रं स्नेहाश्च फलसम्भवाः। अग्न्यभाण्डरिधता ह्येते निष्क्रान्ताः शुचयः स्मृताः॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 115. प्राय. विवेक p. 328 quotes the verse as यम's reading स्नेहभाण्डो. छ. को. p. 318 also ascribes it to यम.

706. श्राकेशु यन्त्राकरकावहस्ता मोदोद्गीर्णा यन्त्रविनिःसृतानि। बालैरथ स्त्रीभिरशुद्धितानि प्रत्यक्षदृष्टानि शुचीनि तानि॥ बृहस्पति q. by छुजिमकाश p. 106.

out from crushing machines, actions (such as cooking) done by women and children when they are impure (by walking barefooted on the road) and are seen to be so, are still free from taint. One's <sup>707</sup> own bed, garment, wife, child, water pot—these are free from taint for oneself, but these are impure to others. Śāṅkha 16.15 is to the same effect.

Śāṅkha <sup>708</sup> states that whatever removes the dirt (or pollution) that is natural to a substance or arises from contact with another polluting substance must be declared to be its purifier. Śāṅkha-Likhita <sup>709</sup> declare that the substances that bring about purification of all (polluted things) are water, clay, the powder (or paste) of soap berries, bilva fruit, rice and mustard cake, salts (ashes), cow's urine and dung and that according to some when a substance is heaped up in a big mass, sprinkling with water. Manu V. 118, Yāj. I. 184, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.13 also provide that sprinkling with water is the mode of purification when large quantities of corn or clothes are polluted, but when the quantity is small they must be washed with water. The quantity is said to be large when it is more than what one man can carry as a load (according to Kullūka on Manu V. 118).

The general rule laid down by Gaut. I. 45-46, Manu V. 126 (= Viṣṇu 23. 39), Yāj. I. 191 about the purification of things or bodies that are smeared with foul matter is that water and earth are to be employed for purification till the foul odour and the contact of the foul thing is entirely removed <sup>710</sup>. Devala (q. by Aparārka p. 270) defines *śauca* as the removal by means of clay, water, cowdung and the like of the besmearing, the oiliness and odour of a thing that cause impurity.

707. आत्मज्ञाया च वस्त्रं च जायापर्यं कमण्डलुः । आत्मनः छुचिग्येतानि परेषाम-  
छुचानि तु ॥ आपस्तम्बस्मृति II. 4, बौधायन I. 5. 61 (reads ज्ञायासनं वस्त्रं) ; अपरार्क  
p. 257 quotes it as बौधायन's.

708. मूलं संयोगजं सज्जं यस्य येनोपहन्यते । तस्य तच्छोधनं योक्तं सामान्यं द्रव्यछाजि-  
कृतं ॥ शङ्ख q. by अपरार्क p. 256, वीपकालिका on या. I. 191. मद्र. पा. p. 451 reads  
मूलसंयोगजम्.

709. सर्वेषामपि सुदरिद्रकेतुकाचित्तवृत्तुलसर्षपकल्कसारगोमूत्रगोमयादीनि शौच-  
द्रव्याणि संज्ञानां शोक्षणमित्येके । शङ्खलिसिद्धौ q. by चतुर्वर्ग vol. III. part 1 p. 817.

710. लेपवन्धापरकर्षणं शौचमेवेत्याकस्य । तद्वज्रिः पूर्वं सूत्रा च । गो. घ. सू. I. 45-46.  
Almost the same words occur in वसिष्ठ III. 48 : पाषाणैर्यमेवेत्याकाङ्क्ष्यो लेपश्च  
तत्कृतः । तावन्मुह्यारि चादेर्यं सर्वाहं द्रव्यछाजितु ॥ मद्र. V. 126 = विष्णु 23.39.

Gaut. Dh. S. (I 28-33) briefly deals <sup>710a</sup> with the purification of things as follows: Purification of metallic substances (like bell-metal), earthenware, substances manufactured from wood, cloth made of threads or yarn is brought about respectively by rubbing (or scouring) them, by baking in fire, by chiselling or planing, by washing in water; objects made of stones, jewels, shells and pearls are purified by the same means as metallic substances; bones (ivory and the like) and mud (floor of houses) are purified in the same way as wooden substances; and earth (when polluted) is also purified by adding to it earth (brought from another pure spot); ropes, chips of bamboos and reeds, leather are purified by the same means as cloth or they may be abandoned when they are extremely polluted (as by the spilling of wine or urine or ordure). Vas. (III. 49-53) has almost the same words, employing the word 'bhasmaparimārjana' (scouring with ashes and washing) for 'parimārjana'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I 5. 17. 10-13) <sup>711</sup> provides: 'If one gets a used vessel only, he shall eat from it after having heated it thoroughly; a vessel made of metal is purified by being scoured with ashes and the like; a wooden vessel becomes pure by being scraped; at a sacrifice, vessels must be cleaned according to the precepts of the Veda.' Yāj. (III. 31-34) states; time (lapse of ten days or a year as to āśauca), fire, religious rites (like Āśvamedha or performing of *sandhyā*), clay, wind, mind, spiritual knowledge, austerities (such as *kṛcchra*), water, repentance (in the case of sins), fasting—all these are the causes of purification. Gifts are the (main) cause of purification for those who do what is forbidden, flow of water in the case of a river, clay and water are means of *buddhi* in the case of substances that are not clean, *sannyāsa* (order of asceticism) in the case of the twice-born, austerities in the case of those that have studied the Veda when they commit a sin (through ignorance), forbearance in the case of those who know the Self, water in the case of dirty limbs, silent recital of Vedic mantras (*japa*) is the means of purifica-

710 a. द्रव्यशुद्धिः परिमार्जनप्रदाहतक्षणनिर्णेजनानि तेजसमातिक्कारवत्तान्तवानात् । तेजसवदुपलमणिशुद्धिकामात् । दाहवदस्त्रिभूयोः । आपपनं च भूमेः । चैलपद्मशुद्धिदल-  
क्षमणाम् । उत्सर्गो वात्यन्तोपहतानाम् । गौ. 1.28-33. अत्यन्तोपहत is explained by  
विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.1 as 'शारीरैर्मलेः सुषाभिमर्शेन यदुपहतं तदत्यन्तोपहतम्'.

711. अनायिते शुष्मये शोकव्यम् । आयितं चैदभिव्यधे । परिसृष्टं लोहं प्रयतम्  
निर्लिखितं वाक्मयम् । यथागमं यज्ञे । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 17. 9-13. हरदत्त explains;  
'आयितं कञ्चित्कार्ये पाकादावुपयुक्तम् ..अग्निहोत्रहवणी दर्भैरग्निः प्रक्षालितः सोमपात्राणि  
मार्जालीये प्रक्षालितानि आग्न्यपात्राण्युष्णेन कार्याणि'.

tion for those guilty of secret sins, truth in the case of the mind (that is full of or is polluted by sinful thoughts), austerities and esoteric knowledge in the case of the man who identifies his soul with the body, correct knowledge in the case of intelligence, knowledge of God is the pre-eminent purifier of the soul. Manu V. 107-109 (= Visṇu 22.90-92) contain almost the same idea in almost the same words.

In prescribing the methods of cleaning polluted objects certain matters have to be considered according to a verse ascribed to Baudhāyana <sup>712</sup> by the Mit. (on Yaj. I. 190) which states: 'One should prescribe means of purification after considering the time, the place, the body (or himself), the thing (to be purified), the purpose for which the thing is to be used, origin (of defilement), the condition (of the thing or person defiled).'

There is some divergence of views about the means of purifying or cleansing certain objects. It is unnecessary to set out in detail these differences. It is proposed to take certain objects one after another and to specify how they were rendered pure according to several of the smṛtis and digests.

Certain foul things were said by the Smṛtyarthasāra p. 70 to be the causes of extreme pollution and certain others as causes of lesser or insignificant pollution. For example, excreta, urine, semen, blood, fat, marrow, liquor and intoxicants were the causes of great pollution; while dogs, village swine, cats, their urine, the wax from the ear, nails, phlegm, discharge from the eyes, perspiration are the causes of insignificant pollution.

Baud. Dh. S. I. 5.66 provides <sup>713</sup> that the purification of the ground is brought about by means of sweeping with a (faultless) broom, by sprinkling (cow's milk, urine or water), by smearing with cowdung, by scattering (pure clay on it) and by scrubbing away (or scraping) some of the soil, when these are employed according to the situation of the ground and the particular impurity (of which it is to be purified). Baud. Dh.

712. देशं कालं तथात्मानं द्रव्यं द्रव्यप्रयोजनम् । उपपत्तिमवस्थां च ज्ञात्वा शौचं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ बोधायन q. also by विश्वरूप on ya. I. 195 and मेधातिथि on मनु V. 118. बोधायनधर्मसूत्र I. 5.55 reads देशं...वस्थां च विज्ञाय शौचं शौचज्ञः कुशलो धर्मेष्टुः समाचरेत् । The verse is लघुहारीत 55 which reads कालं देशं. The मिला. reads तथा मानं which means 'the bulk' (or extent of the thing to be purified).

713. धूमेस्तु संमार्जनयोः कणोपलेपनावस्तरणोत्तेजनैर्यथास्थानं शौचविशेषाद्व्यापयत्यम् । बो. प. सू. I. 5.66. बसिष्ठ III. 56 is almost the same.

S. in another place states:<sup>714</sup> when firm soil is polluted it is purified by smearing it with cowdung, hollow ground (one having holes) is purified by ploughing, ground wet (with impurity) by covering it (with pure clay brought from elsewhere) after removing the impure thing. Land is purified by means of four viz., being trodden under the foot of cows, by digging it up, by burning (firewood or grass thereon), by pouring over it (water, cow's urine or milk &c.) and fifthly, by smearing it (with cowdung) and sixthly, by the lapse of time. Vasiṣṭha III. 57 quotes a verse which mentions five means of purification almost in the same words as those of Baudhāyana (except the sixth viz. time). Manu V. 124 mentions five means of purification, viz. sweeping with a broom, smearing with cowdung, sprinkling, digging (and removing), the stay of cows thereon (for one day and night). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.57 adds *dāha* (burning) to the five of Manu. Yāj. I. 188 mentions seven means of the purification of the ground by adding *dāha* (burning) and *kāla* (lapse of time) to the five mentioned by Manu. According to<sup>715</sup> the Vāmanapurāṇa the ground is purified by digging, burning, sweeping, treading by cows, smearing of cowdung, scrubbing and by sprinkling water. Dvala quoted by the Mit. and Aparārka on Yāj. I. 188 gives a more elaborate treatment. According to him polluted ground (*bhūmi*) is of three kinds, viz. *amedhyā* (impure), *duṣṭā* (soiled), and *malinā* (dirty). Where a woman is delivered of a child or dies or is cremated or where a spot has been inhabited by *cāṇḍālas* or where there are heaps of ordure and the like, ground that is full of foul things in this way is declared to be *amedhyā*.<sup>716</sup> That ground which is polluted by the contact of dogs, pigs, asses, camels and the like becomes *duṣṭā* (soiled) and it becomes *malinā* (dirty) by charcoal, husk, hair, bones or ashes. Then

714. घनाया भूमेरुपयात उपलेपनम् । सुषिरायाः कर्षणम् । छिन्नाया मेध्यमाहृत्य प्रच्छादनम् । चतुर्भिः क्षुध्यते भूमिर्गोभिराक्रमणात्स्नननाद् वहनादभिवर्षणात् । पञ्चमाक्षोपलेपनात्पञ्चात्कालात् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 6.17-21 quoted and explained by छ. कौ. p. 100.

715. भूमिर्विक्षुध्यते स्वातदाहमार्जनमोकमेः । लेपाद्भुल्लेखनात्सेकाद्देशमसंमार्जनाचर्चानात् ॥ बामनपुराण 14.68.

716. यत्र प्रक्षयते नारी श्रियते दृष्टतेपि वा । पञ्चालाधुषितं यत्र यत्र विष्टाविसंहतिः ॥ एवं कश्मलधुषिष्टा घूरमेघया प्रकीर्तिता । श्वश्वकरस्त्रोष्ट्रादिसंस्पृष्टा दुष्टतां ब्रजेत् । अङ्गार-तृषकेशार्थिभस्माद्यैर्मलिना भवेत् । मिता. on या. I. 188. अपरार्क reads यत्रावेष्टादिसङ्कृतिः in the first verse and घूम for तुष. छ. कौ. p. 101 reads प्रक्षते गमिणी यत्र श्रियते यत्र मातृषः... यत्र वा दृष्टते शवः ॥ विष्णुसौपहतं यत्र कुणपो यत्र दश्यते । एवं कश्मलः । The definitions of *दुष्टा* and *मलिना* as quoted from देवल by छ. कौ. p. 101 and छद्दिप. p. 99 are different.



Devala<sup>717</sup> prescribes the purification of the three kinds of ground: 'Purity is of five kinds, viz. digging up, burning (with wood or grass), smearing (with cowdung), washing (with water) or the fall of rain. Even *amedhyā* ground may be purified by these five means employed together (where a corpse is cremated or *caṇḍālas* dwell) or by four (i. e. omitting rainfall or burning in other cases of *amedhyā*); ground that is *duṣṭā* is purified by three (digging up, burning and smearing with cowdung) or two (viz. digging up and burning) and *malinā* ground is purified by one (i. e. by digging up).

The *Smṛtyarthasara* (pp. 73-74) provides that if an idol made of iron or other metal is slightly polluted (as defined above) then it can be purified by means of *pañcagavya* after rubbing it with ashes; similarly a stone idol, when slightly polluted, should be washed with water mixed with the clay from an ant-hill and becomes pure after being treated with *pañcagavya*. Any idol, if polluted with ordure, urine or village mud would become pure after first being flooded for five days with *pañcagavya*, after being well washed with cow's urine, cowdung and clay from an ant-hill and by being again installed (with all installation rites). Questions about the pollution of temples by the entry of the so-called untouchables or by the entrance of persons other than *brāhmaṇas* in the inmost shrine (*garbhagṛha*) have come before the courts e. g. in *Gopala Muppanar v. Dharmakarta Subramania* 27 Madras Law Journal p. 253 at p. 258, where reference is made to the ceremonies for the removal of pollution according to the *Āgamas* and *Tantras*. In *S. K. Wodeyar v. Ganapati* (37 Bom. L. R. 584) the point arose whether, when a custom was alleged that in a temple at Banavasi in the Canara district none could enter the inner sanctum except persons belonging to the ten sub-divisions of *brāhmaṇas* and a Lingayat entered it in spite of the protests of the worshippers in charge of the temple, his entry polluted the temple and whether he was liable to pay for the sum spent over the purification of the temple, the High Court of Bombay held that the custom alleged viz. of excluding from the inner sanctum all that were not *brāhmaṇas* was proved and that the Lingayat gentleman who entered it in spite of protests was liable to pay damages for the wrongful entry. In the *Nirṇayasindhu* (III

717. दहनं क्षननं क्षूरेवलेपनवापनं । पर्जन्यवर्षणं चेति शौचं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम् ॥ पञ्चधा वा चतुर्धा वा क्षूरेष्वपि विष्णुपतिः । द्विधा त्रिधा वा पुनः तु क्षूरेष्वपि मलिनैकधा ॥ देवल q. by छ. की. p. 101 which explains वापनं as मृद्वन्तरेण पूरणम्.

pūrvārdha pp. 351-52), the Dharmasindhu (III p. 324) and other medieval digests provision is made for the re-consecration (punah-pratiṣṭhā) of an idol in a temple when the idol is polluted by the touch of cāṇḍālas or wine or is burnt by fire or is defiled by the touch of sinners or the blood of a brāhmaṇa.<sup>718</sup> If the idol be broken in two or more pieces or if it becomes broken (irregularly), if it be burnt or falls from its pedestal or be insulted, is without worship or is touched by an ass or the like animal, or falls on foul ground or is worshipped with the mantras of other gods,—in these ten circumstances Godhood ceases to indwell in the idol. If an idol be touched by robbers, cāṇḍālas, patita people, by a dog or a woman in her courses or if it be polluted by the touch of a corpse re-consecration is necessary.

The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra (23. 34) provides that idols when polluted should be purified in the same way in which the substance of which they are made (such as stone or copper &c.) is purified and then they should be re-consecrated. If the worship of an idol already consecrated is stopped for a day, two days, a month, or two months or it is touched by śūdras or a woman in her monthly course, then at a proper time *puṇyāhavanācana* should be performed, an even number of brāhmaṇas should be fed, the idol should be submerged in water for a night and next day bathed with *pañca-gavya* from a jar full of it to the accompaniment of the respective *mantras*, then another jar should be filled with pure water and therein the nine kinds of precious stones should be cast, the jar should then have the

718. अथ पुनःप्रतिष्ठा । तामधिकृत्य ह्यशीर्षपञ्चरात्रे । चाण्डालमद्यसंस्पर्शदूषिता वह्निनाथवा । अपुण्यजनसंस्पृष्टा विप्रक्षतजदूषिता ॥ संस्कार्यति शेषः । पदार्थादर्शं बाह्ये । स्वर्द्धिते स्फुटिते वृद्धे ब्रह्मे मानविरजिते । यागहीने पञ्चस्पृष्टे पतिते दुष्टधूमिषु । अन्यमग्न्याञ्चिते चैव पतितस्पर्शदूषिते । दशस्तेतेषु नो चक्रुः संनिधानं दिवौकसः ॥ यायः पूजा पञ्चः गर्वभाविः ।... सिद्धान्नाश्वरे । चौरचाण्डालपतितमोदकपात्यज्ञेन सति । श्वाद्युपहतौ चैव प्रतिष्ठा पुनराचरेत् ॥ ... छुद्रिष्येके विष्णुः । इष्यवत्कृतशौचानां वेवताचर्यानां भूयः प्रतिष्ठापनेन छुद्रिरिति । अर्चाः प्रतिष्ठाः । तद्ब्रह्मण्यस्य ताम्रादिककौशिकं कृत्वा पुनः प्रतिष्ठां कुर्यादित्यर्थः । तद्विधिर्बोधायनसूत्रे । पूर्वप्रतिष्ठितस्याहुद्रिपूर्वकमेकरात्रं द्विरात्रमेकमासं द्विमासं वा अर्चनादिविच्छेदे सूद्वजस्वलाद्युपस्पर्शने पूर्वोक्ते काले पुण्याहं वाचयित्वा युग्मान् ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा निज्ञायां जलाधिवासं कृत्वा मोक्षते कलशार्पणेन पञ्चगव्येन तक्षस्मरुत्रैः स्नापयित्वा अन्यं कलशं छुद्रोदकेनापूर्य तस्मिन्मन्त्रानि शस्त्रिण्य तं कलशं तत्तद्वायुः पादसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवारं वाभिमन्त्र्य तेनोदकेन वेवं स्नापयेत्ततः छुद्रोदकेन स्नापयेद्वृक्षसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवारं वा पुरुषसूक्तेन मूलमन्त्रेण च । ततः पुण्याणि कृत्वा यथासम्भवमन्त्रयित्वा छुद्रोदनं निवेद्येवेति । इन्द्रिपूर्वं तु विच्छेदे पूर्वोक्तां प्रतिष्ठां पुनः कुर्यात् । निर्णयतिशु III पूर्वार्ध pp. 351-52 The passage from पूर्वप्रतिष्ठितस्याहुद्रि to the end is a quotation (with some omissions and additions) from बोधायनपृष्ठोक्तसूत्र II.19 (Mysore Un. ed.)

Gāyatrī mantra appropriate to the idol repeated over it 1008 or 108 or 28 times and the idol should then be bathed with that water, it should be bathed with pure water to the accompaniment of the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90) and the *mūlamāntṛa* 1008, or 108 or 28 times. Then flowers should be offered and worship of the idol should be performed and a *naivedya* of boiled rice and jaggery should be offered.

Recently after the attainment of Independence some of the Provincial Legislatures in India have passed laws (e.g. Bombay Act 35 of 1947, C. P. and Berar Act 41 of 1947) throwing open all Hindu public temples to people who were once called untouchable. This is not the place to discuss in detail the arguments for and against these measures. Many orthodox Hindus hold that their inmost feelings are hurt by this tyranny of the majority in the Legislatures. They feel that these measures are contrary to the four freedoms that are promised in many constitutions viz. freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. These measures are likely to be followed by serious consequences. It is felt that the younger generation now being educated has hardly any faith in religion or in anything being sacred, that the so-called untouchables themselves when once they have asserted their right of entering Hindu temples scarcely ever care to frequent them and the orthodox Hindus also often cease to worship therein. There is the further fear that, if religious feelings even when unreasonable according to progressive views could be trampled upon by the views of the majority, there is no knowing where the process would stop. There would be temptation for the majority in a country to say that the sacred places of other religions should either not exist at all or be opened for any one not belonging to the faith of the minorities. It would have been far better that, while removing all the disabilities of the so-called untouchables as to employment, public places, courts and education, temples had been left alone for some years to come. The entrance of one set of people into the temples often entails the departure of another set, as said by P. C. in *Saklat v. Bella* 28 Bom. L. R. 161, which is not a very desirable thing. The equality of the former untouchables in all secular matters is sure to spread in a generation or so to other non-secular matters and so to entry into temples. Adjustments on an unprecedented scale are taking place in modern India with regard to usages cherished for ages and the entry into temples of the so-called untouchables would have been effected in a few years without recourse to the threat of

punishments and without bitterness and rancour in the hearts of many people.

From very ancient times water has been regarded as a great purifier. Rg. VII. 47 and 49 are hymns addressed to waters as divinities and they are there described as themselves pure and as purifying others (as in Rg. VII. 49. 2 and 3 'śucayaḥ pāvakaḥ'). Similarly Rg. X. 9 and 30 are hymns addressed to waters, in the former of which the waters are invoked to remove whatever sin or wrong one may have committed (Rg. X. 9. 8 'idam-apaḥ pra vahata yat kiñca duritam mayi'). Atharva-veda I. 33 is a hymn addressed to waters, wherein also they are described as 'śucayaḥ pāvakaḥ' (in A. V. I. 33. 1 and 4). The Vaj. S. VI. 17 (closely following Rg. X. 9. 8) invokes waters to remove whatever is censurable and dirty.<sup>719</sup> In Vaj. S. IV. 2 the sage prays 'May the Waters, our mothers, purify us!'<sup>720</sup> The Śat. Br. I. 7. 4. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 213) states 'water is a means of purification.' Viśvarūpa on Yaj. I. 191 quotes a long Vedic passage<sup>721</sup> wherein it is said "what-ever creates doubt (whether it is pure or impure) should be touched with waters; then it becomes pure." It is therefore that water (hot or cold) is said to be the purifier of various kinds of vessels and of the ground in Yaj. I. 182-183, 188, Manu V. 109, 112, 126. Gobhila (I. 31-32)<sup>722</sup> lays down that when a man engaged in any religious rite hears a mantra addressed to the *pitṛs*, scratches his body, looks at a man of the lowest caste, or allows the wind to escape from his intestines, laughs loudly or speaks an untruth, touches a cat or a mouse, or uses harsh language, has a fit of anger, he should perform *ūcamana* (or touch water).

According to Yaj. I. 187 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.56 a polluted house is purified by being swept and cowdunged. But more stringent rules were laid down if a dog, a śūdra, a *patita*, a *mleccha* or a *caṇḍāla* died in a brāhmaṇa's house (vide note 633 above). After keeping the house vacant for the periods

719. इदमापः प्रवहतापद्यं च मलं च यत् । यच्चभिदुद्रोहादृतं यच्च शेषे अभीक्ष्णम् । आपो मा तस्मादेनसः पवमानश्च सुजतु । वाज. सं. VI. 17.

720. आपो अस्मान्मातरः क्षुण्धयन्तु हृतेन नो घृतप्वः पुनन्तु । वाज. सं. IV. 2.

721. तथा चाग्नायः । वाग्यै देवेभ्योऽयाक्रामत्...तस्माद्यद्यग्नीमांसं दद्यात्तदग्निः सृशेत् क्षुण्धेयं भवति । विश्वरूप ०० वा. I. 191.

722. पित्र्यामन्त्रादुपवन आत्मात्मनेऽधनेक्षणैः । अधीवापुतसुत्सर्वं प्रहासेऽद्वतभाषणे ॥ मार्जारमूषकरपर्शं आकृष्टे नोघसम्भवे । भित्तिरेण्वेणु सर्वत्र कर्म कुर्वन्तः सृशेत् ॥ गोभिलसृति I. 31-32, quoted by कृष्णरत्नाकर p. 50.

stated in note 633, it is provided by Sainvarta<sup>723</sup> that a house that is polluted by the existence of a corpse inside it should be dealt with as follows: earthen pots and cooked food should be cast away and thrown out of the house which should then be smeared with cowdung and then a goat should be made to go about in it smelling it and then the whole house should be sprinkled over with water in which gold and *kūṣas* are put in by brāhmaṇas rendered holy by the repetition of the Gāyatri mantra; then the house becomes pure. Marici prescribes<sup>724</sup> that if a caṇḍāla (merely) entered a house, it can be purified by plastering it with cowdung, but if he were to stay in it long, purification can be had only by heating it and making flames of fire lick its walls.

The ground in a brāhmaṇa's house, in a temple, in a cow-pen should, says Yama, always be regarded as pure (unless it has been polluted).

A great deal is said in the smṛtis and digests about the purification of water. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2 says<sup>725</sup> in a general way that a person after sipping water from what is collected on the ground becomes pure. But the Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 65, Manu V. 128, Yaj. I. 192, Śāṅkha 16. 12-13, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 35.19 and others add that water collected on the ground that is of such volume that a cow can slake its thirst therein, that is in its natural state and is not polluted by any thing impure and that has natural colour (is transparent) and taste and odour (either no odour or a fragrant odour) is pure. Śāṅkha says<sup>726</sup> the same about water collected on a stony surface and adds that the water of a flowing river is always pure. Devala states<sup>727</sup> that water brought in clean vessels is

723. संवर्तः । गृहशुद्धिं प्रवक्ष्यामि अन्तःस्थशवदूषणे । गोत्सृज्य शुभ्रमयं भाण्डं सिद्धमन्नं तस्यैव च ॥ गृहात्पास्य तत्सर्वं गोमयेनोपलेपयेत् । गोमयेनोपलिप्त्वाथ छागेनाघ्रापयेद् शुधः । आङ्गणेर्मन्त्रप्रत्येकं शिष्यकुशारिणा । सर्वमभुक्षयेद्देहम् ततः शुधरस्यसंशयम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 265, छुद्रिय. pp. 100-101, छुद्रिकौ. pp. 303-304.

724. गृहेष्वजातिसंवेशे शुद्धिः स्वाधुपलेपनात् । संवत्सो यदि जायेत दाहतापे-र्विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ मरीचि q. by अपरार्क p. 266, छुद्रिय. p. 101, छु. कौ. p. 303 (reads दाहलेपः).

725. भूमिगतास्वप्नपाचस्य प्रयतो भवति । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 2.

726. भूमिदुधकं शुद्धं शुद्धिं तोयं शिलागतम् । वर्णगन्धरसैर्दुर्बैर्वर्जितं यदि तज्जवेद् ॥ शाङ् 16. 12-13 q. by छु. कौ. p. 297, छु. य. p. 102.

727. उद्धृताश्चापि शुध्यन्ति शुद्धैः पात्रैः सधुवृताः । एकरात्रोचिता आपस्याजयाः शुद्धा अपि स्वयम् ॥ देवल q. by मिता and अपरार्क on या. I. 12.

pure but when it is (stale owing to its being stored) for one night (or more) it should be thrown though it was pure (when originally brought). There <sup>728</sup> is no taint in water that cannot be agitated by any beings and in the water of springs (that flow from hills). Tanks (that are so deep) that they cannot be agitated, rivers, wells and lakes (that are similar) should not be used by the usual way of descent (the *ghat*) if they come in contact with *caṇḍālas* and other impure persons or things. In *Narhari v. Bhimrao*, the Bombay High Court had to deal with the question whether a certain tank at Mahad in the Kolaba District could not be resorted to by untouchables for taking water and held that the untouchables were not prevented from using it (vide 39 Bombay L. R. p. 1295).

Brhaspati provides that if in a well the dead body of an animal with five nails (man or beast) is found or if the well is otherwise extremely polluted all the water of the well should be taken out and the rest should be dried up by means of clothes, then if the well be built with burnt bricks flames of fire should be made (to lick the surface of the walls), and then *pañcagavya* should be poured over when fresh water begins to flow in (from the springs) <sup>729</sup>. Āpastamba (q. by Śuddhikaumudī p. 299) states the circumstances when a well may be said to be extremely polluted: 'hair, excrements and urine, menstrual discharge, a dead body—when a well is defiled by these one should take a hundred jars of water from it' (and further purification by putting *pañcagavya* in it should be resorted to if there is more water). Parāśara VII 3 says the same about wells (with steps), wells without steps and tanks.

Yāj. I. 197 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 41) provides that mud and water on roads which come in contact with lowest castes (like *caṇḍālas*), dogs and crows and buildings (like *maṭhas*) constructed with burnt bricks are purified by the wind alone

728. अक्षोभ्यानि तडागानि नदीवापीसरांसि च । चण्डालाण्युच्चिस्पृशे तीर्थतः परित्यजेत् । अक्षोभ्याणामपि नास्ति प्रसूतानां च दूषणम् । देवल q. by अपरार्क p. 272 सु. म. p. 102 (reads कर्मलाण्युच्चियुक्तानि) and explains कर्मल as शवादि and अद्युचि as विष्णुच्युत्.

729. सूतपञ्चमखात्कृपावत्यन्तोपहतसथा । अयः सद्युद्धरेत्सर्वाः शेषं बज्जेण शोधयेत् ॥ बज्जिज्ज्वालनं कृत्वा कृपे पकेष्टकाशिते । पञ्चगव्यं न्यसेत् पञ्चाजवतोयसद्युद्धरे ॥ ब्रह्मस्वति q. by अपरार्क p. 272. The first is quoted as a text of Uśanas by सु. की. p. 298 and reads बज्जेण (ज्ञातयिषिणा) for बज्जेण. The two verses are विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.44-45.

(blowing on them). Parāśara VII. 34 states<sup>730</sup> that mud and water on roads, boats, paths, grass and whatever is constructed with burnt bricks are rendered pure by the wind and the sun.

Rain water after it fell on the ground was supposed to be impure<sup>731</sup> for ten days. Similarly Yogiyājñavalkya (q. by S. K. p. 291) remarks that water of a river (dried up in summer) coming down in a flood for the first time (after rains) should not be taken (as pure) and also water that is agitated by some one (with the feet &c.) and waters that start in a separate stream by themselves from a holy river (like the Ganges). Even when a well (without steps) or a well (with a flight of steps) or a reservoir with a dam is constructed by men of the lowest castes, no *prāyascitta* is prescribed for bathing therein or for drinking water therefrom.<sup>732</sup>

Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 46 provides<sup>733</sup> that the purification of small reservoirs of water that are static (i. e. from which no streams flow down) is made in the same way as that of wells (without steps), while in the case of large reservoirs no pollution is recognised. It is declared that waters are purified by the rays of the sun and the moon and the contact of the wind and by cowdung and the urine of cows; some of these ideas are supported by modern scientific discoveries.

A verse q. by Aparārka p. 273 provides<sup>734</sup> that even the water at a *prapū* (a shed where water is distributed gratis to

730. रथ्याकर्ममोयानि नात्रः पन्थास्तुणानि च । मरुताकेण ह्युपपत्ति पकेष्टकाचितानि च ।  
Parāśara VII. 34. दीपकलिका on वा. I. 197 and ह्यु. कौ. p. 304 quote it but read रथ्याकर्ममोयानि मरुतपत्ति पकेष्ट and the latter explains 'स्वर्लम्भाद्वन्यजातीनामिदमर्थः.' निवृत्त्य does not comment on वा. I. 197 saying that it is superfluous; for the verse रथ्याकर्ममोयानि नात्रः पथि तुणानि च मारुतेनैव ह्युपपत्ति vide वामनपुराण 14. 73.

731. अजा गानो नहिष्यश्च ब्राह्मणी च मरुतिता । वसरात्रेण ह्युपपत्ति भूमिष्ठं च भिन्नोदकात् ।  
चम q. by ह्यु. कौ. p. 297, while अपरार्क p. 293 ascribes it to मनु.

732. अन्वैरेपि कृते कृपे सेतो वाचादिके तथा । तत्र स्वात्मा च पीता च प्रायश्चित्तं न विधत्ते ।  
शातात्तय q. by मिता. and अपरार्क on वा. I. 192. ह्युद्धिपकाश p. 106 remarks 'इति स्वयन्तापक्षिपयमिति इति पाणिः.'

733. जलाशयेष्वधालेषु रथावरेषु मरुतले । ह्युपपत्ति कश्चिद्विर्मलस्य च न ह्युपपत्ति ।  
सोमहर्षाद्युपपत्तेन मारुतपत्तिर्न च । यथा मूत्रपुरीषेण ह्युपपत्त्यस्य इति रघुनाथः । निष्ठु q. by अपरार्क p. 273. The first is विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.46 and the 2nd is almost like आपस्तम्ब (in verse) II. 7.

734. प्रपण्वरपत्रे षडंगं च कृपे त्र्योषां जलं कोशमतास्तस्थापः । अतोपि शूद्राश्चतुर्वेद-  
महाप्राप्तः कश्चित्पत् विवेकः ।  
चम q. by अपरार्क p. 273 and ह्यु. प्र. p. 104 (which reads 'भूमिगताः विवेकः'). This reading would mean that he should pour such water on the ground and when it is as much in volume as would slake a cow's thirst he may drink it. The first half occurs in अग्नि 233, आपस्तम्बवृत्ति II. 2. ह्यु. प्र. p. 103 quotes शङ्खलिलित to the same effect.

thirsty travellers) in a forest or from a jar placed near a well (for drawing water by any body) or the water in (a stone or wooden) trough (meant for all and sundry) and water from a leather bag even though these may not belong to a śūdra are unfit for drinking, but one may drink even such water as much as he desires when in distress. This shows that even in ancient times water was carried in leather bags or drums where there was scarcity of water and was allowed to be used even by twice-born people.

We may now turn to the purification of metals and vessels. Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 34-35 and I. 6. 37-41, Vasiṣṭha III. 58 and 61-63, Manu V. 111-114, Yāj. I. 182 and 190, Viṣṇu 23. 2, 7, 23-24, Śaṅkha 16. 3-4, Smṛtyarthasāra p. 70 and others lay down rules about the purification of metals which do not agree in details. Therefore it is proposed to set out only what is said by Manu and one or two others. Manu (V. 113 ff.) says 'The wise declare that the purification of metals (like gold), of precious stones (like emerald), of all articles of stone is brought about by ashes, water and clay. Articles of gold that are not smeared (with dirty things like leavings of food &c.) become pure by means of water alone; the same holds good of articles that are found in water (coral and shells), that are made of stone and are made of silver on which no craftsmanship (such as drawing lines or figures) has been expended. Gold and silver sprang forth through the union of water and fire; therefore their purification is brought about best by their causes, viz. water (in case of slight pollution) and fire (in case of extreme pollution). The purification of copper, iron, bell-metal, brass, tin and lead should be brought about by salts (ashes), acids and water according to circumstances (i. e. pollution caused). Vasiṣṭha (III. 58, 61-63) says: 'bell-metal is purified with ashes, gold and silver with water alone and copper with acids.' Yāj. I. 190 says 'the purification of tin, lead and copper is brought about by salt water, acids and ordinary water, of bell-metal and iron by ashes and water.' The Līṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, 189. 58) says: bell-metal is purified by ashes, iron articles by salt; copper, tin and lead by acids; golden and silver vessels are purified by water and jewels, stones, conches and pearls are purified in the same way as metallic vessels. Vide Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 70) which states that copper pots are purified by acids, tin and lead ones by salts, bell-metal by ashes and water. Medhatithi on Manu V. 114



quotes a verse <sup>735</sup> which says 'vessels of bell-metal (or brass) when licked (or breathed over) by cows, in which śūdras have taken their food and which have been defiled by dogs and crows are purified by being scoured ten times with ashes (salts).' Śātatapa has a similar verse (vide Par. M. vol. II part 1 p. 172).

Elaborate rules are laid down about the purification of polluted pots and vessels used in ordinary life, in Baud. Dh. 8. I. 5. 34-50, I. 6. 33-42, Yaj. I. 182-183, Viṣṇu 23. 2-5, Śāṅkha 16. 1-5 and others. There is some variation in all these, but, as the Mit. on Yaj. I. 190 remarks, it is not an absolute rule that copper must be purified by acids alone but if purification is possible by other means, they may be resorted to. It is not necessary to set out the different modes of purifying vessels. A passage from the Śuddhi-prakāśa pp. 117-118 would be sufficient to indicate how this matter of *pātrasūddhi* (cleansing of polluted vessels) was dealt with in medieval India: "vessels made of gold, silver, conches, shells, stones, precious stones, bell metal, brass, tin, lead are purified by mere water, provided they have no dirt or pollution sticking to them; if these vessels are polluted by the contact of leavings of food &c. they are purified by ashes and water or acids and water according as anyone of these is appropriate; the vessels made of the above substances that are polluted for a long time owing to being used by śūdras or owing to contact with leavings of food should first be scoured with salts (ashes) and water three times and should be then cast into fire so long as it can be borne (without the vessels being broken, melted or burnt up) and then they become pure. Vessels of bell metal when polluted by only dogs, crows, śūdras and leavings of food only once or licked by cows become pure by being scoured ten times with salts and water; but if they are polluted by the above several times then they have to be scoured 21 times for becoming pure. If in a vessel belonging to the three higher *varṇas* a śūdra takes his meal, it becomes pure after being washed four times with salts and being cast in fire and then taken up with hands that are washed clean with water. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted once by the leavings of a

735. गवाग्रहातानि कार्श्वानि शुक्रोच्छिद्यानि यानि च । क्षुप्यन्ति वृक्षानिः क्षारेः श्वका-  
कोपहवानि च ॥ q. by मेघा. on मनु V. 113 and मिता. on या. I. 190. This is  
लघुशातावप 141. This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by छ. को. p. 307 and to  
शातावप by छ. म. 116. This occurs in पराशर VII. 23, where the words शुक्रो-  
च्छिद्यानि and श्वकाकोपहवानि are transposed.

woman freshly delivered or by intoxicants or liquors becomes pure after being heated in fire; but if it is polluted several times then it becomes pure by being again manufactured. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted by being frequently used for holding the water expelled from the mouth after rinsing it or the water in which the feet are washed should be buried in the ground for six months, then heated in fire and then it becomes pure (compare Parāśara VII. 24-25); but if it is polluted thus only once it becomes pure after (being buried in the ground) for ten days. All metal vessels polluted for a short time by the bodily dirt such as urine, excrement, semen become pure after being placed for seven nights in cow's urine or in a great river; but if they are polluted as above many times or are polluted by the contact of a corpse, a freshly delivered woman or a woman in her monthly course they become pure after being thrice washed with salts, acids and water and after being heated in fire till they can bear it, but if these are polluted by urine and for a long time and frequently they become pure by being beaten into shape (manufactured) again.

Viṣṇu (23. 2 and 5) provides that all metal vessels when extremely polluted (as stated in note 710) are purified by being cast into fire and that vessels of wood or clay when extremely polluted should be given up, but Devala<sup>736</sup> and others provide that wooden vessels when slightly polluted become pure by being planed or chiselled or by means of clay, cowdung or water and that earthen vessels if not extremely polluted become pure by being baked in fire<sup>737</sup> (also Yāj. I. 187). But Vas. III. 59 provides that an earthen vessel if polluted by the contact of wines, urine, excrement, phlegm, tears, pus and blood is not purified even by being burnt in fire.<sup>738</sup>

Special rules are provided for the purification of vessels and implements used in Vedic sacrifices. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 51-52)<sup>739</sup> remarks that the *camasa* vessels used in sacrifices

736. काष्ठानां तक्षणाच्छुद्धिर्बुद्धोमयजलेरपि । सुष्मयानां तु पात्राणां दहनच्छुद्धि-  
रिष्यते ॥ वेबल q. by छुद्धिम्. p. 118. Vide मनु. V. 115 for the same rule about  
wooden vessels.

737. Vide Leviticus 11. 32-33 about unclean vessels of wood and  
earthenware and their purification.

738. मधैर्मूत्रैः पुतिर्वैर्वा श्लेष्मपूयाक्षुणोणितैः । संस्पृष्टं नैव क्षुध्येत पुनःपाकेन सुष्मयत् ॥  
बसिष्ठ III. 59 = मनु V. 123. It may be noted that मेधातिथि does not comment  
on this verse and quotes it on मनु V. 122 without naming the source.

739. दक्षनाद्यज्ञे चमसपात्राणां । न सोमेनोच्छिष्टा भवन्तीति क्षुतिः । जी. ध. द.  
I. 5. 51-52. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1177 n. 2598, for the drinking of soma  
from *camasas* by the priests one after another.

are purified according to the special Vedic texts, since the Veda says that *camasa* vessels do not incur the fault of being *ucchiṣṭa* when it is soma liquid that is drunk from them. Manu V. 116-117, Yaj. I. 183-185, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 8-11, Śaṅkha 16. 6, Parāśara VII. 2-3 and others lay down rules about the purification of sacrificial implements. For example, Manu ( V. 116-117 ) provides 'sacrificial vessels should be first rubbed with the right hand (or with *darbhas* or strainer) and then *camasas* and cups are to be washed with water before using them in the sacrifice; the *caruthāli* (the vessel in which the oblation of boiled rice is prepared), *sruc* (a wooden vessel used for pouring clarified butter on sacrificial fire), and *sruva* (wooden ladle of a semicircular shape) are purified by being washed with hot water; the *sphya* (wooden sword), the winnowing basket, the cart (for bringing the soma plant), wooden mortar and pestle, are purified with water (or sprinkling water according to Yaj. I. 184).

Several rules were laid down about the purification of polluted corn and polluted cooked food. A reference has already been made to the purification of heaps of corn. Common sense, convenience and the loss that may be caused by very stringent provisions are the considerations which prompt the rules on this subject. Viṣṇu 23.25 provides<sup>740</sup> that where a heap of rice (or other grain) is polluted, one should throw away only that portion of it which is actually defiled and should submit the rest to pounding and washing with water; cooked food that exceeds in volume one *droṇa* and that has been defiled does not all become tainted, but that throwing away the defiled portion alone, one should sprinkle over the rest water mixed with gold on which the sacred *Gāyatrī* verse has been repeated and should hold it before a goat to see it and should also bring fire near it. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 6. 44-48. 'If grains of rice are polluted they should be washed and dried. But if it is a large quantity then sprinkling with water is enough; husked rice (if polluted) should be cast away. The same rule applies to cooked offerings. But in the case of large heaps of cooked food that portion which is polluted by dogs or crows should be cast away and the rest should be sprinkled with the *Anuvāka*

740. अतिदूषणाकस्य वापन्मात्रमुपहृतं तन्मात्रं पारिवयव शेषस्य कण्डमयकालने कुर्यात् । शीघ्राधिकं सिद्धमन्नमुपहृतं न दूषयति । तस्योपहतमात्रमवस्य वापन्वागिमन्त्रितं हवर्जान्मः प्रक्षिपेद् वस्तस्य च प्रक्षिपेद्वज्रेण । विष्णुः 23.11. The *ह्यसिक्तो*. p. 317 reads 'सूर्यस्य वज्रेण वज्रेण'.

pavamaṇaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4.8). Gaut. 17. 9-10 provide<sup>741</sup> that one should not partake of food that was cooked along with hair and insects (like ants), nor food that is polluted by the contact of a woman in her monthly illness, by a crow or by being struck with the foot (of some one). But where food is already cooked and then it is smelt by a cow or it is polluted by the falling into it of hair, insects, flies, then Yāj. I. 189 and Parāśara VI. 64-65 provide that in order to purify it water, ashes (with water) or loose earth (with water) should be cast over it. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5.16. 24-29 provide that one should not partake of food in which hair exists (i. e. it was there from the beginning) or anything else (like nails) that is impure or of food that is touched with an unclean substance or in which an insect that subsists on impure things exists or food which is struck by the feet of any person or in which the excrement or the tail (or limb) of a rat is found.

The general rule is stated by Manu V. 118 which applies not only to corn and clothes but to many other articles viz. if there is a heap or a large quantity then sprinkling with water (*prokṣaṇa*) suffices for purification but if the quantity is small then washing with water is necessary. Manu V. 125 (= Visṇu Dh. S. 23.38) provides that (a small quantity of) cooked food part of which is pecked by birds (whose flesh is eaten by men), which is smelt by a cow, which is struck with the foot (by a man) and over which some one has sneezed or which is polluted by the falling in of hair and insects becomes pure by casting into it loose earth (and water). Parāśara (VI 71-74) puts the matter<sup>742</sup> thus: "food licked by dogs and crows or smelt by a cow or ass, if little in quantity, should be thrown away by a brāhmaṇa, but purification should be resorted to if it is a *droṇa* or *ādhaka* in quantity. That portion which is defiled by the saliva of a dog or crow should be thrown away and water in which gold is put should be sprinkled over the remaining portion, then flames of fire should lick the remaining

741. नित्यमभोज्यम् । केशकीटावपकम् । रजस्वलाकुल्लशकुनिपदोपहतम् । गौ. 17. 8-10.

742. काकश्वानवलीङ्गं तु गवाश्वातं खरेण वा । स्वल्पमक्षं त्यजेद्विषः शुद्धिर्द्रोणादके भवेत् ॥ अक्षरपोदरय तन्मात्रं यच्च लालाहतं भवेत् । सुवर्णोदकमम्बुदय द्रुताग्नेनैव तापयेत् । द्रुताग्नेन संसृष्टं सुवर्णसलिलेन च । विद्यायां ब्रह्मयोगेण भोज्यं भवति तत्क्षणम् ॥ पराशर VI. 71-74, q. by कृत्स्निका pp. 128-129 (which reads यच्च लालाकृतिर्भवेत् in the 2nd verse).

food and brāhmaṇas should loudly recite Vedic hymns (like the Pavamānasūkta) over it and then the food becomes fit for eating". The Śuddhiprakāśa explains that the wealthy should not throw away food if it is more than a *droṇa* in quantity and a poor man if it is more than an *āḍhaka* <sup>743</sup>.

Manu V. 115 <sup>744</sup> says that in the case of all liquids (such as oils, ghee &c.) purification (when they are little in quantity) is brought about by means of two kuśas dipped into them (or by straining them through a piece of cloth into another pot) and if the quantity is large then by sprinkling (water). Śāṅkha provides <sup>745</sup> that purification is brought about by mere prokṣaṇa in the case of all exudations (Asafoetida &c.), jaggery, salts, safflower, saffron and in the case of wool and cotton. Vide note 705 above about certain articles being pure the moment they are transferred from the pots of even mlecchas &c.

A few words may be said about the purification of different kinds of cloth and garments and the materials of which they are made. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (I 28-30) provides that a white garment is always commended for wearing (as a *dhōti*), but they are commended for wearing as upper garments and both are not defiled by the touch of anybody. Men may take their food or answer calls of nature while covered with both; *trasara* is purified by being washed while a silken garment is always pure. Manu V. 120-121, Yāj. I. 186-187 and Viṣṇu (23. 19-22) provide almost in the same words that silken and woollen cloth is cleansed by saline earth (and with water and cow's urine), Nepalese blankets by the powder of soap berry, clothes made of tree bark with Bilva fruit and linen cloth by (paste of) white mustard. Viṣṇu 23. 6 says <sup>746</sup> that when a garment is extremely polluted that portion thereof which when washed with water loses its colour should be cut off. Śāṅkha <sup>747</sup> quoted by Viṣva-

743. Vide H. of Db. vol. III. p. 124 for the measures of capacity called *droṇa* and *āḍhaka*. According to most writers four *āḍhakas* are equal to a *droṇa*.

744. इवाणां चैव सर्वेषां छुद्रिकृत्यवनं स्मृतम् । मोक्षणं संहृतानां च दारवाणां च तक्षणम् ॥ मनु V. 115. कुल्लूक explains 'यावेक्ष्यमाणकुरापत्रह्वयान्वाप्त्यवनेन छुद्रिः', while the छुद्रिय. p. 133 remarks उत्पवनं वक्षान्तरितपात्रप्रक्षेपेण कीदाद्यपनयनमित्युक्तम्.'

745. निर्यासानां सुधानां च लवणानां तथैव च । कुलुम्भकुङ्कुमानां च ऊर्णाकार्पा-सयोस्तथा । मोक्षणात्कषिता छुद्रिरित्याह भगवान्ममः ॥ शाङ्ख 16. 11-12.

746. अत्यन्तोपहतस्य वस्त्रस्य यत्प्रक्षालितं विरज्येत तच्छिञ्च्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र. 23. 6.

747. चेलानामुत्पेदनं प्रक्षालनं तन्मात्रच्छेदो वा । शाङ्ख. q. by विश्वकप on वा. I. 182.

rūpa on Yāj. I. 182 prescribes that garments are purified by being submitted to hot steam, by washing with water or by cutting off only that portion that is defiled. Parāśara VII. 28 provides that garments made from bamboos and barks of trees, linen and cotton garments, garments of wool and birch bark are purified by mere *prokṣaṇa*.

The smṛtis speak of purification of many other things, which is of little importance and is passed over here. Only a few illustrations are given here. Manu. V. 119 provides that skins and things made of split bamboos (or canes) are cleaned in the same way as clothes, while vegetables, roots and fruits are purified on the analogy of grain. Manu V. 120-121 state that the purification of conches, horns (of buffaloes and rams) and bones and tusks (of the elephant or boar) is to be caused in the same way as that of linen or with cow's urine or water and that grass, wood and straw become pure by being sprinkled with water. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 15, 16, 23 and Yāj. I. 185 are very similar.

From the above it will be clear that purification of substances depends on many circumstances, viz. whether they are metallic or are earthen, whether they are solid or liquid, whether a polluted substance is small in quantity or is a big heap, whether the pollution is extreme or insignificant and so on.

In Manu the purification of substances follows (V. 110) the means of purifying one's own body. Purification of the body by means of *ācamana* and *snāna* (bath) has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 315-316 and 652-653 (about *ācamana*), 656-668 (about *snāna*). Purification by bath on *āśauca* has already been dealt with before. Special rules were prescribed for women guilty of adultery (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 594, vol. III. pp. 647-649), as also for women raped (vide vol. II p. 575). *Snāna* (bath) with the clothes on was prescribed for purification of the body when a person touches one who is *patita* (murderer of a brāhmaṇa &c.), a *capḍāla*, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse or one who has touched a corpse; also when a man follows a funeral procession or touches a dog (vide Gaut. 14. 28-30, Manu V. 85 and 103, Aṅgīras verse 152, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 15-16, Yāj. III. 30). Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 140 provides that on touching one who sells the Veda (teaches it for money), a *yūpa*, a funeral pyre, a *patita*, a dog and a *capḍāla* one should

undergo a bath.<sup>748</sup> Parāśara also has a similar verse.<sup>749</sup> It has already been stated elsewhere (in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 175-176) how the rules about touching untouchables were relaxed when people congregated in a temple or in a religious procession, at marriages and festivals and at holy places. It is said by some that this refers not to the so-called untouchables, but to men who are untouchable owing to āśauca. But this is not correct. The explanation of the Śuddhi-kaumudī and Śuddhiprakāśa given below makes it clear that the untouchables are meant. In the first place, the words are quite general and not restricted. In the second place, there is no untouchability (except for the mother) on the ground of *Jananāśauca* and it is most unlikely that a person who has incurred mourning on death should visit a temple or go to a marriage or enter a religious procession, or festival. In the third place, looking to the several occasions mentioned together (particularly pilgrimages, battles, fire in a town or village and commotion or invasion of a country) it appears most unlikely that the verse refers only to āśauca on birth and death.<sup>750</sup>

The ancient and medieval Indians put very great emphasis on purity of mind, of body, of the place where they resided or performed religious rites, of the vessels used by them and of the ingredients of their food and worship. Many of the rules about purification of substances may appear to modern minds as very stringent; but it should not be forgotten that the ancient Indians were imbued with the thought that purity of the mind followed from purity of food

748. वेदविक्रयिणे दूरं पतितं चित्तिमेव च । स्पृष्टा समाचरेत्स्नानं श्चानं चण्डालमेव च ॥  
नौ. ध. सू. I. 5.140.

749. चैत्यवृक्षश्चित्तिरूपश्चाण्डालः सोमविक्रयी । एतस्ते जाद्वयः स्पृष्टा सचेलो जल-  
मन्विशेत् ॥ पराशर q. by सु. कौ. p. 327, which explains 'चैत्यवृक्षो ग्राममध्ये देववृक्षा-  
वृक्षाः, दूषोऽप्येष्टिकर्मरूपश्चित्तिसंनिधानात्.'

750. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां संग्रामे देशविद्धरे । नगरग्रामवाहे च स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दूष्यति ।  
बृहस्पति q. by सु. कौ. p. 323, सु. प्र. p. 130. सु. कौ. explains 'स्पृष्टः अस्पृष्टिः  
अस्पृष्टयो येन स तथा' and सु. प्र. remarks 'अस्पृष्टिरस्पृष्टयं स्पृष्टमस्पृष्टिर्धर्मेति च बहुव्रीहिः ।  
तेन तीर्थादौ अस्पृष्टयस्पर्शने नाचमनस्नानादि ॥'. The स्पृष्टिच. I. pp. 121-122 quotes  
this verse and two others 'ग्रामे तु यत्र संस्पृष्टिर्पात्रायां कलहादिषु । ग्रामसंग्रामे चैव  
स्पृष्टिर्दोषो न विद्यते' and 'देवयात्राविवाहेषु यज्ञेषु मङ्गलेषु च । उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टा-  
स्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते' from शातातप and बृहत्सिंघम्भत respectively and explains ग्रामे राज-  
मार्गादौ.....एतच्च वाक्यत्रयं यत्राहमनेन स्पृष्ट इति ज्ञानं नास्ति तद्विषयमिति केचित् ।  
अवृष्टिश्चासुचित्स्पर्शविषयमित्यन्ये ।

(as stated in the Chāndogyopanīṣad VII. 26.2 'āhārasuddhau sattvasuddhiḥ' and by Hārīta). It would be conceded that some of their rules about purification (such as about large quantities of corn or heaps of cooked food) are based on common sense and convenience. We are probably going to the other extreme in taking our food anywhere and in any surroundings.

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# SECTION III

## CHAPTER IX

### ŚRĀDDHA

This subject is of great practical importance from several points of view.

The Brahmapurāṇa defines śrāddha as follows: 'whatever is given with faith to brāhmaṇas intending it to be for the (benefit of) *pitrs* at a proper time, in a proper place, to deserving persons and in accordance with the prescribed procedure is called śrāddha'<sup>751</sup>. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 217 defines śrāddha as 'abandonment with faith of an article of food or some substitute thereof, intending it for (the benefit of) the departed'. The Kalpataru on śrāddha defined it as 'the giving up of sacrificial material intending it for *pitrs* and its acceptance by brāhmaṇas'. The Śrāddhavigeḥka of Rudradhara and the Śrāddhaprakāśa define śrāddha in the same way as the Mit. but in a more involved manner. Yaj. I. 268 (= Agnipurāṇa 163. 40-41) states that the *pitrs* viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas that are the deities of śrāddha, being gratified by śrāddha, give gratification to the ancestors of human beings. This verse and Manu III. 284 make it clear that the three ancestors of a man,

751. वेदो काले च पात्रे च अद्भ्या विधिना च यत्। पितृकुक्षिभ्य विभेभ्यो वृत्तं आद्भ-  
द्वद्वाहत्वं॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by आ. प्र. p. 3 and 6, आ. क. ल. p. 3, परा. मा. I. 2.  
p. 299; आद्भं नामावनीयस्य तत्स्थानीयस्य वा इव्यस्य प्रेतोद्देशेन अद्भ्या त्यागः। मितक्षरा  
on या. I. 217; एतेन पितृकुक्षिभ्य इव्यत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकरणपर्यन्तं आद्भस्वरूपं प्रधानम्।  
कल्पतरु (आद्भ) p. 4; कल्पतरुलक्षणमप्यनुपादेयं संस्थासिनामात्मआद्भे वैषआद्भे सनका-  
दिआद्भे चाप्यासेः। आ. क्रि. कौ pp. 3-4; अत्र कल्पतरुकारः पितृकुक्षिभ्य इव्यपातो ब्राह्मण-  
स्वीकरणपर्यन्तो हि आद्भमित्याह तदनुक्तः। पितृभक्तिं of श्रीवत्त (folio 21a). The  
हीपकलिका on या. I. 218 accepts कल्पतरु; आद्भं नाम वेदवैधितपात्रालम्भनपूर्वक-  
प्रमीतपित्रादिदेवतोद्देशको इव्यत्यागविशेषः। आद्भविवेक p. 1; अत्रापस्तम्बादिसकलवचन-  
पर्यालोचनया प्रमीतमात्रोद्देश्यकाव्यत्यागविशेषस्य ब्राह्मणाद्याधिकरणमतिपर्यनुक्तस्य आद्भ-  
पदार्थत्वं प्रतीयते। आ. प्र. p. 4. The आद्भविवेक states that इव्यत्याग is enjoined by  
the words of the Veda (वेदवैधित) and the thing abandoned is handed over  
to a deserving brāhmaṇa ( पात्रालम्भनपूर्वक ). प्रतिपत्ति in आ. प्र. means the  
final disposal of a thing used in a sacrifice e. g. in Darśa-pūrnāmāsa we have  
the sentence इह शाकया प्रत्तरं ग्रहरति. Here शाकामहरणं is प्रतिपत्तिकर्म (Jal. IV. 2.  
10-13) and not अर्घकर्म; similarly, the cremation of an āhitaṅni with his  
sacrificial vessels is a प्रतिपत्तिकर्म so far as the यज्ञपात्राः are concerned.

viz. the father, paternal grand-father and the paternal great-grand-father are respectively to be identified with the three orders of superintending *pitṛ* deities, viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, when performing śrāddha. According to some,<sup>752</sup> śrāddha denotes three things, viz. *homa*, the offering of *pinḍa* (ball of cooked food) and gratification of brāhmaṇas invited to a dinner; the application of this word to any one of these three can only be in a secondary sense.

A firm believer in the doctrine of *karma*, *punarjanma* (re-incarnation) and *karma-vipāka* (explained above) may find it difficult to reconcile that doctrine with the belief that by offering balls of rice to his three deceased paternal ancestors a man brings gratification to the souls of the latter. According to the doctrine of *punarjanma* (as very clearly and succinctly put in Br. Up. IV. 4.4 and Bhagavad-gītā 2.22)<sup>753</sup> the spirit leaving one body enters into another and a new one. But the doctrine of offering balls of rice to three ancestors requires that the spirits of the three ancestors even after the lapse of 50 or 100 years are still capable of enjoying in an ethereal body the flavour or essence of the rice balls wafted by the wind. Further, Yaj. I. 269 (which is the same as Mārķ. 29. 38, Matsya-purāṇa 19. 11-12, Agnipurāṇa 163. 41-42) provides that the grand-fathers (i. e. *pitṛs*) being themselves gratified (by the offerings of food in śrāddha) bestow on men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa* (final beatitude), all happiness and kingdom. In the Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 19, verse 2) a question is asked by the sages how food which a brāhmaṇa (invited at a śrāddha) eats or which is offered into fire is enjoyed by departed spirits that might have assumed (after death) good or evil forms of bodies. The answer given (verses 3-9) is that fathers, grand-fathers and great-grand-fathers are identified with Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas respectively according to Vedic passages, that the name and *gotra* (mentioned at the time of śrāddha), the *mantras* uttered and faith carry to the *pitṛs* the offerings made, that if one's

752. होमश्च पिण्डदानं च तथा ब्राह्मणतर्पणम् । आहुताश्वामिधेयं स्वाहेकस्मिन्नी-  
पचारिकः ॥ १. ॥ by आहुतार p. 30. हरदत्त on आप. च. सू. II. 7. 16. 2 says the same  
thing. श्रीदत्त in पितृभक्ति (folio 23a) says 'पिण्डदानं तु न आहुतं किं तु आहुताङ्गं पिण्ड-  
विरहेऽपि निरयमाहुतवर्जनात्'.

753. अयमात्मेर्हं शरीरं निवृत्त्याविद्यां समयित्वाण्यकवतरं कल्याणतरं रूपं कुर्वते पित्र्यं  
वा मातृर्हं वा देवं वा माजापत्यं वा ब्राह्मं वाय्वेषां वा भूतानीह । बृह. उ. IV. 4.4 ; तथा  
शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णाश्चक्षुःसं संयाति नवानि देही ॥ कीर्त्ता 2.22.

father has become a god (by his good deeds) the food offered in śrāddha becomes nectar and follows him in his state of godhood, if he has become a *daitya* (an *asura*) then (the food) reaches him in the form of various enjoyments, if he has become a beast then it becomes grass for him and if he has become a snake the śrāddha food waits on him as wind (serpents are supposed to subsist on wind) and so on. Verses 5-9 of the Matsya, chap. 19 are quoted as from Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa by the Śrāddhakalpalatā p. 5. Viśvarūpa<sup>754</sup> on Yāj. I. 265 (p. 171 of Tri. ed.) also raises the same objection and gives several replies. One is that this is a matter entirely based on *tāstra* and so when *tāstra* says that *pitr̥s* are gratified and the performer gets desired objects no objection should be raised. Another reply is that the gods Vasus and others that have access everywhere have the power to gratify *pitr̥s* wherever they may be situated. He does not call the questioners (*nāstika*) as some other and later writers do.

The Śrāddhakalpalatā of Nandapaṇḍita<sup>755</sup> (about 1600 A. D.) enters upon an elaborate reply to these persons (whom he dubs atheists) that aver that the performance of śrāddhas for departed fathers and the rest, who according to the particular actions of each go to heaven or hell or to other forms of existence serves no purpose. He asks: why is śrāddha useless? Is it because there is no prescriptive text laying down an obligation

754. 'कथं हि स्वकर्माद्युत्पत्त्यनेकविधयोगितपितृतृप्त्युपपत्तिः । शास्त्रममाणकत्वाद्द्वयार्थरूपान्धमेतद् ।...एते देवा वरदादयः प्रीताः प्रीणयन्ति यज्ञतत्रत्यान् मनुष्याणां पितॄन् आहूतात्तरसाधुयदानेत्पर्यः । सर्वयोगितत्वाच्चेत् सर्वावस्थितपितृतर्पणसामर्थ्यमविवक्ष्य ।' विनय on वा. I. 265 p. 171.

755. अथ ये नास्तिका युतानां पित्रादीनां प्रातिस्निकश्रुभाष्यभक्त्यर्थेन स्वर्गनरकादिषु तत्तद्योगिषु वा नतानां आहूतकरणमनर्थकमाहुस्तन्निराकरणं तावत् किपते । किं विषयभावाद्वा आहूतकरणमनर्थकमुत कलाभावाद्वा पित्रादीनां तृप्त्यसिद्धेः । न तावदाद्यः तस्मात्सर्वप्रधानेन आहूतं कुर्वाद्दिशःशयः—इत्यादिविधिदर्शनात् । न द्वितीयः । आयुः प्रजां धने विद्यां स्वर्गं मोक्षं पुत्रानि च—इत्यादिकलमवगन्तात् । न तृतीयः । न ह्यत्र देवदत्तादय एव आहूतकर्मणि संयद्वाप्तृताः पित्रादिभिर्यदेव्यन्ते किं स्वपितातृप्त्यस्वादिदेवतासहिता एव । यथा देवदत्तादिशब्देन शरीर-नात्र नाप्यात्ममात्रं किन्तु शरीरविशिष्टाः प्राणिन एवोच्यन्ते । एवमपिष्ठातृदेवतासहिता एव देवदत्तादयः पित्रादिभिर्यदेव्यन्ते । अतश्चापिष्ठातृदेवता वरदादयः पुत्रादिभिर्देवतेनाश्रयानादिना तुलाः सन्तस्तानपि देवदत्तादींस्तर्पयन्ति कर्तुं च पुत्रादिकलेन योजयन्ति । यथा माता नर्गोषभावाद्यप्युच्यते बोहदाश्रयानादिना स्वयमुपयुक्तेन तुला सती स्वजठरगतमपत्यं तर्पयति बोहदाश्रयभावेन च यत्तुपकारफलेन संयोजयति तद्वत्तुष्ट्यादिरणाः पितरः पितृपितामहम-पितामहशब्दाव्याख्या न केवलं देवदत्तादय एव । तदेते आहूतदेवताः आहूतकर्मणि संयद्वाप्तृताः आहूतेन तर्पिताः सन्तो मनुष्याणां पितृस्तर्पयन्तीति । आहूतकल्पलता pp. 3-4. The passage from न ह्यत्र देवदत्तादयः up to the end is taken almost verbatim from the Mit. on Yāj. I. 268. The आहूतत्व p. 191 remarks 'यद्यप्यहोविधिमुताः—इति एतद्वचनं तु तदाकारत्वेन भावनापरमिति आहूतविवेकादयः'.

to perform it or is it because śrāddha produces no consequences or is it that it is not proved that *pitrs* and the rest are gratified by śrāddha? To the first he replies that there are such passages as 'therefore a wise man must perform śrāddha with all his efforts' that lay down the obligation; nor is the 2nd objection proper, since Yāj. I. 269 does declare the rewards (of śrāddha) viz. long life &c. Nor is the third alternative acceptable. In the śrāddha rites it is not that the mere ancestors named Devadatta and the like are the recipients and that they are denoted by the words *pitṛ*, *pitāmaha* and *prapitāmaha*, but that those words denote them as accompanied by the superintending deities viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas. Just as by the words Devadatta and the like what is denoted is not merely the bodies (so named) nor merely the souls, but what is denoted by the words is individual souls as particularised by the bodies; in the same way the words *pitṛ* and the like denote Devadatta and others together with the superintending deities (viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas). Therefore, the superintending deities viz. the Vasus and the rest, being gratified by the food and drink offered by the sons and the rest, gratify those also viz. Devadatta and the rest and endow the performers (of śrāddha) with such rewards as male progeny and the rest. Just as a woman expecting to be a mother becomes gratified by partaking of the food and drink for which she has a longing in pregnancy and which is given to her by another person for the sustenance of the child in the womb, she satiates also the child in her womb and endows those that offer her the food and drink for which she has longings by bestowing on them some reward in return. Thus the *pitrs* denoted by the words father, grandfather and great-grandfather are the deities Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, and not merely (human beings called) Devadatta and the rest. Hence these deities of śrāddha become the recipients (of gifts) in the śrāddha rite, are gratified by the śrāddha and gratify in their turn the ancestors of human beings. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā then quotes 18 verses<sup>756</sup> from the

756. अन्नमकिरणं यत्तु मनुष्यैः क्रियते भुवि । तेन तुलितुपायान्ति ये विशाखत्वमागताः ॥  
यदम्बु स्नानवस्त्रोद्यं भूमौ पतति पुत्रक । तेन ये वरुतां मासास्तेषां तुलितः प्रजायते ॥ यस्तु गन्धा-  
म्बुकणिकाः पतन्ति धरणीतले । तामिराट्यायनं तेषां ये देवत्वं कुले गताः ॥ उद्धृतं पृथक् पिण्डेषु  
याश्चाक्षकणिका भुवि । तामिराट्यायनं तेषां ये तिर्यक्त्वं कुले गताः ॥ ये वादग्धाः (चादग्धाः ?)  
कुले बालाः क्रियायोग्या ह्यसंस्कृताः । विपक्षास्तेष्वेविकिरसंमार्जनजलाग्निः ॥ भुक्त्वा  
चाक्षामतां जलं यच्च जलं यच्चाक्षशोधने । ब्राह्मणानां तथैरान्ये तेन तुलितं प्रयान्ति वै ॥ मार्कण्डेय  
28. 8-13, स्कन्ध VII. I. 205.23-28 (with slight variations), ब्रह्मपुराण 220.89-95,

(Continued on the next page)

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa many of which are found in chap. 28 (verses 3 ff) of the printed text. It is said<sup>757</sup> that just as a calf finds its own mother from among many cows that are scattered about, so the mantras repeated in śrāddha carry the food to the pitṛs.

The explanation offered by the Śrāddha-kālpataṭā relying on passages of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa is not satisfactory and is rather far-fetched. The Mārkaṇḍeya and the Matsya appear to agree with the doctrine of Vedānta that immediately on leaving one body the soul has recourse to another body, either as a god or a man or a beast or a snake &c. The hypothesis propounded is that the food and drink offered in śrāddhas becomes transformed into various substances for the use of the ancestors (Matsya 141. 74-75). But the great difficulty in accepting this explanation is that the ancestors might die at different places, while śrāddha may very often be performed at one place far away from those places. It is difficult to believe that the grass growing in one place where the ancestor has been transformed into a beast as a result of his evil actions is the same that might have been produced from the substances offered in śrāddha at a place hundreds of miles away. Further, if one or all the three ancestors have been transformed into beasts or the like how can they recognize their offspring and bestow on them long life, wealth &c? If the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas bestow these, it is better to say so directly and affirm that *pitṛs* cannot bestow

(Continued from the last page)

quoted by स्वृतिच. (आ. p. 333.), आद्धार p. 7 (the first three from मार्कण्डेय and the rest from ब्रह्मपुराण), आ. क. ल. p. 5; नामगोत्रं विवृणोतु मापके ह्यपकम्पयोः। नाममोत्रकालवेशा (नाममन्त्रास्तथा वेशा) भवाप्तरगतानपि॥ माणिनः प्रीणयन्त्येत तद्वाहारत्व-मागतान्। देवो यदि पिता जातः ह्यभकर्मादियोगतः। तस्याभमसुतं भूत्वा विप्रत्यलेऽप्युपतिष्ठति। हेरत्यले भोगरूपेण पशुत्ये च तृणं भवेत्। आद्धारं वायुरूपेण सर्पत्येऽप्युपतिष्ठति। पात्रं भवति यस्तत्वे राक्षसत्ये तथा मिषत्। वसुजत्ये तथा माया (मर्त्त?) प्रेतत्ये वाधिरौघकम्। मनुष्यत्येऽज्ञापानानि नागतभोगरत्नं भवेत्॥ मत्स्य 19.4-9 (with changes in the order of verses) q. as from मार्कण्डेय by स्वृतिच. (आ. p. 448), आ. क. ल. pp. 5-6, निर्णयस्तिष्ठु III p. 394 (from मत्स्य). Vide एका (सृष्टि 10. 38-43) for same verses with variations. The गवह (प्रेतकण्ड) 10. 4-7 are almost the same as those from देवो etc. to the end and गवह (प्रेत 10. 12 and 15 are the same as the verses नामगोत्रं...तद्वाहारत्वमागतान्. The स्वृतिच. (आ. 448) explains: नामानि देवदत्तयज्ञवत्तादीनि मन्त्राः पृथिवी ते वात्रानित्यादयः आवेशा इदमक्षादिकमनुष्ठी भवत्यिति एवमादिनिर्देशाः. मार्कण्डेय 29, 27-28 are similar.

757. यथा गोषु मग्नान्धु वत्सो विवृणोति मातरम्। तथा आद्धारो दृष्टान्तो (वृत्तान्त?) मन्त्रः मापकते तु तद्। मत्स्य 141. 76, वायु. 56. 85 and 83. 119-120, ब्रह्माण्ड, अनुवक्त्रपाद 218. 90-91, उपोद्घातपाद 20. 12-13, q. by स्वृतिच. (आ. p. 448) which reads गोदृष्यगो and आद्धारदृष्टिर्द, आ. क. ल. p. 5.

any thing on their progeny. It appears very probable that the worship of ancestors by means of śrāddhas was a very ancient institution and that the doctrines of *punarjanma* and *karmavipāka* were comparatively later ones and that Hinduism being all-embracing retained the institution of śrāddhas while adopting also the doctrine of metempsychosis. The institution of śrāddha is from one point of view an excellent one. It provides an occasion for remembrance of one's ancestors and relatives that were dear and near when living. The Āryasamāja objects to the institution of śrāddha and interprets pitrs in the Rgveda as meaning living men in the Vānaprastha stage. It may be noted that the texts support both views. The Śat. Br. expressly says that food is offered to the father of the sacrificer in the words 'this is for thee,' Viṣṇu Dh. S. 75. 4 'He whose father is dead may put down a pinda for his father &c.' On the other hand Manu III 284 states that fathers are spoken of as Vasus, grandfathers as Rudras &c. and Yaj. I. 269 provides that Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are the pitrs and the devatās of śrāddha. These latter are to be explained as containing an injunction to contemplate upon the pitrs as Vasus, Rudras &c.

As stated below (p. 347) with regard to the Rgvedic passages, it was on account of the supposed power of pitrs to benefit or harm the living that the cult of the dead became a prominent feature in primitive societies. Offerings and ceremonies which may have in most ancient times been prompted in part at least by the desire to placate the ancestors are continued as tokens of pure affection and remembrance. Various beliefs about pitrs are mentioned <sup>758</sup> in post-Vedic Literature. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 14 summarizes a brāhmaṇa text stating that pitrs move about in the form of birds. The Auśanasa-smṛti and Devala quoted by the Kalpataru say the same thing. In the Vāyupurāṇa <sup>759</sup> it is stated that at the time of śrāddha the ancestors

758. वयसां पिण्डं दद्यात् । वयसां हि पितरः प्रतिमया चरन्तीति विज्ञायते । बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 14; न च पश्येत काकादीन् पक्षिणस्तु न वारयेत् । तद्वृषाः पितरस्तत्र समायाति कुमुदस्यः । औशनसः (Jiv. I. p. 531); न चात्र इयेनकाकादीन् पक्षिणः प्रतिबधेयत् । तद्वृषाः पितरस्तत्र समायासीति वैविकम् ॥ देवल g. by कल्पतसु ०० भाद्र p. 17.

759. आद्रुकाले तु सततं वायुभृताः पितामहाः । आविशन्ति द्विजान् दृष्ट्वा तस्मादेतद् ब्रवीमि ते ॥ वज्रैरक्षैः प्रदानैस्तैर्भक्षयेयैस्तथैव च । गोभिरभ्यैस्तथा ग्रामैः पूजयित्वा द्विजोत्तमान् । भवन्ति पितरः शिताः पूजितेषु द्विजातिषु ॥ तस्मादन्नेन विधिवत् पूजयेद् द्विजसत्तमान् । वायुपुराण 75.13-15 ( = वायु, उत्तरार्ध 13.13-15, Venk. ed. ); ब्राह्मणस्ते समायाति पितरो ह्यन्तरिक्षागः । वायुभृताश्च तिष्ठन्ति मुक्त्वा यान्ति परां गतिम् । औशनससूक्ति (Jiv. I. p. 526).

enter the brāhmaṇas (invited) after assuming an aerial form and that when the best of brāhmaṇas are honoured with clothes, foods, gifts, eatables, liquids, cows, horses and villages, pitrs become pleased. Manu III 189 and the Auśanasa-smṛti also support this notion that pitrs enter the invited brāhmaṇas. The Matsyapurāṇa (18. 5-7) enjoins: pīṇdas should be offered to the departed for twelve days after death, since they serve him as food on his journey and give him great satisfaction. Therefore, the soul leaving the dead body is not taken to the abode of the departed for twelve days (after death); the departed spirit hovers near his house, his sons, his wife for twelve days. Therefore for ten days after death milk (and water) should be placed (hung up) in space for ten nights for reducing all torments (or troubles of the departed) and for the removal of the fatigue of the journey (that the departed spirit has to make). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra.<sup>760</sup> (20. 34-36) provides "the departed spirit enjoys in the world of *pitr*s the food offered in śrāddha with the utterance of the word 'śvadhā'; whether the departed is in the state of a god or in the place of torments (Hell) or in the form of a lower animal or a human being, the śrāddha food offered by his relatives reaches him; when śrāddha is performed, the performer and the departed soul both certainly secure vigour (or prosperity)."

The Brahmapurāṇa<sup>761</sup> states that śrāddha is to be treated of under five heads, viz. how, where, when, by whom and with what materials. But before proceeding to deal with these five heads, it is necessary to dilate upon the underlying ideas and significance of the word '*pitarah*' from the most ancient times of which we have literary records.

The word '*pitr*' means 'father', but the word '*pitarah*' is used in two senses, viz. (1) a man's three immediate deceased ancestors, (2) the early or ancient ancestors of the human race that were supposed to inhabit a separate world (*loka*) by them-

760. पितृलोकगतश्चात्मा आद्धिं भुङ्क्ते स्वधासमम् । पितृलोकगतास्यास्य तस्माच्छ्राद्धं प्रपश्यन् ॥ देवत्वे यातनास्थाने तिर्यग्योनौ तथैव च । मानुष्ये च तथा भूति आद्धिं वृत्तं स्वधाम्भवेः । मेतस्य आद्धकतृत्वं पुष्टिः आद्धिं कृते भुवम् । तस्माच्छ्राद्धं सदा कार्यं शोकं त्यक्त्वा निरर्थकम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 20. 34-36. Compare मार्कण्डेय 23.49-51 (Venk. ed.) for similar verses.

761. कृष्णध्वं सृजिनाहूताः आद्धकृत्यं सुविस्तरात् । यथा यत्र यदा येषु (v. 1. येन) वैश्वदेवैस्तद्वाग्यहम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 2.

selves.<sup>762</sup> For this second meaning, vide Rg. X. 14. 2 and 7, X.15.2 (translated above pp. 191-92, 194) and Rg. IX.97.39.<sup>762a</sup> 'That Soma which becomes stronger and stronger and makes others strong, that is strained through a strainer, that flows in a stream, protected us by means of the luminary (the Sun)—that Soma with whose help our ancestors knowing the place (where the cows were kept concealed) and the higher regions, harassed the mountain for (the sake of recovering) the cows.' In Rg. X. 15.1 the *pitrs* are said to be of three grades, lower, middling or higher. They are also said to be earlier and later ones (Rg. X. 15.2). They are all known to Agni, though all *pitrs* are not known to their descendants (Rg. X. 15.13). The *pitrs* are divided into several groups such as *Āngirasas*, *Vairūpas*, *Atharvans*, *Bhrgus*, *Navagvas* and *Daśagvas* (Rg. X. 14. 5-6), the *Āngirasas* being particularly associated with Yama who is invoked to come to the sacrifice along with the *Āngirasas* (Rg. X. 14. 3-5). In Rg. I.<sup>763</sup> 62. 2 it is said: 'through whose (Indra's) help our ancient ancestors (*pitarah*), the *Āngirasas*, who sang his praises and who knew the place, found out the cows.' The *pitrs* called *Āngiras* were, it appears, again subdivided into two classes viz. *Navagva* and *Daśagva*<sup>764</sup> both of which words occur in Rg. I. 62.4, V. 39. 12 and X. 62. 6. In several passages the ancient fathers are identified with the seven sages<sup>765</sup> as in Rg. IV. 42.8 and VI. 22.2 and sometimes the *Navagvas* and *Daśagvas* also are said to be the seven sages (Rg. I. 62.4). *Āngirasas* are said to be the sons of Agni (Rg. X. 62.5) and also of Heaven (Rg. IV. 2. 15). The *pitrs* are often said to regale themselves in the company of gods,

762. This idea is at least Indo-Iranian, if not Indo-European. The ancient Parsi scriptures speak of *Fravashis* that were originally the same as *pitrs* of ancient Hindu works or the *Manes* among the ancient Romans. They were the everlasting and deified souls of the dead. Gradually the meaning of *Fravashi* was extended and even Gods and objects like the Earth and the sky were supposed to have each a *Fravashi*. Vide S. B. E. vol. 4 p. 262 for the *Fravashis* of the holy Yama and for the different classes of *Fravashis*; also S. B. E. vol. 23 pp. 180, 184, 230.

762 a येना नः पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञाः स्वर्विदो अभि गा अत्रिमुष्णन् ॥ ऋ. X. 97.39.

763. येना नः पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञा अर्चन्तो अङ्गिरसो गा अविश्वन् ॥ ऋ. I. 62.2

764. नवग्वासः सुतसोमास इन्द्रं दशग्वासो अग्न्यर्चन्त्यर्कः ॥ ऋ. V. 39.12; ये अग्नेः परि जङ्गिरे विष्पासो दिवस्पतिः । नवग्यो नु दशग्यो अङ्गिरस्तमः सचा देवेषु मंहते ॥ ऋ. X. 62.6.

765. अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन् सप्त ऋग्यो वैशिष्टे बध्यमाने । ऋ. IV. 42.8; तद् नः पूर्वे पितरो नग्वाः सप्त विपासो अभि वाजयन्तः । ऋ. VI. 22.2.



particularly of Yama (Rg. VII. 76. 4, X. 14. 10, X. 15. 8-10).<sup>766</sup> The *pitrs* are said to be fond of Soma drink (Rg. X. 15. 1 and 5, IX. 97. 39), they lie down on kuśa grass (Rg. X. 15. 5), they come with Agni and Indra to partake of the offerings (Rg. X. 15. 10 and X. 16. 12) and Agni is also said to carry the offerings to the *pitrs* (Rg. X. 15. 12). Fire is supposed to take the spirit of a cremated person to the *pitrs* (Rg. X. 16. 1-2, 5=A. V. 18. 2. 10; Rg. X. 17. 3). In later works also (e. g. in Mārka. chap. 45), Brahmā is supposed to have created in the beginning four classes viz. gods, asuras, *pitrs* and human beings. Vide also Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Prakriyā, chap. 8, and upodghāta chap. 9. 35 (ityete pitaro devā devāśca pitarah punaḥ anyonyapitaro hyete).

It was supposed that the departed spirit, after the cremation of the body, was endowed with an ethereal body and became associated with Yama, the gatherer of departed men (Rg. X. 14. 1 and 8, X. 15. 14, X. 16. 5), and with *pitrs*. The departed spirit went to the world of the *pitrs* and Agni was implored to take the spirit to the world of the departed whose deeds were good and to the stride of Viṣṇu (Rg. X. 14. 9, X. 15. 3, X. 16. 4).

Although Yama is said to dwell in heaven (*divi*) in Rg. X. 64. 3, he is really a god of the middle region, as the Nirukta states.<sup>767</sup> The Atharvaveda states:<sup>768</sup> 'let us worship with obeisance the fathers and grandfathers of our father, that enter the wide middle regions, that dwell on the earth and in heaven.' In Rg. I. 35. 6<sup>769</sup> it is said: there are three worlds; two of them (Heaven and earth) are in the lap of Savitr; one (i. e. the middle region) is in the domain of Yama where departed spirits congregate. 'The great Luminary (the Sun) has risen, a gift of the *pitrs*' (Rg. X. 107. 1). In the Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 5<sup>770</sup>

766. त इवेवानां सधमाव अत्तञ्जतावानः कवयः पूर्व्यासः। गृहं ज्योतिः पितरो अन्धविन्दन् सत्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्नुपासन् ॥ अ. VII. 76. 4; अपा पितृन् सुविद्वान् उपेहि बभेन ये सधमादं मवन्ति ॥ अ. X. 14. 10 = अथर्व 18. 2. 11.

767. माध्यमिको यम इत्याहुः। तस्मान् माध्यमिकान् पितृन् मन्थन्ते। निबक्र XI. 18. The Egyptian legend of Osiris presents many of the details connected with Yama. Vide Vulliamy's 'Immortal man,' chap. V. pp 140-143.

768. ये नः पितुः पितरो ये पितामहा य आविविष्णुर्वन्तरिक्षम्। य आक्षिपन्ति पृथिवीमुत धां तेभ्यः पितृभ्यो नमसा विधेम ॥ अथर्ववेद 18. 2. 49.

769. तिस्रो धावः सवितुर्ह्य उपर्या एका यमस्य भुवने विरापाद्। अ. I. 35. 6.

770. तृतीये वा इतो लोके पितरः। तै. ब्रा. I. 3. 10. 5; अथ त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्य-लोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रेणैव जयत्ये माभ्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठस्तस्माद्विद्यां यज्ञं सन्ति। बृह. उ. I. 5. 16.

it is said that the pitrs dwell in the third world from this. This means that after *bhūloka* and *antarikṣa* comes the *pitrloka*. In the Br. Up. I. 5.16 three worlds of men, pitrs and gods are separately mentioned. In Rg. X. 135, 1-7, Yama is spoken of in somewhat different language. He is in this hymn mentioned as a god by himself and not as the first mortal who made a path (Rg. X. 14. 2) or as the gatherer of men (X. 14. 1) or as being in company of the pitrs. In a few other places Yama is no doubt called *rājan* and praised in the same breath with Varuṇa (Rg. X. 14. 7). But such a position is very rarely mentioned. For the further development of Yama and his assistants as the punishers of men for evil deeds, vide pp. 159-160 above and notes 381-386.

There is another division of pitrs viz. *pitarah somavantah*,<sup>771</sup> *pitarah barhiṣadah*, *pitarah agniṣvātāh*. The latter two are named in Rg. X. 15. 4 and 11 (which occur also in Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 2). The Śat. Br. defines these as follows:—"those that performed a soma sacrifice are *pitarah somavantah*; those that offered cooked oblations (like *caru* and *puroḍāśa*) and secured a world are *pitarah barhiṣadah*; those that did none of these (two actions) and whom fire consumes when burning them are '*pitarah agniṣvātāh*;' these are the only ones that are *pitarah*." The Tai.<sup>772</sup> Br. has a somewhat similar passage and the Kāthaka Saṁhitā IX. 6. 17 also refers to these three kinds of *pitrs*. Later writers introduced certain changes in the meanings of the words for the different classes of *pitrs* and also increased the number of the classes of *pitrs*. For example, the Nandipurāṇa q. by Hemādri states: the *pitrs* of brāhmaṇas are called '*agniṣvātā*', those of kṣatriyas '*barhiṣadah*', those of vaiśyas '*kāvyas*', those of śūdras '*sukālin*' and those of mleccas and untouchables are called '*vyāma*'.<sup>773</sup> Even Manu

771. तद्ये सोमेनेजानाः । ते पितरः सोमवन्तोऽथ ये वृतेन पकेन लोकं जयन्ति ते पितरो बर्हिषदोऽथ ये ततो जात्यतरञ्च यानग्निरेव बहन्स्वद्यति ते पितरोऽग्निष्वात्ताः । एत उ ते ये पितरः । शतपथब्रा. II. 6.1.7.

772. पितृन् बर्हिषदो यजति ये वै यज्वानः ।...पितृन् अग्निष्वात्तान् यजति ये वा अयज्वानो गृहमेधिनः । ते पितरो अग्निष्वात्ताः । अग्निं कथ्यवाहनं यजति य एव पितृणामग्निः । तस्माद्वा वृषीयास्तुषबाक्षामनि युञ्जन्ति । एतावन्तो हीज्यन्ते । तै. ब्रा. I. 6.9.5. वायुपुराण (30.6-7) echoes this 'अग्निष्वात्ताः स्मृतास्ते वै पितरोऽग्नाहिताग्रयः । यज्वानस्तेषु ये ब्राह्मन् पितरः सोमपीधिनः । स्मृता बर्हिषदस्ते वै पितरोऽग्नाहिताग्रयः'.

773. अग्निष्वात्ता ब्राह्मणानां पितरः परिकीर्तिताः । राज्ञां बर्हिषदो नाम विज्ञां काव्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ सुकालिनस्तु शूद्राणां व्यामा म्लेच्छास्वजातिषु । q. by आ. प्र. p. 11 from हेमाद्रि; compare मनु III. 197,

(III. 193-198) mentions several classes of *pitrs*, connects *pitrs* called Somapās, Havirbhujah Aṅyapās and Sukalins with the four varpas and in III. 199 states that the *pitrs* of brāhmaṇas are designated as Anagnidagdha, Agnidagdha, Kāvya, Barhiṣad, Agniṣvāta and Saumya. Those verses of Manu appear to summarize different traditions about the several classes of *pitrs*. Vide Matsyapurāṇa 141. 4 for the same last four names and 141. 15-18 for their definitions. In Śātātapa-smṛti (VI. 5-6) twelve groups or divisions of *pitrs* are mentioned viz. pinḍabhājah (three), lepabhājah (three), Nāndimukhas (three) and Aśrumukhas (three). This is a classification of *pitrs* from two different standpoints. In Vāyu 72.1 and 73.60, Brhmāṇḍa (Upodghāta 9.53), Padma V. 9. 2-3, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 138. 2-3 and other Purāṇas the classes of *pitrs* are said to be seven, three of which are formless (*amūrtimat*) and four have forms (*mūrtimat*) and they and their offspring are described in detail. All this is passed over here. The Skandapurāṇa (VI. 216. 9-10) speaks of nine groups of *pitrs*, being Agniṣvātāḥ, Barhiṣadaḥ, Aṅyapāḥ, Somapāḥ, Rāsmipāḥ, Upahūtāḥ, those called 'āyantunah', Śrāddhabhujah, Nāndimukhah. In this list old and new elements are mixed up. The Indian mind often revels in divisions, sub-divisions and classifications without much basis therefor and this is probably an illustration of that tendency. Manu (III. 201) states that from the sages the *pitrs* sprang, from the *pitrs* sprang gods and human beings and from the gods arose the whole world whether moving or immovable. It is remarkable that here the gods are spoken of as springing from the *pitrs*. This is really a more eulogy of *pitrs* (i. e. it is an arthavāda).

The *pitrs* were in a class apart from the gods. On the meaning of the word 'pañcajanāḥ' occurring in Rg. X. 74 53, 4

774. पञ्च जना मम होत्रं जुषध्वम् । गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षासीत्येके । चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्येषामण्यवः । निरुक्त III. 8. The ऐ. भा. 13.7 has 'एतत्पञ्च जनानां मुख्यं देवमनुष्याणां गन्धर्वाप्तिरसौ सर्पोणां च पितॄणां च'. The real meaning of पञ्चजनाः is the same as that of पञ्चकुल्यः (in Rg. X. 60.4), पञ्च क्षितीर्मातृषीः (Rg. VII. 79.1), पञ्च चर्यणीः (Rg. V. 86.2) and we have यत् पञ्चजण्यया विशा in Rg. VIII. 63.7. पञ्चजनाः means विशा, the whole Aryan people divided probably into five clans. By the time of the Alt. Br. the original meaning of पञ्चजनाः was probably forgotten. The वेदान्तसूत्र (I. 4. 11-13) explains that the expression पञ्चजनानां occurring in Br. Up. IV. 4.17 refers to Prāṇa, Cakṣuḥ (eye), ear, food and mind occurring in the next verse (Br. Up. IV. 4.18). Śāṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra I. 4.12 states that the word पञ्चजन in Rg. VIII. 63.7 means *prajā* (people).

(*pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhvam*) and other passages, the Ait. Br. (13.7 or 3.31) explains that they are the five classes, viz. Gandharvas with Apsarases, *pitṛs*, *devas*, *sarpas* and *rūkṣasas*. The Nirukta III. 8 partly follows this explanation and also gives another. In the Atharvaveda X. 6. 32 the gods, *pitṛs* and men are mentioned in that order. The ancient Vedic texts and practice make a sharp distinction between the Gods and the *Pitṛs*. The Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1 states: 'the gods and men divided the quarters, the gods took the east, *pitṛs* the south, men the west and Rudras the north.' The general rule is that sacrifices for gods are begun in the forenoon, while the *pitṛ-yajña* is performed in the afternoon (Śān. Br.).<sup>775</sup> The Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 2 narrates that the *pitṛs* wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder (and under the left arm) and bending their left knee approached Prajāpati, when Prajāpati said to them 'you will have food at (the end of) each month (on the *Amāvāsyā*), your *svadhā* (cordial) will be swiftness of thought and the moon will be your light,' while to the gods he had said that sacrifice will be their food and the sun their light. The Tai. Br. <sup>776</sup> I. 3. 10. 4 appears to make a distinction between *pitṛs* who are of the nature and position of gods and *pitṛs* that are more or less like human beings.

The Kausika-sūtra (1. 9-23) neatly collects in one place the difference in the procedure of the rites meant for gods and for *pitṛs*. The performer of rites for gods wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right armpit, while in the case of the rites for *pitṛs* it is worn on the right shoulder and under the left arm; the rite for gods is either begun facing the east or north, while that for the *pitṛs* is begun facing the south; the rite for gods is finished in the north-east (or north or east), while that for the *pitṛs* is completed in the south-west; an action is done only once for *pitṛs*, while for gods at least thrice or as many times as the texts direct; in going round (perambulating) the right side is turned towards gods and the left one in the case of *pitṛs*; offerings are made to gods with the words 'svāhā' and 'vasat', while they are made to *pitṛs* with 'svadhā' and

775. अथ यद्वपराद्धे पितृयज्ञेन चरन्ति अपक्षयभाजो वै पितरः । शा. भा. V. 6.

776. देवान् वै पितृन् मीतान् मनुष्याः पितरोऽनुप्रपियते । तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति त्रिनिदधाति । षट् सम्पद्यते । षड् वा ऋतवः । ऋतवः खलु वै देवाः पितरः । ऋतेषु देवान् पितृन् मीणाति । तान् मीतामनुष्याः पितरोऽनुप्रपियते । तै. भा. I. 3. 10. 4 (com explains अनुप्रपियते as मीता भवन्ति). This is alluded to in the बाधुपुराण 30, 4 'मध्वादयः षड् ऋतवस्तान् पितरन्प्रचक्षते । ऋतवः पितरो देवा इत्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः ॥.'

'namaskāra'; the darbhās employed in rites for Fathers are those that are taken out from the earth with their roots, while for gods darbhās used are cut a little above the roots. The Baud. Śr. II. 2. also mentions some of these in one place.<sup>777</sup> The Rgveda itself (in X. 14. 3 'svāhānye svadhayānye madanti') marks this distinction in the words employed at the offerings to Gods and *Pitrs*. The Śat. Br. (II. 1, 3, 4 and II. 1, 4, 9) speaks of the gods as immortal and of the Fathers as mortal.

Though the gods and *pitrs* are placed in separate classes, still the *pitrs* partake of some characteristics of the divine. As Rg. X. 15. 8 shows, the *pitrs* drank Soma. In Rg. X. 68. 11 it is said that the *pitrs* adorned the sky with nakṣatras (nakṣatrebhiḥ pitaro dyām-apimśan) and placed darkness in the night and light in the day. The *pitrs* are said to have found out the light that was secreted and to have produced the Dawn (Rg. VII. 76. 4). Here the *pitrs* are credited with powers possessed by the highest gods. The *pitrs* are invoked with affection and regard for conferring various boons and their favour is sought in various ways. In Rg. X. 14. 6 the good will (*sumati*) and favour (*saumanasa*) of the *pitrs* are sought. In Rg. X. 15. 1. and 5 the protection of *pitrs* is sought. They are requested to grant happiness unmixed with trouble (Rg. X. 15. 4.), to bestow wealth on the sacrificer (Rg. X. 15. 7 and 11) and on his son. Rg. X. 15. 11 and A. V. 18. 3, 14<sup>778</sup> seek the bestowal of wealth and heroic sons. A. V. 14. 2. 73 says 'May the *pitrs* who throng round the bride to see her grant her happiness endowed with progeny.'<sup>779</sup> In the Vāj. S. II. 33 occurs<sup>780</sup> the well-known mantra 'Oh *pitrs*! deposit (in this wife) an

777. मागपवर्माण्युदगपवर्गाणि वा मावृक्षः प्रदक्षिणं यज्ञोपवीती वैशानि कर्माणि करोति । दक्षिणावृक्षः प्रसव्यं माचीनावीती पित्र्याणि । जी. औ. II. 2.

778. पता यात पितर आ च याताय वो यज्ञो मधुना समक्तः । दत्तो अस्मभ्यं द्विविण्णं भद्रं रयिं च नः सर्ववीरं दधात । अथर्ववेद 18. 3. 14.

779. ये पितरो वधूदक्षा इमं बहनुमागमन् । ते अस्यै वध्वै संपत्यै प्रजावच्छर्मं यच्छन्तु ॥ अथर्व 14. 2. 73.

780. आधत्त पितरो गर्भं कुमारं पुष्करलजम् । यथेह पुरुषोऽसत् ॥ वाज. सं. II. 33. The स्वाविरयुह्य III. 5. 30 provides 'मध्यमं पिण्डं पुत्रकामा प्राशयेदाधत्तेति'; vide गोभिलयुह्य IV. 3. 27 and also कौशिकसूत्र 89. 6. The आश्व. औ. II. 7. 13 reads पत्नीं प्राशयेदाधत्त पितरो...लजम् । यथायमस्या असत्'. The *Asvins* are called पुष्करलजौ and so in पुष्करलजं the idea is that the son may be long-lived and handsome. यथेह...असत् may be explained as 'येन प्रकारेण इदं क्षितिं पुरुषो देवपितृमनुष्याणाम-मोक्षपूरयिता भूयात् तथा गर्भमाधत्त ।' ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध. कात्या. औ. IV. 1. 22 also says आधत्तेति मध्यमपिण्डं पत्नीं प्राशति पुत्रकामा.

embryo, a child that (will wear later) a garland of lotuses so that he may become a grown-up male' repeated when the wife of the performer of the śrāddha eats the middle one out of the three pinḍas. It should not be, however, supposed that the element of fear of the pitrs is altogether wanting.<sup>780a</sup> For example, Rg. X. 15. 6 prays 'whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men do not injure us for that.' In Rg. III. 55. 2 we read 'May the gods and the ancient pitrs who know the place (of the cows or the path) not harm us here.' In Rg. X. 66. 14 it is said 'the Vasiṣṭhas praising the gods fashioned speech (hymns) like pitrs and like sages.' Here pitrs and ṛṣis are separate groups and Vasiṣṭhas are compared to both.<sup>780b</sup>

In many passages of the Vedic Literature the word *pitrah* is applied to the three immediate deceased male ancestors of a man. 'Therefore up to three generations they specify (the ancestors) by name; for so many are the ones to whom sacrifice is offered' (vide n. 772 above). The Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 19<sup>781</sup> mentions the presentation formulas of the cakes to the father, grand-father and great-grand-father and

780 a. Compare Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (pp. 24-25) for fear and affection as the elements of the attitude towards the dead among primitive as well as civilized men.

780 b. देवाः सौम्याश्च काम्याश्च अयज्जानो ह्यपोनिजाः। देवर्षेते पितरः सर्वे देवास्ताम्राद्यन्त्युत॥ मनुष्यपितरश्चैव तेभ्योऽग्रे लोकिकाः स्मृताः। पिता पितामहश्चैव तथा यः प्रपितामहः॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II. 28.70-71; आङ्गिराश्च क्रतुश्चैव कश्यपश्च महावृषिः। एते कुरुकुलश्रेष्ठ महायोगेश्वराः स्मृताः। एते च पितरो राजर्षेण आद्विविधिः परः। प्रेतास्तु पिण्डसम्बन्धान्मृच्यन्ते तेन कर्मणा॥ अनु. 92.21-22. This last shows that ancient sages like अंगिरस्, क्रतु and कश्यप are pitrs to whom water is offered (and no पिण्डs), while pinḍas are offered to one's immediate deceased ancestors.

781. स ददाति। असावेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च स्वामित्वं ह्येके आहुस्वकु तथा न ज्ञात् स्वयं वे तेषां सह येषां सह तस्माद् ज्ञयादसावेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे असावेतत् इति पितामहायासावेतत् इति प्रपितामहाय। तस्य दितः पराग्वदाति सकृदु होव पराश्वः पितरः। ज्ञतपथ II. 8.4.2. The तै. सं. I.8.5.1 is: सोमाय पितुमते पुरोडासां षट्कपालं निर्वपति पितृभ्यो बर्हिषद्भ्यो धानाः पितृभ्योऽग्निष्वात्तेभ्योऽभिवान्याये दुग्धे मन्धश्च। एतत् ते तत ये च स्वामन् एतत् ते पितामह प्रपितामह ये च स्वामन् अत्र पितरो यथामागं मन्धश्च। Again in तै. सं. III. 2.5.5 occurs the passage 'एतत् ते तत...मन्धश्च'। This is carried on to later times as in अनु. 92.15 'सोमायेति च षक्तुर्ध्वं तथा पितुमते च'। Vide also अथर्व. 18. 4. 71-77 'अग्रे कश्यपाहनाय स्वधा नमः। सोमाय पितुमते स्वधा नमः। पितृभ्यः सोमवद्भ्यः स्वधा नमः। यमाय पितुमते स्वधा नमः। एतत् प्रततमिह स्वधा ये च स्वामन्। एतत् ततामह स्वधा ये च स्वामन्। एतत् तत स्वधा।' In Rg. IX. 11.2.3 कारुहं ततो भिषक्, तत means 'father'. नपात् (=पौत्र) and प्रणपात् (प्रपौत्र) occur in Rg. VIII. 17.13,

then states that the performer mutters the words "here, O fathers! regale yourselves, like bulls come here each to his own share" (Vāj. S. II. 31 first half). Some (such as Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1) repeated the formula "this here (ball of rice) is for thee and (for those) that come after thee." But the Śat. Br. emphatically says that he should not offer with this formula, but rather with the formula 'this here is for thee.' In Śat. Br. XII. 8. 1. 7 the three immediate paternal ancestors are said to be svadhā-loving. Relying on these Vedic passages and on the fact that Manu (III. 221) and Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (21. 3, 75. 4) prescribe the invocation of pitṛs after mentioning their gotra and names that the Śrāddhaprakāśa (p. 13) concludes that it is really the father and the other ancestors that are the deities of śrāddha and not Vasu, Rudra and Āditya, since these latter have no gotra and that the description of the father and others as Vasu, Rudra and Āditya is meant only for contemplation (on them as identical with Vasus &c.). On a passage of the Brahmapurāṇa<sup>782</sup> prescribing that the performer should say to the invited brāhmaṇas that he would call the pitṛs to the rites and that when the brāhmaṇas give permission to call them he should do so, the Śr. P. (p. 204) remarks that the pitṛs here meant are the divine ones viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas and also the human ones viz. the performer's father and the rest. The Vāyupurāṇa (56. 65-66) Brahmanḍa and Anu. distinguish between pitṛs who are above and pitṛs who are *laukika*, viz. father, grand-father and great-grand-father. Vide also Vāyu 70. 34 for pitṛs that are like gods.

In the post-Vedic Literature, particularly in the Purāṇas, a great deal is said about the origin and classes of pitṛs. For example, the Vāyupurāṇa 56. 18 speaks of three classes of pitṛs viz. 'kāvyāḥ, barhiṣadaḥ and agnisvāttāḥ', while the same Purāṇa, chap. 73, Varāha 13. 16 ff, Padma (Śṛṣṭi 9. 2-4) and Brahmanḍa III. 10.1 speak of the origin of pitṛs of seven classes that dwell in heaven, four of which have a form (*mūrtimat*) and three of which are without form (*amūrta*). The Śātātapa-smṛti (6. 5-6) speaks of 12 pitṛs viz. pīṇabhājāḥ, lepabhājāḥ, nāṇḍimukhāḥ and āśrumukhāḥ. All such descriptions have to be passed over from considerations of space.

782. ब्रह्मपुराणे । पितृनावाहयामीति श्रयमुक्त्वा समाहितः । आवाहयस्वेति परैरुक्तत्वा-  
वाहयेच्छुचिः॥ पितरो दिव्याः बभूवुर्मादित्याः मातृषाः यजमानस्य पित्रादयः । आ. म. p. 204.

From the sūtra period (about 600 B. C.) to the most modern among medieval Dharmaśāstra works the authors wax eloquent over the praises or the importance or benefits of the institution of śrāddhas. One of the earliest works among these, viz. the Āp. Dh. S. gives the following interesting information:<sup>783</sup> "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. The gods went to heaven owing to sacrifices (i. e. as a reward of sacrifices that they performed), but men remained behind. Those among men who perform sacrifices in the same way as the gods did, dwell in the other world (i. e. heaven) with the gods and Brahman. Then (seeing that men lagged behind) Manu promulgated the rite which is designated by the word 'śrāddha' and which tends to the salvation (or happiness) of mankind. In this rite the Manes (*pitarāḥ*) are the deities but the *brāhmapas* (that are fed) are in the place of the *ūhavaniya* fire (in which in sacrifices to gods oblations are offered)". On account of this last sūtra Haradatta (com. of Āp. Dh. S.) and others hold that feeding the *brāhmapas* is the principal act at a śrāddha. The Brahmandapurāṇa (Upodghātapāda 9, 15. and 10, 99) speaks of Manu as the promulgator of śrāddha rites and Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 1. 30, Vāyu 44. 38 and Bhāgavata III. 1. 22 designate Manu as Śrāddha-deva. Similarly, in the Śāntiparva 345.<sup>784</sup> 14-21 and the Viṣṇu-dharmottara I. 139. 14-16 it is stated that the institution of śrāddha was established in the Boar incarnation by Viṣṇu and that Viṣṇu should be regarded as dwelling in the three *piṇḍas* offered to the father, grand-father and great-grandfather. From this and from the passage of the Āp. Dh. S. cited above we may infer that it was believed even several centuries before Christ that the institution of śrāddhas had a hoary antiquity behind it and that it was as old as Manu, the father of mankind according to the R̥gveda (VIII. 63. 1, VIII. 30. 3). It is, however, very remarkable that the word 'śrāddha' itself does not occur in any undoubtedly authentic and ancient Vedic passage, though the rite called *Piṇḍapitr-yajña*<sup>785</sup> (performed on the *amūvāsyā* of each month by an

783. सह देवमनुष्या अस्मिँल्लोके पुरा बभूवुः। अथ देवाः कर्मभिविं जग्मुरहीयन्त मनुष्याः। तेषां ये तथा कर्माण्यारभन्ते सह देवैर्ब्रह्मणा चास्मिँल्लोके भवन्ति। अथैतन्मनुः आद्भशब्दं कर्म प्रोवाच। प्रजानिःश्रेयसाय च। तत्र पितरो देवता ब्राह्मणस्त्वाहवनीयार्थं। आप. ध. सू. II. 7.16. 1-3.

784. पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः। अहमेवात्र विज्ञेयस्त्रिषु पिण्डेषु संभितः। शान्ति 345. 21, q. by आ. प्र. p. 11.

785. That पिण्डपितृयज्ञ is a आद्भ is stated by गोभिलगृह्य IV. 4. 1-2 'अन्वष्टवयस्थालीपाकेन पिण्डपितृयज्ञो व्याख्यातः। अमावास्यां तच्छ्राद्धमितरद्वन्माहार्यम्।' Vide आ. प्र. p. 4 for the same. For a description of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1085-1090, for महापितृयज्ञ *ibid.* pp. 1101-1103.



*Ahūtāgni*), the *Mahāpitrayajña* (performed in the *Cāturmāsya* called *Sākamedha*) and the rites called *Aṣṭakās* were known to the early Vedic literature. The word *śrāddha* occurs in the *Kāthopaniṣad* (1. 3. 17) 'whoever proclaims this highly esoteric doctrine in an assembly of *brāhmaṇas* or at the time of *śrāddha* tends to secure immortality.'<sup>786</sup> The other early occurrences of the word *śrāddha* known to me are confined to the *sūtra* literature. The most reasonable and probable inference to be drawn from these facts is this that only a few rites (mentioned just above) were known as related to the *pitṛs* and that therefore no need arose for a generic term in very ancient times to comprehend several rites for the *pitṛs*. But when the number of rites in honour of *pitṛs* increased, the generic term '*śrāddha*' was hit upon.

A few samples of the panegyrics on *śrāddha* may be set out here. The Baud.<sup>787</sup> Dh. S. states that rites for the Fathers confer long life, heaven, fame and prosperity. The *Harivamśa*<sup>788</sup> says 'the world derives support from *śrāddha* and *Yoga* (i. e. *Mokṣa*) springs from it.' Sumantu<sup>789</sup> quoted in the *Smṛticandrikā* (*śrāddha* p. 333) states 'nothing else is declared to be more beneficial than *śrāddha*.' The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (III. 14. 1-4) avers that if a man performs *śrāddha* with faith he thereby propitiates *Brahmā*, *Indra*, *Rudra* and the other gods, sages, birds, men, beasts, creeping animals, hosts of *pitṛs* and whatever else is styled a being and the whole world. *Yāj. I. 270*<sup>790</sup> promising long life and several other benefits arising from gratifying *pitṛs* has already been quoted above (p. 337). *Yama* has a similar verse. It is said in a passage of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*<sup>791</sup> quoted by the *Śrāddhasāra* (p. 6) and *Śrāddhaprakāśa* (pp. 11-12) that the *pinḍa* offered to the

786. य इमं परमं शुभं आवयेद् ब्रह्मसंसादि। ययतः आद्धकाले वा तदानन्त्याय कल्पते॥ कठ० I. 3. 17.

787. पित्र्यमायुष्यं स्वर्ग्यं यशस्यं पुष्टिकर्म च। बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 1.

788. आद्धे प्रतिष्ठितो लोकः आद्धे योगः प्रवर्तते। हरिवंश I. 21. 1.

789. आद्धात्परतरे नाम्यच्छेयस्करमुदाहृत्य। तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन आद्धं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः॥ सुमन्तु q. by स्मृतिच. (आ.). p. 333.

790. आयुः पुत्रान् यशः स्वर्गं कीर्तिं पुष्टिं बलं भियः। पशून् सौर्यं धनं धान्यं प्रादुयापितुपूजनात्॥ यम q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 333), आद्धसार p. 5. Similar verses are यāj. I. 270 (= *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 32.38) and शङ्ख 14. 33.

791. पुजितैस्तैर्भविष्यामि चतुरात्मा तथाप्यहम्। पितृपैतामहः पिण्डो वासुदेवः प्रकीर्तितः। पैतामहश्च निदिष्टस्तथा सङ्कर्षणः प्रभुः। पितृपिण्डश्च विज्ञेयः प्रच्युन्नश्चापराजितः। आत्मानिरुद्धो विज्ञेयः पिण्डनिर्वपणे बुधैः॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 139.20-22, q. by आद्धसार p. 6 and आद्धप्र. pp. 11-12.

great-grandfather is declared to be god Vāsudeva himself, the one to the grandfather is designated Saṅkarsaṇa, that to the father is known as Pradyumna and the offerer of the piṇḍas is himself in the position of Aniruddha. In Śāntiparva 345. 21 it is stated that Viṣṇu should be looked upon as staying in the three piṇḍas. In the Kūrmapurāṇa it is stated 'on the day of *Amāvāsyā* the pitṛs assuming an aerial form come to the door of their former haunt and mark whether śrāddha is being performed by men of their family. This they do till sunset. When the sun sets, being oppressed by hunger and thirst, they become full of despair and feel sorrow, breathe heavily for a long time and go away condemning their descendants. The pits of him who does not offer śrāddha on amāvāsyā, even with water or vegetables, go away after cursing him'.

It is necessary to say a few words about the derivation of the word 'śrāddha'. That the word is derived from 'śraddhā' is quite clear. In the definition quoted above from the Brahmapurāṇa and the definition<sup>792</sup> given by Marici and Bṛhaspati the connection of śrāddha with śraddhā is emphasized. In śrāddha one entertains the firm faith or conviction that what is given up to the brāhmaṇas for the benefit of the departed man or the Fathers will reach him or them in some way. The Skandapurāṇa VI. 218.3 says that śrāddha is so called because śraddhā is the root (or main spring) of that rite. This means that there is not only the conviction stated above but that there is a firm belief that a person is under an obligation to offer it. Śraddhā is deified and addressed as a deity in Rg. 793 X. 151. 1-5, the first verse of which is explained in the Nirukta (IX. 31). The word also occurs in Rg. II. 26. 3, VII. 32. 14, VIII. 1. 31, IX. 113. 4. In some verses the two components of the word 'śraddhā' (viz. 'śrat' and 'dhā') are separated without any change in the meaning. For example, in Rg. II. 12. 5 (= A. V. 20. 34. 5) it is said 'Have faith in him; O people! he is Indra'. In Rg. X. 147. 1, addressed to Indra, we have 'I have faith in that high wrath of yours &c.' (śratte dadhāmi

792. मेतं पितृभ्य निर्विश्य भोज्यं यत्प्रियमात्मनः। अद्भया दीयते यत्र तद्भ्रातृं परि-  
कीर्तितम् ॥ श्रीचिं quoted from the पुराणीचन्द्रोदय by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 372, आ.  
प्र. p. 7; संस्कृतं व्यञ्जनादयं च ययोमपुष्टताञ्चितम्। अद्भया दीयते यस्माद्भ्रातृं तेन निगद्यते॥  
बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152, अपराकं p. 501, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 176), आ. प्र. p. 3,  
आद्भुतचर p. 189 quotes it as पुलस्त्यम्.

793. अद्भयाग्निः समिध्यते अद्भया हव्यते हरिः। अद्भ्यां भगव्यं मूर्धनि वचसो वेदया-  
मसि ॥ ऋ. X. 151. 1.

*prathamāya manyave*). In the Tai. S. VII. 4. 1. 1. it is <sup>794</sup> said "Bṛhaspati desired 'may the gods put faith in me, may I reach the position of being their priest'". Vide also Rg. I. 103. 5. *śrat* and *śraddhā* are both mentioned in the Nīghaṇṭu (III. 10) as meaning 'satya'. In the Vāj. S. 19.77 we are told that Prajāpati put Śraddhā in truth and aśraddhā in falsehood, while in Vāj. S. 19.30, it is said that truth is obtained by śraddhā.

In the post-vedic Literature, Pāṇini explains the forms 'śrāddhin' and 'śrāddhika' in V. 2. 85, in the sense of 'one who has eaten a śraddha dinner.' The word 'śraddha' may be derived from śraddhā according to Pāṇ. V. 1. 109 <sup>795</sup>. Śraddhā is variously defined. In the *bhāṣya* on Yogasūtra I. 20, 'śraddhā' is defined as the composure of the mind <sup>796</sup> (or mental approval). Devala defines śraddhā: 'confidence (in the efficacy) of religious acts is called śraddhā; one who has no faith has no reason (or motive) for engaging in religious acts' <sup>797</sup>. The Śrāddhasūtra <sup>798</sup> of Kātyāyana prescribes 'one endowed with śraddhā should offer śraddha even with vegetables (if nothing else is available)'. Vide Manu III. 275 which emphasizes śraddhā for the gratification of pitṛs. The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (29. 27) emphasizes <sup>799</sup> the relation of śraddha to śraddhā and states that what is offered at śraddhas becomes transformed into that kind of food for the use of the *pitṛs* who require food in the new bodies they might have assumed according to the doctrine of *karma* and *punarjanma* and it also remarks that śraddha offered with wealth acquired in an improper or unjust way is a means of gratification to the pitṛs that are born as cāṇḍālas, pukkāsas and similar very low grades of people.

794. बृहस्पतिरकामयत् अन्मे देवा बधीरन् गच्छेय पुरोधामिति । तै. सं. VII. 4. 1. 1.

795. प्रयोजनम् । पा. V. 1. 109; तद्व्यत्येव । सि. कौ.; अद्धा प्रयोजनं (कारणं) अर्थ इति आहुम्.

796. अद्धा चेतसः संमसादः । सा हि जननीय कल्याणी योगिनं वाति । योगसूत्रभाष्य I. 20.

797. प्रत्ययो धर्मकार्येषु तथा अद्धेत्पुत्राद्वता । नास्ति ह्यअद्धधानस्य धर्मकृत्ये प्रयोजनम् ॥ देवल q. by कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 16 and आहुतत्त्व p. 189.

798. अद्धाश्रितः आहुं कुर्वीत शाकेनापि । आहुसूत्र of कात्यायन q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152.

799. अद्धया परया वत्तं पितृणां नामगोत्रतः । यदाहारस्तु ते जातास्तदाहारत्वमेति तत् ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 27; अग्न्यायोपाजितैरर्थैर्बद्धाहुं क्रियते नरैः । तृप्यन्ते तेन चाण्डालः पुत्रस्तादासु योगिषु ॥ मार्कण्डेय 28. 16, स्कन्द VII. 1. 205. 22.

It has already been stated above (pp. 349-350) that in very ancient times there were only three rites for departed ancestors, viz. Piṇḍa-pitr-yajña (offered by those who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or monthly śrāddha in the case of those who had not done so (vide e. g. Āśv. Gr. II. 5. 10, Hir. Gr. II. 10. 1, Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 1, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 3 &c.), the Mahāpitr-yajña and the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. The first two have been already described in vol. II. (as said above), but the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas have not been described at all so far. Therefore some remarks will be offered here about them. They are of special importance, but the authorities present great variations on almost all points such as the number of days and the months in which they were to be performed, the deities to be worshipped, the offerings to be made and the procedure to be followed.

Gaut. (VIII. 19) mentions 'Aṣṭakā' rite as the first among the seven kinds of *pākayajñas* and as one of the forty *saṃskāras*. Aṣṭakā appears to have meant the 8th *tithi* in any month after the Full Moon day (vide Śat. Br. VI. 4. 2. 10). The Śat. Br. states<sup>800</sup> 'On the 8th day (after full moon) he (the performer of *agnicayana*) collects the materials for the fire pan, for sacred to Prajāpati is the 8th day (after full moon) and sacred to Prajāpati is this rite viz. the firepan.' Śabara in his *Bhāṣya* on Jai.<sup>801</sup> I. 3. 2 cites a verse occurring in the A. V. III. 10. 2 and in the Āp. M. P. II. 20. 27 as a *mantra* indicative of Aṣṭakā. The mantra is "May that (Aṣṭakā) night be very auspicious for us, whom people welcome like a cow coming towards a person and which is the wife of the Year.' In the A. V. III. 10. 8 the Ekāṣṭakā is said to have the year (Sāmvatsara) as husband. The Tai. S. VII. 4. 8. 1. provides<sup>802</sup> 'Men about to take dīkṣā (consecration) for a *Sāmvatsarasattra* should undergo dīkṣā on the *Ekāṣṭakā*; what is called Ekāṣṭakā is the wife of the year.' Jai. (VI. 5. 32-37) explains that Ekāṣṭakā is the 8th *tithi* after the Full Moon of Māgha. The Āp. Gr. (quoted by Haradatta

800. अष्टकायामुक्ता सम्भरति । प्राजापत्यमेतद्वर्त्यद्वष्टका प्राजापत्यमेतत्कर्म यदुक्त्वा प्राजापत्य एव तद्वन् प्राजापत्यं कर्म करोति । ज्ञातपथः VI. 2. 2. 23.

801. अष्टकालिङ्गपथ मन्त्रा वेदे द्वयस्ते यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्तित्येषमाद्यः । शबर on जै. I. 3. 2. The verse as read by शबर on जै. VI. 5. 35 is: यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्ति रात्रिं धेनुमिवायतीम् । संवत्सरस्य या परमी सा नो अस्तु सुमङ्गली ॥ and he adds 'अष्टकायै सुराधत्ते स्वाहा'. In the A. V. III. 10. 2 the readings are देवाः for जनाः and धेनुमुपायतीम्.

802. संवत्सराय दीक्षिष्यमणा एकावकायां दीक्षेरजेवा वै संवत्सरस्य परमी यद्वैकावका । ते सं. VII. 4. 8. 1.

on Gaut. 8. 19) says <sup>803</sup> the same, but adds that on it (the 8th *tithi*) the moon is in *Jyesthā* constellation. This means that if the 8th *tithi* is spread over two days, then that day on which the moon is in *Jyesthā* would be called *Ekāṣṭakā*.<sup>804</sup> The Hir. Gr. (II 15. 9) also says that *Ekāṣṭakā* is called the wife of the year.<sup>805</sup>

According to the Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 1 the *Aṣṭakā* days (and rites) were four, viz. the 8th *tithis* of the dark halves of the four months of the two seasons of *hemanta* and *śiśira* (i. e. of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, *Pauṣa*, *Māgha* and *Phālguna*). Most of the *Grhya-sūtras* viz. *Mānava* Gr. II 8, *Sāṅ.* Gr. III. 12. 1, *Khādīra* Gr. III. 3. 27, *Kāthaka* Gr. 61. 1, *Kausītaki* Gr. III. 15. 1 and *Pār.* Gr. III. 3 say that there are only three *Aṣṭakā* rites viz. on the 8th after the Full Moon day of *Mārgaśīrṣa* (called *āgrahāyaṇī*) i. e. in the dark halves of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, *Pauṣa* (or *Taiṣa*) and *Māgha*. The *Gobhila* Gr. III. 10. 48 mentions that the *Aṣṭakās* are four according to *Kautsa* and in all flesh is to be offered, but that *Gautama*, *Audgāmaṇi* and *Vārkakhaṇḍi* prescribe only three and *Gobhila* follows these latter. The *Baud.* Gr. II. 11. 1 provides that the three *Aṣṭakā* homas are performed in the months of *Taiṣa*, *Māgha* and *Phālguna*. Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 2 refers to an option that *Aṣṭakā* rites were performed only on one *Aṣṭamī* (and not on three or four). The *Baud.* Gr. provides that <sup>806</sup> the rite may be compressed into the three days (7th, 8th and 9th) of the dark half of *Māgha* or even in one day (i. e. 8th of the dark half of *Māgha*). The *Hir.* Gr. (II. 14. 2)

803. वा मास्यः पूर्णिमास्या उपरिष्टाद् व्यष्टका तस्यामहमी ज्येष्ठया सम्पद्यते तामेकादशेराचक्षते । आप. दृ. VIII. 21.10 ; अष्टकां स्वाक्यास्यामः । माध्याः पूर्णिमास्या योऽवरपक्षस्तस्यामहमीमेकादशेराचक्षते । हिर. दृ. II. 14.1-2. Both अनाकुला and तात्पर्यहर्षान explain व्यष्टका as कुण्डपक्षः.

804 According to a *Vārtika* on *Pāṇ.* VII. 3. 45 the word *Aṣṭakā* is formed from 'aṣṭan.' वार्तिक 9 on पाणिनि VII. 3.45 teaches that from अष्टन् we get *Aṣṭakā* as meaning a rite in which the *pitṛs* are the deities and *Aṣṭikā* in any other sense (such as अष्टिका खारी).

805 The Full Moon night of *Māgha* is said to be the mouth of the year i. e. the year began on that day in ancient times. The *Aṣṭakā* day after the Full Moon day was the first and most important festival after the Full Moon and it was younger than the beginning of the year. It is probable that because of this it was spoken of as the wife of the year.

806. अथाष्टकाहोमः । तेने मासवरपक्षस्याहम्यां क्रियेत । एवं मासे एवं कालगुणे यद्धि विद्वतः । एषु वै समस्त उपरिष्टामाध्याः पूर्णिमास्या अपरपक्षस्य सप्तम्यामहम्यां नवम्यामिति क्रियेतापि वाहम्यामेव । बौ. दृ. II. 11.1-4.

describes only one Aṣṭakā rite viz. the Ekāṣṭakā in the dark half of Māgha. The Bhāradvāja Grhya II. 15 also speaks of only Ekāṣṭakā but adds that the 8th of the dark half of Māgha on which the moon is in Jyesthā is called Ekāṣṭakā. According to Hir. Gr. II. 14 and 15 the one Aṣṭakā extended over three days viz. 8th, 9th (on which a cow was sacrificed for the *pīṭrs*) and 10th (which was the Anvaṣṭakā). The Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra (ed. by Caland) IV. 8 says that Aṣṭakā is to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Māgha and Bhādrapada or on the 7th, 9th or 10th tithi.

There is divergence in the offerings also. The Kāthaka Gr (61. 3), Jaimini Gr. 2. 3 and Śān. Gr. (III. 12. 2) provide that on the three different Aṣṭakās the offerings are of cooked vegetables, flesh and *apūpas* (cakes), while the Pār. Gr. III. 3 and Khādīra Gr. III. 3. 29-30 put *apūpas* for the first Aṣṭakā (and hence Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 9 designates it *apūpāṣṭakā*) and boiled vegetables on the last. According to Khādīra Gr. III. 4. 1 a cow is sacrificed. According to Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 7-10, Gobhila Gr. IV. 1. 18-22, Kauśika 138. 2, Baud. Gr. II. 11. 51-61, on the 8th day very many options are given, viz. either to sacrifice a cow or a ram or a goat; or to offer some jungle flesh that may be available or flesh mixed with sesame and honey, or flesh of the rhinoceros, deer, buffalo, ram, boar, spotted deer, hare, Rohita deer, pigeons, śāringa and other birds, or an old red goat; fishes or rice cooked in milk so as to form thin gruel, or gifts only of uncooked corn or fruits and roots, or gold may be offered or only grass for cows or oxen or one may burn some thickets in a forest or present jars for holding water to those deeply learned in the Veda or should recite the mantras relating to śrāddhas, saying 'this is the Aṣṭakā 1 offer,' but one should not remain without observing the Aṣṭakā day in some such manner as the above.<sup>807</sup>

It is remarkable that although the Vārtika quoted above, and the Kāthakagrhya 61. 1 state that the word 'Aṣṭakā' is

807. अथ यद्धि नो न लभते मेधमजं वा लभते। आरण्येन वा मांसेन यथोपपन्नेन। खड्गसुगमद्विषमेधवराहपृषतशशरोहितशार्ङ्गवृत्तिरिक्तापेक्षयाऽपि खलुवाधोऽनसामशयं तिलमधुसंघट्टम्। तथा मत्स्यस्य शतवलेः (?) क्षीरोदनेन वा दूपोदनेन वा। यद्वा भवत्यामिर्वा मूलफलैः प्रक्षानमात्रम्। हिरण्येन वा प्रक्षानमात्रम्। अपि वा गोघ्रासमाहरेत्। अपि बान्धवान्ग्य उदकुम्भानाहरेत्। अपि वा आद्रमन्त्रानधीयीत। अपि वारण्येना कक्षधुपोवेदेषा मेऽहमेति। न रवेचानहकः स्यात्। नौ. सू. II. 11. 51-61; अहकायामहकाहोमाहुद्रयात्। तस्या ऋषीणि धानाः करम्भः कण्डूरुवः पुरोडाश उद्धीवनः क्षीरोद्वनस्तिलोद्वनो यथोपपाद्विपद्भ्यः। कौशिकसूत्र 168.1-2. For चार्धमिजस, vide note (951) below.

applied to a rite in which the *pitrs* are the deities worshipped, the greatest divergence prevails as to the *devatā* of the *Aṣṭakās*. The *Āsv. Gr.* (II. 4. 3 and II. 5. 3-5) provides that on the 7th of the dark half the offerings are made to the *pitrs* and on the 9th also, but *Āsv. II. 4. 12* refers to the eight options as regards the deity of the 8th day, viz. *Viśve-devāḥ* (all the gods), *Agni*, *Sūrya*, *Prajāpati*, *Rātri* (night), *Nakṣatras* (constellations), the seasons, the *Pitrs*, *Paśus* (cattle). The *Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 1* starts <sup>808</sup> by saying that Night is the *devatā* of *Aṣṭakā*, but adds that there are other views about the *devatā* being *Agni*, the *Pitrs*, *Prajāpati*, *Rtus* (seasons) or all Gods.

The procedure of *Aṣṭakā* comprises three parts, viz. *homa*, inviting *brāhmaṇas* for dinner (up to seeing them go away after dinner) and the rite called *Anvāṣṭakya* or *Anvāṣṭakā*. When the *Aṣṭakās* were deemed to be three or four performed in the several months noted above, all these were gone through at each *Aṣṭakā*. When the *Aṣṭakā* rite was performed only in one month i. e. after the Full moon in *Māgha*, the above parts were performed on three days, 7th, 8th and 9th of the dark half. When compressed in one day only, they must have been performed one after another on the same day.

Many of the *Grhyasūtras*, such as those of *Āśvalāyana*, *Kauśika*, *Gobhila*, *Hiranyakeśin* and *Baudhāyana* describe a very elaborate procedure in the case of *Aṣṭakās*. One of the shortest being that contained in *Āp. Gr.* (VIII. 21 and 22) is given here by way of sample <sup>808a</sup>. After defining *Ekāṣṭakā* (in VIII. 21. 10) *Āp.* proceeds: 'He (the performer of the *Aṣṭakā* rite) should perform subsidiary (or preparatory) rites in the evening of the previous day (i. e. on the 7th of the dark half). He cooks (or bakes) a cake from rice taken up (from a heap) in four cups; according to some teachers the cake is prepared on eight potsherds (like a *puroḍāśa*). After the actions up to the

808. अष्टका रात्रिदेवता । शुद्धिकर्मा । आग्नेयी पित्र्या वा माजापत्यतुदेवता वैश्वदेवति देवताविचारः । गोभिलशृङ्ग III. 10.1-3.

808 a. या माध्या...स्यान्वक्षते । तस्याः सायमीपकार्यम् । अपूर्णं खतुःशरावं अपयति । अष्टकावाल इत्येके । पार्वणवद्वाज्यभागान्तेऽलिनोत्तरयापूपाञ्जहति । सिद्धः शेषस्तमष्टका कृत्वा माह्वणेभ्य उपहरति । श्वोभूते दुर्भेण माधुपाकरोति पितृभ्यस्त्वा जुष्टाधुपाकरोमीति । तूर्ण्यो पञ्चाज्याहुतीर्भूत्वा तस्यै वर्षा अपयित्वापस्तीर्णाभिधारितां मध्यमेनान्तमेन वा पलाशपर्णेनोत्तरया जुहोति । मांसीद्वनमुत्तराभिः । पिडाजमुत्तरया । आज्याहुतीरुत्तराः । स्विष्टकृत्यभूति समानमा-  
सिन्धुभिधानात् । अन्वष्टकायामेतेके पिण्डनिधानमुपविशन्ति । अथैतद्वपरं दूधेन एवाञ्जलिना जुहोति यथापुण्यम् । अत एव यथार्थं मांसं शिष्ट्वा श्वोभूतेनष्टका । तस्या मासिश्चाग्नेन कल्पो  
व्याख्यातः । आप. श्रु. VIII. 21.10-VIII. 22.12.

'Ājyabhāgas'<sup>809</sup> have been performed in the same way as at the Amāvāsyā and Full Moon sacrifices he makes with his joined hands oblations of the cakes with the next verse<sup>810</sup>. The rest of the cake that is already baked is divided by him into eight parts and offered to the brāhmanas<sup>811</sup>. On the following day he prepares the cow for immolation by touching her with a *darbhā* with the words 'I make thee that are agreeable to the Fathers ready (for sacrifice)'. Having silently (i. e. without uttering the word *svāhā*) offered five<sup>812</sup> oblations of clarified butter, having cooked the omentum of that (cow) and having spread under (the cooked omentum) and sprinkled over it clarified butter he offers it with a *palāśa* leaf from the middle or the end of the stalk with the next verse (i. e. Āp. M. P. II. 20. 28).<sup>813</sup> He offers boiled rice together with the flesh (of the cow) with the next verses (seven from Āp. M. P. II. 20. 29-35). He offers the food of flour cooked (in milk) with the next verse (Āp. M. P. II. 21. 1 'Ukthyaścātīrātraśca').<sup>814</sup> Then (he offers) the oblations of clarified butter with the following (eight) verses (Āp. M. P. II. 21. 2-9). The rites from Svistakṛt<sup>815</sup> down to the placing of the *pinḍas* are the same as at the monthly śrāddha (described in Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 1-9). Some teachers prescribe that the *pinḍas* are to be offered the day after the Aṣṭakā (i. e. on the 9th of the dark half). Here follows another method (of celebrating the Aṣṭakā rite). He sacrifices curds with his joined hands in the same way as he offers the cake. Having left over from the meat (of the cow) as much as may be required, he performs on the day following

809. For Ājyabhāgas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1059, 1060.

810. The Āp. Gr. S. here and elsewhere refers to the collection of Mantras called Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha (edited by Dr. Winternitz). The verse meant here is Āp. M. P. (II. 20. 27), quoted above in n 801 (Yām janāḥ &c.).

811. The words 'siddbah śesaḥ' are explained by the Anākulā (of Haradatta) as meaning 'the rest of the rites are the usual ones without alterations'.

812. As no *devatā* is expressly named, the offerings must be taken to be made to Prajāpati.

813. Āp. M. P. II. 20. 28 is the *mantra* 'vaha vapām' (carry the omentum to the Fathers, O Jātavedas), which is Vāj. S. 35. 20 and is prescribed for this rite in Āśv. Gr. II. 4.13, Sāh. Gr. III. 13.3 and elsewhere.

814. The Mantra 'Ukthyaścātīrātraśca' occurs also in Sāh. Gr. III. 14. 2.

815. For 'Svistakṛt' vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 208 and 1257.



(the Astakā day) the Anvastakā rite. Its procedure is explained by the description of the monthly śrāddha.

Though Āp. Gr. (II. 5. 3) and Śān. Gr. III. 13. 7 state that the Anvastakya rite follows the procedure of Pindapitryajña, some Grhyasūtras (such as Khādira III. 5, Gobhila IV. 2-3) give very elaborate descriptions of that rite. The Āśv. Gr. and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74 follow a middle course. The description in Āśv. Gr. is comparatively brief and it is set out below. It may be noted that some Grhya-sūtras state that the Anvastakya rite is performed on the 9th or 10th of the dark half (e. g. Khādira Gr. III. 5. 1 'navamīm daśamīm vānavastakyam'). Further, it may be stated that though most Grhyasūtras call the rite Anvastakya still it is also called Anvastakā by Pār. Gr. III. 3. 10, Manu IV. 150, Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74. 1 and 76. 1. The most notable peculiarity of this rite is that therein female ancestors are invoked and offerings are made to them of which liquor (*surā*), scum of boiled rice, collyrium, salves and garlands form part. Though some sūtras (like Āśv. Gr. II. 5) declare that the Astakā and Anvastakya are modelled on the monthly śrāddha or Pindapitryajña, others (like the Baud. Gr. III. 12. 1, Gobhila Gr. IV. 4., Khādira III. 5. 35) say that the Astakā or Anvastakya is the norm which is followed in the Pindapitryajña and all the śrāddhas. The Kāthaka Gr. (66. 1, 67. 1, 68. 1, 69. 1) avers<sup>816</sup> that the first śrāddha, the other śrāddhas (such as sapindīkaraṇa), Paśuśrāddha (in which the flesh of an animal is offered) and the śrāddha performed every month follow the procedure of Astakā. The Pinda-pitryajña could be offered on amāvāsyā only by one who was *āhitāgni* (i. e. had kept the sacred vedic fires). It is impossible to believe that everyone became *āhitāgni*. The case was probably the reverse i. e. only a few became *āhitāgnis* and the rest had only the grhya fire or many of the rest were without even the grhya fire. It appears possible that all were required to offer śrāddha on amāvāsyā on the analogy of pindapitryajña. As the latter became rare, the requirement of offering śrāddha on amāvāsyā remained and in the sūtras and smrtis all the details were mentioned under māsiśrāddha and in the case of the other śrāddhas the sūtras and smrtis pointed out only what was to be omitted. It is owing to this that the māsiśrāddha came to be called the *prakṛti* and the other śrāddhas were called *vikṛtis*.

816. देवपाल on काठकपृष्ठ 66.1. says अष्टकाविकाराणि हि सर्वमाहुर्ज्ञानि. The को. गृ. III. 12. 1 states 'अष्टकाविकृतिर्नास्तिकं तत्पुरस्ताद् व्याख्यातम्.'

or variations of the māśīśrāddha. Most of the details of the pīṇapitṛyajña were required in māśīśrāddha and a few (such as giving arghya, gāndha, dīpa) were added and more elaborate rules evolved.

The Anvāṣṭakya<sup>817</sup> is described in the Āśv. Gr. (II. 5. 2-15) as follows :—Having prepared a portion of the same meat,<sup>818</sup> having established the fire on a surface sloping towards the south, having fenced it in and made a door on the north side of the enclosed shed, having strewn round the fire three times sacrificial grass with its roots without touching it, turning the left side (of one's body) towards the fire, he should place down the things to be offered, boiled rice, boiled rice mixed with sesamum, rice cooked in milk, meal pap with curds and meal pap with honey. The ceremony should follow the ritual of the Pīṇapitṛyajña (vide Āśv. Śr. II. 6). Having sacrificed (part of the foods specified except meal-pap) with honey let him offer portions of those substances to the *pitṛs* and to their wives with the addition of liquor and the scum of boiled rice. Some place the portion to be offered into pits, which may be two or six. In those situated to the east he should present the offerings to the pits; in those to the west, to the wives. Thereby the ceremony celebrated in the rainy season on the Maghā day in the dark fortnight after the full moon of Prauṣṭhapada (i. e. Bhādrapada) has been declared. And thus he should offer (a festival like the Anvāṣṭakā) to the *pitṛs* every month, observing uneven<sup>819</sup> numbers. He should give food at least to nine (brāhmaṇas) or to any un-even number of brāhmaṇas. (Food should be given) to an even number on auspicious occasions<sup>820</sup>

817. अन्वष्टक्य is explained by रुद्रकण्ड on सादिरपुष्ट III. 5. as 'अष्टकामनु क्रियते ह्यन्वष्टक्यं कर्म एतच्च प्रत्यष्टकमनन्तरं कर्तव्यम्' and by देवपाल on काठकपुष्ट 65.1 as 'अष्टकाया अनु पश्चाद्भ्रमन्वष्टक्यमित्यग्निकेयं संज्ञान्वष्टक्यमिति। एतच्च केचिद्वष्टकाया अङ्गं वदन्ति केचित्तत्सङ्गं विकारयुतं कर्मान्तरम्।'

818. The meat is that of the animal killed on the Aṣṭakā day (Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 13).

819. That is, selecting an uneven number of brāhmaṇas or on uneven *tithis*.

820. 'Vṛddhi' or 'Ābhyudayaika' (referring to prosperity or good luck) Śrāddha is performed on such occasions as the birth of a son, the marriage of a son or daughter, the *pitṛs* in the Vṛddhi-śrāddha being designated Nādimukha. Pūrta means charitable works such as construction of wells and tanks, building of temples, dedication of parks. Vide II. of Dh. vol. II. p. 844 n. 1992 and Yāj. I. 250, Sāh. Gr. IV. 4. 1 ff.

or on the performance of meritorious deeds; to an uneven number (on other occasions). The rite is performed from left to right. Barley grains are to be used instead of sesamum.

The Anvaṣṭakya rite was performed after each of the three or four Aṣṭakās and if only one Aṣṭakā in Māgha were performed, then after the 8th of the dark half.

There are two views about the rite called Māghyāvārṣa<sup>821</sup> in Āśv. Gr. II, 5. 9. Acc. to Nārāyaṇa, the rite is performed in the dark half of Bhādrapada for three days on 7th, 8th and 9th.<sup>822</sup> The other view is that it is a rite like the Aṣṭakās but performed on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada, when generally the moon is in the Maghā *nakṣatra*. There is doubt about the very name of the rite, as the mss. present various forms (vide Oldenberg's note in S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 103 on Śān. Gr. III, 13. 1). The real name appears to be Māghyāvārṣa or Maghāvārṣa (meaning 'a śrāddha in the rainy season when the moon is in the Maghā *nakṣatra*'). The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 76. 1<sup>823</sup> mentions the following times for offering śrāddha viz. (twelve) Amāvāsyās (in a year), the three Aṣṭakās, the three Anvaṣṭakās, the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada when the moon is in the Maghā asterism, the seasons of *śarad* and *vasanta*. In Viṣṇu Dh. S. (78. 52-53) also a śrāddha on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is highly eulogised. Manu III. 273 also states that whatever food mixed with honey is offered on the 13th day in the rainy season when the moon is in Maghā procures endless satisfaction. To the same effect are Vas. XI. 40 (in the rainy season and on Maghā), Yāj. I. 26 and Varāhapurāṇa.<sup>824</sup> In the

821. The word माघ्यावर्ष (as an attribute of *Karma* or *Śrāddha*) may be derived from मघावर्ष (मघायुक्तः वर्षः वर्षर्तुः) or वर्षमघा (or वर्षामघा meaning वर्षे मघा or वर्षासु मघा). In the latter case the words are transposed on the analogy of राजवन्त (पा. II. 2.31). हरदत्त on आश्व. सू. explains 'मघासु वर्षासंयोगाद् माघ्या-वर्षमिति भवति तच्च त्रयोदश्याम्' and then quotes पा. I. 261.

822. In the शुद्धासिमागरे of नारायणभट्ट आर्षे it is stated 'अथाष्टकाविकृतिभूतं माघ्यावर्षश्चादं तत्र भाद्रपदापरपक्षे सप्तम्यादिषु त्रिष्वहःसु अष्टकाकर्मवत् सर्वं कुर्यादिति कारिका । हरदत्तस्तु भाद्रपदकुष्णपक्षे मघायुक्तत्रयोदश्यां माघ्यावर्षाक्यं श्राद्धम् ।' folio 155 b (of the ms in the BBRAS). Vide Cat. No 680 p. 215.

823. अमावास्यातिस्रोष्टकास्त्रिंशोष्टका माघी शौडपक्षार्धे कुष्णत्रयोदशी त्रीहियवपाकी च । निबन्ध. सू. 76. 1. माघी is to be connected with कुष्णत्रयोदशी.

824. यद्वाति गयराध्व सर्वमालम्बयमभ्रुते । तथा वर्षात्रयोदश्यां मघासु च विशेषतः ॥ पा. I. 261 ; गायन्ति चैतत्पितरः कदा तु त्रयोदशीयुक्तमघासु सूयः । वर्षासितान्ते ह्युभर्तीय-तोयैर्यास्याम तृप्तिं तनयादिद्वयैः ॥ ब्राह्मपुराण 13. 47; correct grammar requires यास्याम-इत्युक्तिम्.

Hir. Gr. II 13. 3-4 (edited by Kirste) the name appears to be *Madhyāvaraṣa* <sup>825</sup> and it is provided that meat is obligatory in it, but that if meat cannot be had then vegetables may be offered. In Pār. <sup>826</sup> Gr. (III 3) the name (as printed) is *madhyāvaraṣa* which is said to be a 4th *Aṣṭakā* in which only vegetables are offered. *Aparārka* (p. 422) also appears to call the rite 'madhyāvaraṣa.' In the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* <sup>827</sup> (*Brahma-parva*), chap. 183. 4 also this rite is referred to but it is said that therein meat is to be offered. It appears probable that this ancient rite on the 13th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* is a precursor of the *Mahālayaśrāddha* of later times.

If *Āśvalāyana's* view, viz. that there are four *Aṣṭakās* in *Hemanta* and *Śiśira*, were followed and if the *Maghyāvaraṣa-śrāddha* were to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* as *Nārāyaṇa* holds, then there would be five *Aṣṭakās* in all. *Bhaṭṭoji* in his *Caturvimsatimatasaṅgraha* says so. <sup>828</sup>

Considerations of space forbid the comparison of the above procedure from *Āp. Gr.* and *Āśv. Gr.* with the procedure described in the other *Grhyasūtras*. It should be noted that several of the *sūtras* often employ the same mantras in the various stages of the rite (as pointed out above in notes 813-814).

It must be said that the *Aṣṭakā śrāddhas* gradually fell into oblivion and are not performed now.

The foregoing discussion establishes that the monthly *śrāddha* on *Amāvāsyā* was the model *śrāddha* (*prakṛti*) of

825. मातृवत् on *हिरण्य. सू.* explains 'माघ्यावर्षः शीतपक्षे मासस्तत्र भव्य' i. e. he derives the name from *मघ्य* and *वर्ष* (year), the 13th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* being almost the middle of the year (when the year begins with *चैत्र*).

826. मघ्यावर्षे च तुरीया शकाहका । पार. सू. III. 3 (last *sūtra*) in the *Gujarathi Press* edition.

827. त्रिकोणकारतु कर्तव्या मघ्यावर्ता (मघ्यावर्षा!) चतुर्थिका । शकापायसपूरेतु मासेन तु चतुर्थिका ॥ भविष्य. (I. 183.4).

828. एवं भाद्रपक्षकुलाहस्यपयङ्का चोच्यते । तथा च एकपुराणे—अग्निष्वाप्तपितृ-  
कथाया वसुनाम्ना पित्रा ज्ञातायाः पुनरतुयुहीतायाः भाद्रपदापरपञ्चाङ्काकालेनोत्पत्तिर्वसिता ।  
शीतपञ्चाङ्का रूपः पितृलोके भविष्यति । आधुरायोग्यद्वा निरर्थं सर्वकामफलप्रदा ॥ इति । तद्वेत्  
पञ्चाङ्का हेमाद्र्यादिग्रन्थे स्थिताः । तथापि आह्वं निरर्थम् । भट्टोजि on चतु. सं. p. 122. एक-  
पुराण (सुब्रह्मण्ड) chap. 9. 28-29 are: शीतपञ्चाङ्का रूपः...स्वर्गकामफलप्रदा । हेमाद्रि  
on भाद्र. p. 185 says 'अथ पूर्वोक्ताहकचतुष्टयव्यतिरिक्तापि भाद्रपदापरपञ्चाङ्का । तस्याश्वे-  
तिहासपूर्वकहृत्याभिः प्रसंसा चोच्यते एकपुराणे' and then he quotes eight verses from  
the *पद्म* of which *शीतपयङ्का* is the last.

which the *Aṣṭakās* and other *śrāddhas* were copies (*vikṛtis*) with suitable modifications, though a few dissident texts reverse the position.

In the *Gobhilagrhya* (IV. 4. 3 ff) another *śrāddha* called 'Anvāhārya' is prescribed after the *Pindapitṛyajña* on the same day. The *Śaṅ. Gr.* IV. 1. 13 appears also to describe the monthly *śrāddha* as distinct from the *Pindapitṛyajña*. *Manu* (III. 122-23) states: 'After performing the *Pitṛyajña* (i. e. *pindapitṛyajña*) a *brāhmaṇa* who keeps sacred fires shall offer every month on the *amāvāsyā* day the funeral sacrifice *Pindānvāhāryaka*.<sup>829</sup> The wise call the monthly offering to the Manes *Anvāhārya* and that must be carefully performed with the approved kinds of flesh mentioned below.' From this it appears that one who has consecrated the *śrauta* fires (i. e. an *āhitāgni*) was to perform the *pindapitṛyajña* in the *śrauta* fires and also perform the same day another *śrāddha* after the *pindapitṛyajña*, while those who had not consecrated *śrauta* fires were to perform on *amāvāsyā* a *śrāddha* in the *gṛhya* fire, which was called *pindānvāhāryaka* or simply *anvāhārya* and also were to offer *pindapitṛyajña* in *smārta* fire (vide *Sat. Śrauta* II. 7. 64 'gṛhyāgnau anāhitāgneḥ'). From inquiries made I learn that nowadays most *Agnihotṛins* (at least in the Deccan) do not perform *Pindapitṛyajña* at all or perform it only once a year and that no one performs the *Pindānvāhāryaka śrāddha*. It is further to be noted that in *smārta* *yajñas* no one now sacrifices an animal but employs instead *māṣa* grain and there are *āhitāgnis* who do not offer meat in *śrauta* sacrifices also, but only *piṣṭa-paṭu* (an effigy of an animal made of flour).

The literature on *śrāddha* is enormous in extent. From the Vedic *Saṁhitās* several thousand years ago up to medieval and modern commentaries and digests the various matters connected with *śrāddha* have been dealt with in more or less detail. The *Purāṇas* contain thousands of verses on *śrāddha*. An

829. मेधातिथि on मनु III. 122 explains: 'पिण्डानामनु पश्चादाह्नियतेऽह्नियते तत् पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं भवति', while सर्वज्ञनारायण explains 'पिण्डेभ्योल्लिप्यते मात्रामन्वाहृत्य बाष्पानां अथ आदे भोग्यन्ते इति पिण्डान्वाहार्यकम्'. These derivations are supported respectively by the पञ्चपुराण, सुष्टि 9.88-89 'पितृयज्ञं तु निर्धर्य तर्पणार्थं तु योऽग्निमान् । पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं कृत्वा आदिकाले अये तदा ॥ (कुप्योऽह्नादग्निदुःखे तथा?)' and by the मत्स्यपुराण 16. 43 यस्माद्वह्नीकृतं मात्रा भक्षयन्ति द्विजतयः । अन्वाहार्यकमित्युक्तं तस्मात्-अन्वाहृत्य तर्पये ॥. The पञ्चपुराण (सुष्टि 9. 119) further says 'एतदग्निमतं मोक्तमन्वाहार्यं च धार्यम्'. The कल्पतर्क (on आह्न p. 10) explains मनु III. 122: पितृयज्ञोऽत्र पिण्ड-पितृयज्ञः । पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं पिण्डानामनु पश्चादाह्नियते कियते यद्वर्जं आह्नं तत्तथा ॥.

adequate and thorough treatment of all this vast mass would fill a separate volume, but considerations of space forbid such an attempt here. All that can be attempted here at the most (and that too not in all cases) is to present matters chronologically i. e. describe how śrāddha was dealt with in the *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇa* texts, then in the comparatively older *Gṛhya* and *Dharma sūtras*, then in such early *smṛtis* as those of *Manu* and *Yāj.*, then in some representative *Purāṇas*, then in the early commentaries of *Medhātithi*, *Vijñāneśvara* and *Aparārka*, and then in the medieval digests. Even in this way only a skeleton of the ceremonies described in some representative work of each class can be exhibited. Many differences of detail which arose owing to lapse of time, the locality, the *śākhā* and usages of each writer, his individual inclination and his ability, will have to be passed over altogether. In the days of the *Purāṇas* the differences in detail in the several *śākhās* have been adverted to.<sup>329a</sup> Apart from the *smṛtis* and passages of the *Mahābhārata* (such as *Anuśāsana* chap. 87-92) and commentaries on the *Sūtras*, on *Manu*, *Yāj.* and other *smṛtis*, the digests on śrāddha are legion. Only the following digests (arranged in chronological order) have been laid under contribution in this volume: *Kalpataru* on śrāddha; the *Hāralatā* and *Pitṛdayitā* of *Aniruddha*; the *Smṛtyarthasāra*; the *Smṛticandrikā*; the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (section on śrāddha) of *Hemādri* (which in the B. I. edition covers 1716 pages); the *Śrāddhaviveka* of *Rudradhara*; the *Madanapārijāta*; the *Śrāddhasāra* (a part of *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda*); *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* of *Govindānanda*; the *Śrāddhatattva* of *Raghunandana*; the *Śrāddhasaukhya* (part of *Ṭoḍarānanda*); the *Śrāddhakalpalatā* of *Vināyaka* *alias* *Nandapaṇḍita*; the *Nirpayasindhu*; the *Śrāddhamayūkha* of *Nilakaṇṭha*; the *Śrāddhaprakāśa* (part of *Vīramitrodaya*); the *Śrāddhacandrikā* of *Divākarabhaṭṭa*; the *Smṛtimuktāphala* (on śrāddha); the *Dharmasindhu*; the *Bālabhāṭṭi*, a commentary on the *Mitākṣarā*. While presenting this exhaustive and heterogeneous material, some generalisations, when called for, will be made here and there. It will be seen later on how several minor matters such as whether food should be offered to gods before śrāddha, definitions of words like *parivitti*, *vṛṣalīpati* increased the extent of treatises on śrāddha.

329 a. The स्कन्दपुराण (नागरखण्ड chap. 215. 24-25) says: इष्टयन्ते बहवो भेदाः द्विजानां श्राद्धकर्मणि। श्राद्धस्य बहवो भेदाः शास्त्राभेदेऽप्यस्ति वताः ॥

We should now turn to the several matters relating to śrāddhas.

First comes the question as to who are entitled to offer śrāddha (*śrāddhādhipikārin*). This matter has been already dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 739 ff., and on page 763 and on pp. 256-261 (notes 581-588) above. It would be noticed that some (like the Viṣṇudharmasūtra) prescribe that whoever takes the wealth of the deceased should offer *pinḍas* (i. e. perform śrāddha for him), while others said that whoever was preferable as entitled to offer *pinḍas* to the deceased propositus was to take the wealth. A few matters not mentioned there may be added here. In the Śāntiparva 65. 13-21 it is narrated<sup>830</sup> that emperor Mandhatṛ was told by Indra how Yavanas, Kīrātas and similar non-Aryan peoples (that are styled *Dasyus* in the Epic) are to be made to conduct themselves and it is stated that all *dasyus* may perform Pitṛyajñas (in which they should feed men of their own kind and make monetary gifts to them) and offer money to brāhmanas also. The Vāyupurāṇa (83. 112) also speaks of the Mlecchas as persons that offer oblations to *Pitṛs*. The general rule is stated by the Gobhila-smṛti<sup>831</sup> that the husband should not offer *pinḍa* to his wife even if she dies sonless, nor a father to his son nor an elder brother to a younger brother. The moral of the story of Nini who performed śrāddha for his predeceased son and repented for having done so as it was *dharmaśaṅkara* is the same. Vide Anuśāsanaparva 91. Aparārka (p. 538) quotes a verse from Śaṭtrimśan-mata that a father should not perform the śrāddha of his son nor an elder brother of a younger one. But Bṛhat-parāśara (p. 153) appears to state that even this general rule may have to be set aside sometimes. Baudhāyana and Vṛddhasātatapa (q. by Sm. C. on śrāddha p. 337) allow a śrāddha (except sapinḍikarāṇa) to be performed by any one for any

830. यवनाः किराता मागधराक्षीनाः शबरवर्चराः । अकास्तुषाराः कङ्काश्च पल्लवाश्चान्ध-  
मज्ञकाः । ... कार्यं धर्मीश्वरिष्यन्ति सर्वे विषयवासिनाः । मद्भिषेधं कार्यं स्थाप्याः सर्वे वै हस्त्य-  
जीविनः । ... मात्रपित्रोर्हि ह्येषा कर्तव्या सर्वहस्त्युभिः । ... पितृयज्ञस्तथा क्रुपाः प्रपाश्व शयनानि  
च । दानानि च यथाकालं द्विजेभ्यो विसृजेत्सदा । ... पाकयज्ञा महाहर्षश्च दातव्याः सर्वहस्त्युभिः ।  
स्नान्तिपर्व 65. 13-21; on this the आश्वकामलाकर (p. 55) remarks 'इति स्नेष्टादीनां  
आश्वविधानं तदपि सजातीयभोजनञ्च दानादिपदम्'.

831. न योषायाः पतिर्ध्याह्युत्राया अपि कश्चित् । न पुत्रस्य पिता श्वेन मातुजस्य  
तथाग्रजः । गोभिलस्मृति III. 70 and also II. 104; but see बृहत्पराशर V (p. 153)  
'आश्वं पत्यापि कार्यं स्थाह्युत्रायास्तु योषितः । तस्यापि हि तथा कार्यमेकत्वं हि तयोर्वतः । मातु-  
जस्यैव कुर्वीत कार्यं उपेक्षोऽमातुजस्य च । श्वेदीयं तु तद् कुर्वीदिति धर्मविदो विदुः । अपराकं  
p. 538 quotes पित्रा आश्वं न कर्तव्यं पुत्राणां च कार्यं चन from बृहत्त्रिहस्तम्.

relative through affection, particularly at Gayā. It is emphasized<sup>832</sup> that he alone deserves to be called *putra*, who, while the father is alive, obeys his words, and gives plenty of food (to *brāhmanas*) every year (after his father's death) and who offers *piṇḍas* (to his ancestors) at Gayā. The general rule laid down was that a child, whose *upanayana* has not been performed, is like a *sūdra* and lacks authority to utter Vedic passages (vide *Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 19*, *Gaut. II. 4-5*, *Vas. II. 6*, *Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 40*, *Manu II. 172*).<sup>833</sup> But an exception was recognized by almost all these authorities that a son, though his *upanayana* may not have been performed, can repeat the Vedic *mantras* required in funeral rites. *Medhātithi* on *Manu II. 172* explains that a minor son, even though not initiated into Vedic study by *upanayana*, can offer water to his father, perform the *navasrāddhas* (mentioned above in n. 593) and repeat such *mantras* as 'sundhantām pitarāḥ' required in these rites, but since he has no *śrauta* or *gṛhya* fire of his own he can not perform such *śrāddhas* as the *pārvaṇa*. The *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 56) provides that boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed, women and *sūdras* should get *śrāddhas* performed through a priest or they may themselves perform them without *mantras* but only mention the name and gotra of the deceased or with the two *mantras* 'devebhyo namaḥ' and 'pitṛbhyāḥ svadhā namaḥ'. The above discussion shows that men and women, adults as well as children, those who are *upanīta* as well as those that are *anupanīta* are under an obligation to perform *śrāddha*.

*Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1*, *Tai. Br. I. 6. 9* (which will be quoted later on) show that *śrāddha* was offered to three immediate ancestors, father, grand-father, great-grand-father. The *Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 113-115)* states that there is a group of seven persons closely knit together that is called *avibhaktadūya sapinḍas* viz. great-grand-father, grand-father, father, the man himself (who

832. जीवतो वाक्यकरणान्तरं मरणस्य श्रुतिभोजनान् । गयायां पिण्डदानाच्च त्रिभिः पुत्रस्य पुत्रता ॥ quoted by त्रिस्थलीसेतु p. 319.

833. नाभिग्न्याहारयेद् ब्रह्म स्वधामिनयनाहते । इत्येव हि समस्तावद्यावद्वेदे न जायते ॥ मनु II. 172 ; on this मेधातिथिः says: स्वधाज्ञात्वेन पितृभ्यः कल्पितमन्नमिहोच्यते । अथवा पित्र्यं कर्म स्वधाज्ञात्वेनोच्यते । तन्निजीयते त्यज्यते प्राप्यते येन मन्त्रेण स स्वधामिनयनः शुद्धयन्तां पितरः इत्यादिस्तं वर्जयित्वा मन्त्रमन्त्री नोच्चारयितव्यः । अनुवर्णीतेनोत्पन्नानन्यथाज्ञादि पितुः कर्तव्यमित्यस्मादेव प्रतीयते । पार्वणमाज्ञातो त्वस्मिन्स्वामावाक्यनधिकारः । पिण्डास्वाहार्यं तद्वश्यते ॥ In the वेदान्तसौतेत 9.10 we read 'उत्पन्नमावाक्यं यजमानः शुद्धयन्तां पितरः- इति त्रिः प्रत्ययं वेदिमयः परिबिज्जन् पर्येति ।'.



offers pīṇḍas to the preceding three), his full brothers, his son from a wife of the same caste, the grandson and great grandson; that sakulyas are those that are called 'vibhaktadāyādas', that the wealth of the deceased descends to those who are born of the body of the deceased<sup>834</sup>. *Manu* IX. 137 (= *Vas.* 17.5 = *Viṣṇu Dh.* S. 15. 46) solemnly<sup>835</sup> affirms: 'by (the birth of) a son a man wins the worlds (heaven &c.), he secures immortality by a grandson and by the grandson of a son he reaches the abode of the Sun'. This verse shows that all the three descendants of a person confer equally great spiritual benefit on him. *Yāj.* also (in I. 78) lumps the three together (without making any distinction between them) when he says 'since a man secures perpetuation of lineage and heaven by means of son, grand-son and great-grand-son'. Therefore when *Manu* (IX. 106) says that by the birth of a son a man discharges his debt to his progenitors the *Dāyabhaga* (XI. 34) explains that the word *putra* stands for the three descendants up to the great-grandson, since all the three are entitled to perform the *pārvaṇa-śrāddha* and equally benefit the ancestors by the pīṇḍas they offer, and that the word *putra* is not to be taken literally but only as illustrative in order to include the great-grandson, since one may with difficulty find a text expressly mentioning the *adhikāra* of the grandson (as a performer of *śrāddha* and taker of wealth) but there is no text expressly mentioning the great-grandson separately (as the taker of wealth and giver of pīṇḍa)<sup>836</sup>. On *Yāj.* II. 50 which lays down that when the father dies or has gone to a distant country or is overwhelmed by calamities (incurable diseases or the like) his debts should be paid by the sons or grandsons, the *Mit.* adds that even when a son or grandson receives no ancestral property the father's debts must be paid, the only difference being that the son has to pay the principal as well as the interest, while the grandson

834. अपि च पितामहः पितामहः पिता स्वयं सोढव्यं भ्रातरः सवर्णायाः पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्र एतान्विभक्तदायादान् सपिण्डानाञ्चकते । विभक्तदायादान् सकुलपानाञ्चकते । सत्सङ्गजेषु तन्मानी ह्यर्थो भवति । *बौ. ध. सू.* 1.5.113-115, quoted by *दायभाग* XI. 37 and explained in 38 and by *दायतत्त्व* p. 189. The text printed in the *आनन्दशास्त्र* collection of *स्मृतिस* is slightly different.

835. दुष्टेण लोकाजयति पौत्रेणानन्दमश्नुते । अथ दुष्टस्य पौत्रेण बहन्स्यामोति विष्टपम् ॥ *मनु* IX. 137. *बौ. ध. सू.* II. 9. 7 reads the last pāda as नाकमेवापिशोहति.

836. अत एव पुत्रपदं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरं तत्पर्यन्तानामेव पार्वणविधिना पिण्डदानोपकारकत्वादिभिरेवात् । अन्यथा पुत्रपदस्य स्वार्थस्यानुपपत्तेः पौत्राधिकारज्ञापकं वचनं कथं चिदादि सन्वेतापि प्रपौत्रस्य तु न दृश्यन्मनसि । तस्मान्नोपकारकत्वादेव प्रपौत्रस्याप्यधिकार इति पुत्रपदसुपलक्षणम् । *दायभाग* XI. 34-36.

has to return only the principal and has to pay no interest and the Mit. quotes a verse of Brhaspati<sup>837</sup> where all the three descendants are mentioned in one breath and the Mit. adds that the great-grandson has not to pay even the principal if he has received no ancestral property. This last remark implies that the Mit. regarded that the great-grandson was also included in the extended sense of 'putra'. Yaj. II. 51 begins by saying that whoever takes the wealth of a deceased person has to pay the latter's debts, so the great-grandson would have to pay the great-grand-father's debts if he received the assets of the grand-father. Therefore the Mit. on II. 50 expressly mentions that a great-grandson need not pay his great-grand-father's debts if he received no assets, because, otherwise being included in the extended meaning of putra, he would have had to pay. There was no necessity to bring in or mention the *prapautra* under II. 50 if the Mit. did not include the *prapautra* in the word *putra*. Again on Yaj. II. 51 ('putrahinasya rikthinaḥ') the Mit. included even *prapautra* under the word *putra*. This shows that the Mit. is quite conscious that the three descendants of a man form one group and succeed to his estate and liabilities and *putra* includes three descendants wherever the context so requires. If the word 'putra' is not to be taken as only illustrative and as including both grandson and great-grandson, serious difficulties will arise even in the interpretation of Yaj. on which the Mit. comments. For example, in Yaj. II. 135-136 it is said that when a sonless man dies his wife, daughters and other heirs (named there) succeed one after another. If 'putra' is taken to mean only 'son' and no one else, then on the death of a man without a son his wife or daughter (whoever is alive) will take the wealth even if a son's son exists. But that would be absurd and is not stated by any one. Therefore the word *putra* has to be interpreted in a wider sense in a proper context. Many works such as the *Vyavahāramayūkha*, the *Vīramitrodaya*, the *Dattakamīmāṃsā* interpret the word 'putra' as including three generations. Therefore, though the Mit. in its remarks on inheritance and succession expressly names the son and grand-

837. कणमात्मनियवत्पितृव्यं देवं पुत्रैर्विभाषितम् । पैतामहं समं देयमदेवं तत्सुतरस्य तु ॥ इति बृहस्पतिस्मरणात् । ; समं यावद् युहीतं तावदेव देवं न वृद्धिः तत्सुतरस्य प्रपौत्रस्यादेयम-युहीतधनस्य । मिता. on या. II. 50 ; पुत्रहीनस्य रिक्थिन इत्येतदपि पुत्रपौत्रहीनस्य प्रपौत्रा-द्वनो यदि रिक्थं युक्कन्ति तदा कर्णं दाप्या नान्यथेत्येवमर्थम् । पुत्रपौत्रौ च रिक्थमहणाभावेपि दाप्यावित्युक्तम् । मिता. on या. II. 51.

son only (lit. it should have mentioned only the son) it must be taken as including the great-grandson also, particularly in view of the fact that it refers to the great-grandson in its comment on Yāj. I. 50 and 51 as taking the rikṭha which the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 114) interprets as apratibandha dāya. Baud., Manu, Yājñavalkya speak of the three descendants and Śankha-likhita, Vas. XI. 39 and Yama employ <sup>838</sup> only the word *putra* or *suta* in relation to the three ancestors. Therefore, the remark of Dr. Kapadia in 'Hindu Kinship' on p. 162 'Vijñāneśvara understands by the word *putra* sons and grandsons only' is unjustified. It is impossible to hold with Dr. Kapadia that the Mit. ran counter to the express dicta of renowned Smṛtis such as those of Manu, Śankha-Likhita and Purāṇas like the Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 13.30 (quoted above in note 582) and that in its remarks on succession it forgot its own interpretation of *putra* on Yāj. II. 51. He has also not correctly understood the words of the Mit. introducing Yāj. II. 137: 'sons and grandsons take the wealth; in their absence, the wife and others; thus it is said (by me)'. This is wrong for several reasons. 'Wife and others take the wealth' is said by Yāj. (in II. 135-36). The following words are 'now (the author) declares an exception to both.' This clearly refers to Yāj. (II. 137) and not to Vijñāneśvara and so 'uktam' also must refer to Yāj. and not to Vijñāneśvara. Therefore, according to the Mit. the great-grandson is included in the extended meaning of the word '*putra*', is entitled just like a son or a grandson to offer śrāddha (in default of a son or grandson) and to take the wealth and pay the debts of the ancestor. In the matter of payment of debts there is, on account of the difference in the period that elapses, a difference between all the three descendants if no ancestral wealth is left by the ancestor, viz. the son pays the debt with interest, the grandson only the principal lent but without interest and the great-grandson nothing at all. This shows that even between the son and the grandson that are expressly mentioned by Yāj. II. 50 as to the payment of debts there is a difference and that as the great-grandson had to pay nothing when no ancestral property existed he was not mentioned at all in Yāj. II. 50.

838. तथा शङ्खलिखितयमः । पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः । ज्ञातं पुत्रं प्रशंसन्ति पिप्लवं छुकना इव ॥ प्रपितामहग्रहणात् पुत्रपदं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरम् । तद्वत्तेन प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तस्य आह्वयनेन प्रपितामहपर्यन्तोपकारकत्वात् तुल्यो दायधिकारः । दायमान III. 18 and कल्पसूत्र p. 20; पिता पितो...उपासते स्तुतं ज्ञातं शङ्खुन्ता इव पिप्लवम् ॥ कसिद XI. 39. कसिद XI. 40 is quoted by कल्पसूत्र p. 20.

Just as the king is an ultimate heir and also the guardian of all minors, so he is like the son of a person (who has no relatives left) for performing śrāddhas.

The next question is about the times when śrāddha is to be performed. It has been seen above (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 696 ff) that long before the time of the Śat. Br. five daily observances (called Mahāyajñas) were prescribed for each house-holder, viz. the sacrifice to beings, that to men, that to the Fathers, that to the gods and that to Veda. The Śat. Br. and the Tai. Ā. (II 10) say further that this daily rite in which one offers *svadhā* (food) to the Fathers even up to water was called *pitṛyajña*. Manu III, 70 defines *pitṛyajña* as *tarpana* (satiating ancestors with the offerings of water). Manu III, 82 provides that an householder should daily perform a śrāddha with food or with water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus please the Fathers. Śrāddha originally meant a sacrifice performed for the Fathers on Amāvāsya (vide Gaut. 15. 1-2).<sup>83a</sup> By applying that word to the daily offering of water to the Manes what is intended to be conveyed is that the special characteristics of śrāddha in the strict sense are to be extended to this daily rite so far as possible. Amāvāsya is of two kinds, Sinvālī and Kuhā. Those who keep śrauta fires should perform śrāddha on the former, while those who have not kept śrauta fires and śūdras should offer śrāddha on the latter.

Śrāddhas are divided into three classes, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. An observance is called *nitya* when it is laid down that it must be performed on a certain or fixed occasion (such as every day, on an amāvāsya, or on Āṣṭakā day). What is laid down for being done on an occasion which is uncertain is called *naimittika* (such as the birth of a son). What is ordained to be done in case one desires a certain reward or fruit is called *kāmya* (e. g. the performance of a śrāddha on Kṛttikā or Rohiṇī by one who desires heaven or progeny). The five daily *yajñas* including *pitṛ-yajña* are *nitya* i. e. they must be performed without any eye to any reward therefrom and the

838 a. अथ आह्वन् अमावास्यायां पितृभ्यो वृक्षात् । मौ. 15. 1-2. दृढचन्द्रा सिनीवाली नष्टचन्द्रा कुहस्तथा । तत्र साग्निकैः सिनीवास्या आह्वं कार्यमितरेः कुह्वात् । तथा च प्यातः । दृढचन्द्रा सिनीवाली कार्या विमैस्तु साग्निकैः । नष्टचन्द्रा कुहः कार्या शुद्धेर्विरेनाग्निकैः ॥ अपरार्क p. 417, स्तुतिच. (आ. p. 344). The स्कन्दपुराण (VI. 216.83) gives the following etymology of अमावास्या 'अमा नाम रवे दक्षिणवर्त्तमानस्य स्थितः । तस्मिन्सति येमेन्द्रमावास्या ततः स्मृता.' The वायुपुराण (56. 42) states 'अमा वसेत्तासुते तु यदा चन्द्रविवाकरी । एका पञ्चदशी रात्रिममावास्या ततः स्मृता ॥' अमा means सह or एकत्र.

non-performance thereof will lead to sinfulness. Passages mentioning the rewards that follow from the performance of obligatory (*nitya*) rites are only laudatory, they only convey that such performances make a man pure, but it is not meant that they are not obligatory and may be performed only if a person desires the rewards or results promised (i. e. such performances are not *kāmya*). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 7. 16. 4-7) provides certain times for the performance of *śrāddha* viz. that it must be performed in the latter half of every month, that the afternoon is preferable for it, that the last days of the latter half of each month are preferable to the first days of the latter half. Gaut. 15. 3 and Vas. XI. 16 say that *śrāddha* may be performed on any day of the dark half of a month after the 4th day and Gaut. 15. 5 adds that if particularly appropriate materials or particularly holy *brāhmaṇas* are available or the performer is near a very sacred place (such as *Gayā*) a *śrāddha* may be performed on any day. Kūrma (II. 20. 23) says the same thing. The *Agnipurāṇa* 115. 8 says that at *Gayā* a *śrāddha* may be performed on any day (*na kālādi Gayātīrthe dadyat pindāmsca nityasaḥ*). Manu (III. 276-278) provides that the days of the dark half of the month beginning with the 10th but excepting the 14th<sup>838b</sup> are recommended for *śrāddha*, that one performing a *śrāddha* on even lunar days (i. e. on the 10th, 12th) and on the even *nakṣatras* (i. e. on *Bharanī*, *Rohiṇī* &c.) gains the fulfilment of all his desires, that one who worships the Manes on uneven days (11th, 13th &c.) and on uneven constellations (*Kṛttikā*, *Mṛgaśīras* &c.) obtains prosperous offspring and that just as the latter half of a month is

838 b. About the 14th of the dark half वा. I. 264 says 'प्रतिपत्यभुतिर्वेकां वर्जयित्वा चतुर्वर्षीयः कालेन तु इति ये वे तेष्वस्तत्र वर्जयितेः'; compare मनु III. 276; and मरीचि states विषमकालपदादिति यैः ब्राह्मणवातिनाम् चतुर्वर्षीयां किंवा कार्यां अन्ये वा तु विगृहीता ॥ q. by स्मृतिच. (भा.) p. 367, ब्राह्मणत्व p. 191. ब्राह्मणवातिनां here means ब्राह्मण-कुलवातेरपस्तीति. This only means that *śrāddha* should not be performed for anyone on the 14th of the dark half except for those who were killed by poison or by beasts, snakes, lower animals or *brāhmaṇas* or in battle. But a *śrāddha* may be performed on any tithi of the dark half for those killed in battle or by poison &c. It should be noted that Manu prescribes (III. 282) that an *āhitiāgni* should not perform a *śrāddha* except on *darśa*, from which it follows that only others (who had no *śrauta* fires) could offer *śrāddha* on any day of the dark half. Vide स्कान्दपुराण VI. 204, 24-27 and VI. 219. 19-21 for the proposition that *śrāddha* should be performed on the 14th tithi of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* for those who met a violent death by poisoning or fire or were killed by animals having fangs or horns or who committed suicide.

preferable to the first half so the afternoon is preferable to the forenoon for the performance of a śrāddha. Anuśāsanaparva 87. 18 is the same as Manu III.276. Yāj. (I. 217-218), the Kūrma (II 20. 2-8), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 20 ff) and Varāhapurāṇa 13. 33-35 sum up in one place the times for performing śrāddhas as follows: Amāvāsyā, the Aṣṭakā days, lucky days (such as the birth of a son), dark half of a month, the two *āyanas* (the two days on which the sun appears to start towards the south or north i. e. solstices), possession of sufficient materials (such as rice and pulse or meat), the arrival of a worthy brāhmaṇa, the equinoctial points (visuvat, i. e. the sun's apparent entrance into Aries and Balance), the days on which the sun passes into one *rāśi* from another, the astrological conjunctions called Vyatipāta<sup>838c</sup>, Gajacchāyā, eclipses of the sun and the moon, when the performer has an intense desire to perform śrāddha—these are times for performing śrāddha. The Mārkaṇ-

838c. अपरार्क p.426 quotes बृहस्पति for defining व्यतीपात 'अवनाभिधनिष्ठाद्वा-  
नायदैवतमस्तके । यद्यपि रविवारेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते ॥'. Vide अग्निपु. 209. 13 for  
the same verse with slight variations (due probably to not reading the mss.  
correctly). When Amāvāsyā occurs on a Sunday and the moon is on that day  
either in Śravana nakṣatra or in Āśvini, Dhaniṣṭhā, Ārdrā or the first quarter  
of Aśleṣā, that is a conjunction called व्यतीपातः; some explain मस्तक as meaning  
सुगन्धिरोन्मत्तः. Bāṇa mentions Vyatipāta in his हर्षकण्ठित. व्यतीपात is also  
defined in another way with reference to Rāśis. पञ्चाननरूपौ शुक्रभूमिद्वयौ मेघे  
रविः स्याद्यदि हस्तपक्षे । पाश्चाभिधना करणेन शुक्रा तिथिर्न्यतीपात इतीह योवः ॥ q. by आ.  
क. ल. pp. 18-19. When on the 12th of the bright half the moon is in  
Hasta nakṣatra, the sun in Mesa (Aries) and Jupiter and Mars in Lion,  
then the conjunction is called व्यतीपातः. गजच्छाया is a conjunction that occurs  
when the moon is in Maghā nakṣatra and the sun is in Hasta and the tithi  
is 13th in the rainy season. विश्वकूप on या. II 218 quotes: यदि स्वाश्वज्जमाः  
पित्रे करे चैव विपाकरः । वर्षासु च त्रयोदश्यां सा च्छाया कुजरस्य तु ॥. अपरार्क quotes a  
काठकश्रुति 'एतद्धि देवपितृणां चायनं यज्ञस्तिच्छाया'. Both the मित्त. and अपरार्क  
p. 427 have a similar verse. The कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 9 and कुर्यरत्नाकर p.319 quote  
बृहस्पति 'योगी मघात्रयोदश्यां कुजरछायसंज्ञितः । भवेन्मघायां संस्थे च शशिपक्षे करे  
स्थिते ॥'. The सौरपुराण (51.31-32) puts it as 'आश्वपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां मघास्तिष्ठुः करे रविः'.  
The स्कन्दपुराण (VI.220.42-44) explains हस्तिच्छाया in several ways. The  
अग्निपु. (165.3-4) explains हस्तिच्छाया in two ways. Some take गजच्छाया literally  
and say that śrāddha should be performed in the shadow of an elephant. The  
Vanaparva 200.121 avers that such a śrāddha in which the ears of the  
elephant serve as a fan gives gratification for thousands of कल्पs. अपरार्क  
p. 427 quotes a verse from the महाभारत about आश्व performed in the rainy  
season under the shadow of an elephant and fanned by the flapping of its  
ears and the meat being that of a goat all red in colour.

deya<sup>838</sup> (chap. 28. 22-23), adds that śrāddha should be performed when a man dreams an evil dream and when evil planets affect the nakṣatra of his birth. In an eclipse the appropriate time for śrāddha is what is called *Sparśa Kāla*<sup>839</sup> (i. e. when the eclipse begins), as stated in a verse of Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 51-54) contains all the times specified by Yāj. and a few more. Vide also Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 30-32, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 4-6, Padma (śṛṣṭi 9. 128-129). Acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 76. 1-3, Amāvāsya, the three Aṣṭakās and the three Anvāṣṭakās, the 13th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada on which the moon is in *Maghā*, *Śarad* and *Vasanta* are obligatory (*nitya*) times for śrāddha and that if a person does not perform śrāddha on these days he goes to Hell. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (77.1-7) states that the day of the sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another, the two equinoctial days, particularly the solstitial days, Vyatipāta, the constellation on which the performer is born, a time of rejoicing (son's birth or the like)—these are *kāmya* times and a śrāddha performed on these occasions gives infinite pleasure (to the Manes). The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 16. 6-8) says that śrāddhas called *kāmya* are commended on eclipses, solstice days, equinoctial days and on Vyatipāta and they give infinite pleasure (to the Manes) and śrāddha performed on Sankrānti (sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another) is inexhaustible and so also on days of birth and on the several nakṣatras śrāddhas should be performed. Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 16. 8-22, Anuśāsana 87, Vāyu 89. 10-19, Yāj. I. 262-263, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 15-21, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 78. 36-50, Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 20. 17-22), Brahmapāda III. 17. 10-22 state what rewards a man gets if he performs śrāddhas on each of the days from the first to the 15th of the dark half. These lists do not completely agree with each other. That of Āp. being probably the most ancient, is set out here:—Śrāddha performed on each of the 15 days of the dark half respectively yields the following results in order, viz. progeny chiefly consisting of females (on 1st tithi

838 d. आज्ञार्हश्चर्यकालौ तथा दुःस्वप्नदर्शने। अग्न्यर्हग्रहीणास्तु आर्द्रं कुर्वीत  
कोपकृपाः मार्कण्डेय 28.22. A man can perform a śrāddha on any *tithi* of the dark half of a month, but he should not perform it on a *tithi* when the moon is in the *nakṣatra* on which he was born or in Pūrva-bhādrapadā or in Uttarābhādrapadā or Kṛtikā, Ārdra, Āśleṣā or Mūla or in a *nakṣatra*, which is 5th, 14th or 23rd from the *nakṣatra* of his birth.

839. ब्रह्मसुपरायः। तत्रापि स्पर्शकालौ यावत्। त्रिविधाः स्पर्शकाले दुष्पान्ति पितर-  
स्तथा। मनुष्या मनुष्यकाले तु मोक्षकाले तु राक्षसाः॥ इति ब्रह्मसिद्धस्मरणार्त्। भट्टोजि on  
चतु. सं. p. 124; स्मृतिच. (आ) p. 342 quotes the verse.

of dark half), sons that will be thieves, sons that will be possessed of Vedic learning and the performance of Veda-vratas, son that will own small domestic animals, many sons that will be distinguished (by their learning) and the performer will not die childless, a great traveller and gambler (on the 6th), success in agriculture (on 7th), prosperity (on 8th), one-hoofed animals (on 9th), success in trade (10th day), black iron and tin and lead (on 11th), son possessed of cattle (on 12th), many sons and many friends and handsome children which will die young (13th tithi), success in arms (14th), prosperity (on 15th i. e. Amāvāsyā). Gārgya (q. by Par. M. I. 2 p. 324) provides that one should not perform śrāddha on Nandā, on Friday, on 13th of the dark half and on the nakṣatra of birth and the preceding and the following nakṣatras for fear of losing one's sons and wealth. The Nandā tithis are 1st, 6th and 11th. The Anuśāsana-parva (87. 16) provides that he who performs śrāddha on the 13th tithi attains pre-eminence among his agnates, but then the young men in his house die as a consequence.

The śrāddhas performed on the days mentioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 77. 1-6 are *naimittika* and those performed on certain tithis and days of the week for securing certain rewards would be *kāmya* śrāddhas. According to Par. M. I. 1 p. 63 the performance of obligatory (*nitya*) actions is *samśkāra* (i. e. effects a purifying change in the mind making it fit for higher things), while in some cases it may also produce the desire to know the Reality behind the appearances (i. e. it is 'vividisā-janaka' as indicated by the Gīta 9. 27). Jaimini (VI 3. 1-7) establishes the proposition that the *nitya* acts (such as Agni-hotra, Darśa-pūrṇamāsa-yāga) must be performed even though the performer is unable to perform a subsidiary part of the rite; while Jai. VI. 3. 8-10 provide that every part of *kāmya* actions must be performed and if the performer thinks that he would be unable to perform all he should not undertake to perform a *kāmya* rite at all.<sup>839a</sup>

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 1-7) states that one performing śrāddha on Sunday secures everlasting freedom from disease and those who perform śrāddha on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday (Jaiṇa), Friday and Saturday respec-

839 a. This position is stated by the परा. मा. I part 1 p. 170: 'यदा कृत्स्नाङ्गानुष्ठानशक्तित्वेव काम्यमनुष्ठेयम्.' The विष्णुपुराण (III. 14.4-8) sets out the times for काम्यश्राद्धाः. The two propositions of जैमिनि are often spoken of as यथाशक्तिप्राप and सर्वोपनिषत्संहारमप्राप.



tively secure happiness (or admiration by people), victory in battle, all desires, such learning as he desires, wealth and long life. The *Kūrma* (II. 20, 16-17) also expatiates on the rewards for *śrāddhas* on the several days of the week.

The *Viṣṇu-Dharmasūtra* (78. 8-15) mentions what rewards follow from performance of *śrāddhas* on the 28 *nakṣatras* from *Kṛttikā* to *Bharanī* (including *Abhijit* which is placed after *Uttarāśādhā* and before *Śravana*). *Yāj.* I. 265-268, *Vāyu* chap. 82, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* 30. 8-16, *Kūrma* (II. 20, 9-15), *Brahmapurāṇa* 220. 33-42, *Brahmāṇḍa* (*Upodghātapāda* 18.1 ff) also deal with the same topic, but all these works do not present complete agreement. For example, *Viṣṇu Dh.* 8. and *Yāj.* agree that *śrāddha* performed on *Kṛttikā*, *Rohiṇī*, *Āśvini* and *Bharanī* yield as rewards heaven, offspring, horses and longevity, but they disagree in several others e. g. while *Viṣṇu* says that prosperity, beauty (or happiness) and all desires are obtained by performing *śrāddha* on the *Puṣya*, *Āśleṣā* and *Maghā* *nakṣatras* respectively, *Yāj.* provides that a *śrāddha* on these three yields strength, son and eminence. The *Anu-śāsanaparva* 89 and *Vāyupurāṇa* 82 set out the rewards of *śrāddhas* on the several *nakṣatras* from *Kṛttikā* as declared by *Yama* to *Śaśabindu*.

It is stated in the *Agnipurāṇa* <sup>840</sup> that *śrāddhas* performed at a holy place and on days that are called *Yugādi* and *Manvādi* yield inexhaustible gratification (to the *pīṭṛs*). The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* <sup>841</sup>, *Matsyapurāṇa* (17. 4-5), *Padma* V. 9. 130-131, *Varāhapurāṇa* and *Prajāpati-smṛti* verse 22 and *Skanda* VII. 1. 205. 33-34 state that the third *tithi* of *Vaiśākha* (bright half), the 9th of the bright half of *Kartika*, the 13th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* and 15th *tithi* of the dark half of *Māgha* are called *Yugādi tithis* (i. e. the first days of the four *Yugas* from *Kṛta*).

840. तीर्थे युगादौ मन्वादौ भाद्रं वत्समाक्षयम् । अग्निपुराण 117.61, युगादिषु च कर्तव्यं मन्वन्तरादिकेऽपि च ॥ बृहत्संहिता 5.3 (p. 149).

841. वैशाखमासस्य दु या तृतीया नवम्यसी कार्तिकशुक्लपक्षे । नभस्यमासस्य तमिष-पक्षे त्रयोदशी पञ्चदशी च मासे ॥ एता युगाद्याः कापिताः सुराजेरनन्तयुग्यास्तिस्रस्रवत्तमः । विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 12-13 q. by स्मृतिच. I. pp. 58-59, कुर्यदस्मात्कर p. 342, मन्व. पर. p. 538. अपरार्क (p. 425) quotes the विष्णुपुराण differently. The मत्स्यपुराण (17.4) and एक place 15th of माघ before the 13th of भाद्रपद. Vide अग्निपु. 209. 14-15 for some different dates for युगादि. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 9) gives a different order: शुक्लतृतीया वैशाखे श्रेतपक्षे त्रयोदशी कार्तिके नवमी शुक्ला मासे दशम्य पूणिमा । एता युगादयः शोका वत्समाक्षयकारकाः ॥ The ब्राह्मपुराण (13. 40-41) contains the verse वैशाखमासस्य O. प्रजापतितृप्ति (22) has a similar verse for युगादि days.

**Matsya** 17. 6-8, **Agnipurāṇa** 117. 61-64 and 209, 16-18, **Saurapurāṇa** 51. 33-36, **Padmapurāṇa** (Śrṣṭi 9. 132-135) mention the first tithis of the 14 Manus (or Manvantaras) as follows: 9th of the bright half of Āsvinā, 12th of the bright half of Kārtika, the third of the bright half of Caitra and of Bhādrapada, the amāvāsya of Falguna, the 11th of the bright half of Pausa, 10th of bright half of Āśāḍha and the 7th of the bright half of Māgha, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, the Full Moon of Āśāḍha, Kārtika, Falguna, Caitra and Jyestha. The **Matsya-purāṇa** list is quoted in the *Sm. C. I.* p. 58, *Kṛtyaratnākara* p. 543, *Par. M. I.* 1. p. 156 and *I. 2* p. 311, and the *Madanapārijāta* p. 540. The orders in the **Skandapurāṇa** VII. 1. 205. 36-39 and the *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 9) are slightly different. In the **Skandapurāṇa** (Nāgarakhaṇḍa) the first tithis of thirty kalpas from Śveta onwards are specified as fit for śrāddha, but are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S. II. <sup>842</sup> 7. 17. 23-25, *Manu* III. 280, *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 77. 8-9, *Kūrma* (II. 16. 3-4), *Brahmaṇḍa* III. 14. 3, *Bhaviṣya* I. 185. 1 forbid the performance of śrāddha at night or at twilight or when the sun has just risen except in the case of an eclipse of the moon. Āp. adds that when once a śrāddha is begun in the afternoon and owing to some cause there is delay and the sun sets then the performer should perform the remaining rites the next day and he should observe a fast till the placing of the *piṇḍas* on the *darbhās*. *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* declares that śrāddha performed during an eclipse satisfies the Manes as long as the moon and stars exist and brings to the performer all advantages and the satisfaction of all his desires, while the *Kūrmapurāṇa* threatens that he who would not perform a śrāddha in an eclipse sinks (incurs sins or becomes ruined) as a cow in mud. The *Mit. on Yaj. I.* 217 is careful to point out that though there is a prohibition against eating during the progress of an eclipse of the sun or moon, that prohibition would only affect the eater (the brāhmaṇa who eats śrāddha repast in an eclipse) but not the giver who will secure happiness (or good results) thereby.<sup>843</sup>

842. न च नक्तं आरब्धं कुर्वति । आरब्धे चाभोजनमा समापनात् । अन्यत्र राहुवर्जनात् ।  
आप. च. सू. II. 7. 17. 23-25 : नक्तं तु वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धं राहोरव्ययं वर्जनात् । सर्वस्वेनापि  
कर्तव्यं क्षिप्रं वै राहुवर्जने ॥ उपरागे न कुर्वाणः पश्येन्नोति च लीकति ॥ कूर्मपुराण II. 16. 3-4.

843. यद्यपि 'चन्द्रवर्जने नाद्यात्' इति ब्रह्मे भोजननिषेधस्तथापि भोक्तृवैधो बाहुर-  
भुङ्क्वः । *Mit. on Yaj. I.* 217-218.

Very learned disquisitions are held in Aparārka p. 465 ff, Hemādri p. 313 ff and other writers and digests as to the meaning of *aparāhṇa* which is the time for śrāddha prescribed by Manu (III 278). There are several views. Some hold that the part of the day after noon is 'after-noon.' The word 'pūrvāhṇa' occurs in Rg. X. 34. 11. Others relying on a śruti<sup>844</sup> text 'The forenoon is for gods, mid-day for men and afternoon for pitrs' hold that the third part of the day divided into three parts is 'aparāhṇa.' A third view is that *aparāhṇa* is the 4th part of the day divided into five parts and they rely<sup>845</sup> on Śat. Br. II. 2. 3. 9. The five parts are called *prātah*, *saṅgava*, *madhyandina* (or *madhyāhna*), *aparāhṇa* and *sāyāhna* (or *sāyam* or *astagamana*). The first three are expressly mentioned even in the Rgveda V. 76. 3. Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 156-157) says that each of these five parts extends over three *muhūrtas* (the day being divided into fifteen *muhūrtas*). It further states that *kutapa* is the 8th *muhūrta* from sunrise and that śrāddha should be begun in *kutapa* and should not last beyond *Rauhiṇa* *muhūrta* and that five *muhūrtas* (from 8th to 12th) are the maximum time for śrāddha.<sup>846</sup> The word *kutapa* has eight meanings as noted by the Sm. C. (śrāddha) p. 433 and Hemādri on śrāddha p. 320. The word is derived from 'ku' meaning 'condemned' (i. e. sin) and 'tapa' means 'what burns.' The eight<sup>847</sup> meanings of 'kutapa' are 'midday, a vessel of rhinoceros horn, woollen seat or blanket

844. पूर्वाह्णे वै देवानां मध्याह्निनो मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितृणाञ्च । तस्मादपराह्णे इहति ।  
ज्ञातपथञ्च II. 4.2.8.

845. आदित्यस्त्येव सर्वं क्रतवः । यद्वैद्योदित्येव वसन्तो यदा संगवोऽथ मीमो यदा  
मध्याह्निनो यदा यदापराह्णोऽथ शरद् यदेवास्तमेव हेमन्तस्तस्मात् मध्याह्निन एवाधीत  
तर्हि द्यौषोऽथ लोकस्य वेदिर्ह भवति । ज्ञातपथ II. 2.3.9, quoted by स्मृतिच. (आ. p.363).

846. आरम्भं कुतपे कुर्याद्वैदिर्न तु न लङ्घयेत् । एतत्पञ्चमुहूर्तास्तः आह्निकाल  
उदाहृतः ॥ मुहूर्तास्तत्र विज्ञेया इहा पञ्च च सर्वदा । तत्राहमो मुहूर्तो यः स कालः कुतपः स्मृतः ॥  
मजापति verses 158-159. Compare पञ्च (सुविज्ञ 11.91-92) and स्कान्द VII.1  
205.6 for similar verses. The names of the 15 मुहूर्ताः are quoted in द्रोढरामच.  
(on आ. folio 25a) and in बृहद्योगयात्रा of बराहमिहिर (VI. 2-4) m. In my paper  
on "Varāhamihira and Utpala," JBBRAS vol., 24-25 p. 21.

847. मध्याह्नः ऋक्षपात्रं च तथा नेपालकम्बलः । रूपं दर्भास्त्रिला नावो दौहित्रश्चाह्नः  
स्मृतः ॥ पापं कुत्सितमित्याहुस्तस्य सन्तापकारिणः । अद्यावेते वस्तस्तस्य कुतपा इति विमुक्तः ॥  
स्कान्दपुराण VII. 1. 205. 8-9, एव VI. 131.76-78, q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 433 as  
स्मृत्यन्तर) and by हेमाद्रि p. 320 and p. 1176 (where these are quoted as  
वेदीनस्ति<sup>848</sup>). लङ्घ्यतातप (verse 108) speaks of ऋक्षपात्रं च दौहित्रं and is quoted  
by अपरार्क (p. 474). लङ्घ्यतातप (109) defines कुतप as the 8th part of the day  
(out of 15) and is quoted by आ. क्रि. की. p. 317. अपरार्क p. 474 quotes a  
smṛti giving three senses of दौहित्र 'अपत्वं दुरितं चैव ऋक्षपात्रं तथैव च । पूर्तं च क-  
पिलाया गोर्द्वौहित्रमिति कीर्तितम् ॥

from Nepal, silver, darbhas, sesame, cows and daughter's son.' The general rule is that śrāddhas are performed in the afternoon (but this applies to śrāddha on New moon, Mahālaya, Aṣṭakā and Anvaṣṭakā śrāddhas), while Vṛddhiśrāddha and śrāddha in which only corn is offered (āmaśrāddha) are performed in the morning. Medhātithi on Manu III. 245 quotes a smṛti text on this.<sup>848</sup> The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (II. 150, 162) provides that when it is not possible to perform a religious rite at the time prescribed for it as appropriate, it should be performed at some other time thereafter and that, between the proper time of a rite and the means, the former is to be preferred and one should not wait for a time later than the proper one with the desire of being able to collect all the principal materials.<sup>848a</sup>

A few words must be said about the proper places for the performance of a śrāddha. Manu (III. 206-207) lays down that the performer should make efforts to secure a spot sloping to the south and smear it with cowdung, a spot that is pure and unfrequented (by many persons) and that the Fathers are pleased by śrāddha at naturally clean spots or the banks of rivers and spots that are unfrequented. Yāj. I. 227 very briefly puts the requirements by saying that the place of śrāddha should be covered on all sides, should be pure and sloping to the south. Śaṅkha says:<sup>849</sup> 'one should not perform śrāddha on the backs of bulls, elephants and horses, nor on raised earth platforms nor on land owned by others.' The Kūmapurāṇa states<sup>850</sup> 'Forests, sacred mountains, holy places, temples—these have no (definite) owner and they cannot be private property (of any one)'. Yama provides<sup>851</sup> 'if one offers śrāddha to his *pitṛs* in spots

848. पूर्वाह्ने वैदिकं कार्यमपराह्णे तु वैशुकम् । एकोद्विहं तु मध्याह्ने मातृवृद्धिनिमित्तकम् ॥ मेधातिथि on मनु III. 245. The दीपकालिका on पा. I. 226 quotes this verse as from बाणपुराण and reads पूर्वाह्णे मातृकं etc.

848 a. मुख्यकाले यज्ञादयं कर्म कर्तुं न शक्यते । गौणकालेऽपि कर्तव्यं गौणोपबेदशो भवेत् ॥ स्वकालादुत्तरो गौणः कालः पूर्वस्य कर्मणः ॥ मुख्यकालस्तुपात्रित्वं गौणमप्यस्तु साधनम् । न मुख्यद्वयलोभेन गौणकालप्रतीक्षणम् ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II. 150, 157, 162.

849. गौणजात्यादिपृष्ठेषु कृत्विनायां तथा भुवि । न कुर्याच्छ्राद्धमेतेषु पारक्यास्तु च भूमिषु ॥ शङ्ख q. by परा मा. I. 2 p. 303, आ. म. p. 140, स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 385).

850. अद्वयः पर्वतः पुण्यास्तीर्थान्यायतनानि च । सर्वाण्यस्वानिकाण्याहूर्न ह्येतेषु परिग्रहः ॥ कूर्म II. 22. 17. अपरार्क p. 471, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 116), and आ. म. p. 148 quote a very similar verse as यम's.

851. यमः । परकीयप्रदेशेषु पित्र्यां निर्वयेषु यः । तन्ममिस्त्वामिपितृभिः श्राद्धकर्म विहृत्यते ॥...तस्माच्छ्राद्धानि देवानि पुण्येभ्यायतनेषु च । नदीतीरेषु तीर्थेषु स्वभूमौ प्रयततः । उपह्वरानिकुलेषु तथा पर्वतसाक्षेषु ॥ q. by अपरार्क p. 471, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 115); compare कूर्म II. 22. 16.

belonging to others, that śrāddha rite is destroyed by the pits of the owner of those spots. Therefore, a man should perform śrāddha on holy spots, on river banks, in sacred places and particularly in land belonging to himself, in bowers near hills and on mountain tops.' The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra chap. 85 mentions numerous holy places and then adds 'in these and other *tīrthas*, big rivers, on all natural sandy banks, near streams, on mountains, in bowers, forests, groves and spots that look charming because of being smeared with cowdung (śrāddha may be performed).' Śāṅkha (14. 27-29) states 'whatever is given in holy Gaya, in Prabhāsa, Puskara, Prayāga, in the Naimiṣa forest (on the Sarasvatī), on the banks of the Ganges, Yamunā, Payoṣṇī, on Amarakantaka, on Narmadā, in Benares, in Kurukṣetra, Bhṛgutaṅga, on the Himālaya, on Sapta-Veṇī, on Rṣikūpa—all that becomes inexhaustible.' The Brahmapurāṇa ( 220. 5-7 ) also specifies river banks, lakes, mountain tops, sacred spots like Puskara as the proper places for śrāddha. The Vāyupurāṇa, chap. 77 and Matsya 22 contain long lists of sacred places, countries, mountains in relation to śrāddhas. The Kalpataru (śrāddha p. 40 ) and Sr. P. p. 147 state that special characteristics of the *tīrthas* in the several countries that are declared to be fit places for śrāddha should be understood from the inhabitants of those various countries.

Sacred places will be dealt with in a separate section (on *tīrthas*).

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra <sup>852</sup> (chap. 84) prescribes that śrāddha should not be performed in Mleccha country, nor should one go to a Mleccha country and then defines a Mleccha country as one in which the system of the four *varṇas* is not established and states that Āryāvarta is beyond that. The Vāyupurāṇa provides <sup>853</sup> that the country of Triśanku which is

852. न म्लेच्छविषये आहुं कुर्यात् । न गच्छेन्म्लेच्छविषयम् । परनिपातेष्वपि धीत्या कस्याप्यनुपगच्छतीति । चातुर्वर्ण्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते । स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्ततः परः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 84. 1-4.

853. त्रिशङ्कोर्वजयेदेशं सर्वं द्वादशयोजनम् । उत्तरेण महानद्या दक्षिणेन तु कीकटम् ॥ देशैश्चैतान्द्र्यो नाम आहुर्कर्मणि वर्जितः । कारस्कराः कलिङ्गाश्च सिन्धोवस्तरमेव च । प्रजहा-  
अमवर्णाश्च दक्षिण वजयोः प्रयत्नतः । वायुपुराण 78. 21-23, ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद 14. 31-33,  
quoted by हेमाद्रि ( आ. p. 162 ), and आहुय. p. 147 and अपराङ्ग p. 472  
(as from ब्रह्माण्ड). Vide also विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 1. 141. 2-4.

twelve *yojanas* in extent and which is to the north of the river Mahānadi and to the south of Kikata (i. e. Magadha) is not fit for śrāddha; similarly the countries called Karaskara, Kalinga, the country to the north of the river Sindhu and all countries where the system of *varṇas* and *āśramas* is not in existence should be sedulously avoided for śrāddhas. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 8-10) makes the somewhat startling remark that the following countries should be avoided for śrāddhas viz. the Kirāta country, Kalinga, Konkana, Krimi (Krivi?), Daśārṇa, Kumārya (Cape Comorin), Tāṅgaṇa, Kratha, the northern banks of the Sindhu river and the south bank of Narmadā and the east of the Karatoyā.

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa <sup>854</sup> prescribes that for a śrāddha a place (ground) that is full of insects, that is arid, or is burnt by fire, from which proceed sounds that are painful to the ear, that is terrific in its aspect, that emits fetid smell should be avoided.

It was also provided from very early times that certain persons and animals are to be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed and are not to be allowed to pollute the śrāddha rite by looking at it or by disturbing it in various other ways. Gaut. (15. 25-28) provides that food seen by dogs, cāṇḍālas and those guilty of mahāpātakas becomes unclean (and so unfit); therefore one should offer śrāddha in a covered (or screened) place; or he should straw round about the place sesame or a worthy brāhmana who purifies a row of diners by his presence should perform a śānti for removing the taint caused (by a dog or cāṇḍāla seeing the food &c). Āp. Dh. 8. prescribes that the learned condemn the seeing of a śrāddha by dogs and those who (being *patita*) are excommunicated and that a leper, a bald man, one having sexual intercourse with another's wife, the son of a brāhmana who follows the profession of arms, the son of a brāhmana woman from a śūdra man—if these eat śrāddha food they pollute the diners sitting to eat in a row. Manus (III. 239-242) states: 'a cāṇḍāla, a village pig or cock, a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, an impotent person—these should not be allowed to see brāhmanas engaged in taking dinner. Whatever is seen by these at a *homa*

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854. वज्र्या जम्बुवती कक्षा कितिः सुता तथाग्निना । अनिष्टपुष्टप्रदोवा दुर्गन्धा आह-  
कर्मणि ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 29. 19 q. by आह्वय. p. 139.

(agnihotra), at a gift (of cows and gold), when brāhmaṇas are being fed, or at a religious rite (like the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice) or at a śrāddha becomes fruitless. A pig taints food (offered to gods or Manes) by merely smelling it, a cock by setting in motion the air with its wings, a dog by casting a glance and a man of low caste by touch. If a servant of even the person who offers śrāddha is lame or squint-eyed or has a limb less or more (i. e. having eleven or nine fingers &c.), he should be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed.' It is provided by the Anuśāsanaparva (127. 13) that śrāddha food should not be seen by a woman in her monthly illness or by a sonless woman or by one suffering from white leprosy. Viṣṇu-dharmaśūtra (82. 3 ff) contains a long list of about 30 persons who are not to be allowed near a śrāddha. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 22. 34-35) states that one devoid of a limb, a *patita*, a leper, one suffering from an open ulcer, an atheist, a cock, a pig, a dog, should be kept far away from a śrāddha; one should also avoid one that has a disgusting appearance, an impure person, one who is naked, a mad man, a gambler, a woman in her monthly course, those that wear indigo-coloured or yellow-red garments and those who follow heretical views. The Mārkaṇḍeya 32. 20-24, Vāyu 78. 26-40, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 16. 12-14 and Anuśāsanaparva 91. 43-44 also contain long lists which are passed over here. The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 43 also speaks about a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, a *patita* and a hog not being allowed to see the śrāddha rite.

### The classification of Śrāddhas.

Śrāddhas have been variously classified. One classification, viz. into *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya* has already been described above (p. 369). Another classification is that into Ekoddishṭa and Pārvaṇa<sup>855</sup>. The first is offered to one deceased person alone, while the latter is performed on the amāvāsyā of a month or in the dark half of Bhādrapada or on saṅkrānti and in it the three paternal ancestors are principally invoked. Brhas-

855. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 737, note 1425 for explanation of these two. अमावास्यां यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणमुवाचतम् । क्रियते वा पर्वणि यत्तत्पार्वणमिति स्थितिः ॥ मयिष्यपुराण I. 183.15 q. by कल्पतरु p. 7. आश्वलायन p. 192. आ. वि. of बृहदार. आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 6 (which explains 'पर्वणि अष्टमिका मासीर्पौर्णमास्यादि'). The वरा. भा. I. 2. p. 199 says पुष्यअष्टमिदिव यत्क्रियते तत्पार्वणम् । एकपुष्योद्देशेन यत्क्रियते तत्तेकोदितम्. Venk. ed. of मयिष्य reads बृहत् वा क्रियते यत् ।

pati quoted in the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara mentions five classes of śrāddhas as declared by Manu viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, Vṛddhi and Pārvana<sup>856</sup>. The Śrāddhaviveka remarks that the sixteen *pretatrāddhas* (to be described later on) are included under naimittika and that such śrāddhas as Goṣṭhi-śrāddha enumerated in other smṛtis are included in Pārvana. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II 20, 26) similarly speaks of the five śrāddhas as enumerated by Manu<sup>857</sup>. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 217 states that there are five śrāddhas, viz. 'ahar-ahar-śrāddha, pārvana, vṛddhiśrāddha, ekoddīṣṭa and sapindīkarapa. The daily śrāddha is described by Manu III. 82 (= Śaṅkha 13.16 and Matsya 16.4) as one that is performed every day with food (cooked rice, yavas &c.) or with water or with milk, fruits and roots. Two verses of Viśvāmitra<sup>858</sup> quoted by several works speak of twelve kinds of śrāddhas, viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vṛddhi-śrāddha (performed on the birth of a son, marriage or similar incident of good luck), sapindāna (sapindīkarapa), pārvana, goṣṭhiśrāddha, suddhiśrāddha, karmāṅga, daivika, yātrāśrāddha, pustīśrāddha. Explanations of all these are quoted from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa by the same works. Sapindāna and Pārvana will be described below. Some of the rest not already defined may be briefly explained as follows: The Goṣṭhi-śrāddha<sup>859</sup> is one which is performed when a man be-

856. नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिआहुतं तथैव च । पार्वणं चेति मनुना आहुतं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by. आ. वि. of रुद्रधर p. 1.

857. कर्मरश्मेषु सर्वेषु युयुदमुदये पुनः । पुत्रजन्मादिषु आहुतं पार्वणं पर्वस्तु स्मृतम् ॥ अहस्यहनि नित्यं स्यात् काम्यं नैमित्तिकं पुनः । एकोद्विहादि विज्ञेयं द्विधा आहुतं तु पार्वणम् ॥ एतत् पञ्चविधं आहुतं मनुना परिकीर्तितम् । कूर्म. II. 20.24-26. आश्वलायन q. by आहुतकलिका enumerates them as काम्यं नैमित्तिकं वृद्धिरेकोद्विहं च पार्वणम् । (folio 1.).

858. नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिआहुतं सपिण्डनम् । पार्वणं चेति विज्ञेयं गोष्ठ्यां शुद्धार्थमष्टमम् ॥ कर्मोद्गं नवमं द्यौकं दैविकं दशमं स्मृतम् । यात्रारथेकादशं प्रोक्तं पुष्ट्यर्थं द्वादशं स्मृतम् ॥ विश्वामित्र q. by कल्पतरु p. 6, स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 334), मद्. पा. p. 475, आ. क. ल. p. 6, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 374. The कूर्मपुराण also (II. 20.26-27) mentions यात्राआहुतं, शुद्धिआहुतं and दैविकआहुतं. This enumeration occurs in भविष्यपुराण I. 183.6-7 and स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1.205. 41-42. The कल्पतरु refers to two verses of the ब्रह्मपुराण for explaining यात्राआहुतं which are quoted at length in आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 267 and आ. म. p. 333.

859. गोष्ठ्यां चत्विष्यते आहुतं गोष्ठीआहुतं तदुच्यते । बहूनां विदुषां संपत्सुखार्थं पितृतप्तये । भविष्यपु. q. by कल्पतरु p. 7, मद्. पा. p. 476, आ. क. ल. p. 7. The कल्पतरु explains: गोष्ठीं चात्र आहुतकर्तुंसमुदायः । संपत्सुखार्थं आहुतसामग्रीसम्पत्ता यत्सुखं तदर्थं बहूनां विदुषां केनचिन्मित्रेण पुनश्चाहुतं कर्तव्य उपस्थिते पृथक्पाकाद्यसम्पत्तां सम्भूय आहुतसामग्रीसंपादनेन यद्वाहुतं क्रियते तद्गोष्ठीआहुतमिति राज्ञधरः ।' (p. 7). The वृणवसति-आहुतप्रयोग of रुद्रनाथ gives another explanation 'आहुतस्य गोष्ठ्यां वार्तायां क्रियमाणायां तज्जनितोत्साहेन यत् क्रियते आहुतम् ।'.



comes enthusiastic owing to a talk about śrāddha or when many learned men gather together at a sacred place and, finding it impossible to have separate cooking arrangements for each, pool their resources for collecting śrāddha materials and perform simultaneously śrāddha for the pleasure it affords to themselves and for the gratification of the pitrs. The Śuddhi-śrāddha is one where brāhmanas are fed when a person undergoes *śuddhi* (purification) after being guilty of some sin or transgression (it is a subsidiary act in a *prāyaścitta*). That śrāddha is called 'karmāṅga' which is performed at the time of the *Garbhādhāna* rite or at the performance of a soma sacrifice, or at *śimantonnayana*, *pumsavana* (it is like *Vṛddhiśrāddha*). That is called *daivika śrāddha* which is intended to propitiate gods (it is like *nityaśrāddha* and is performed on the 7th or 12th *tithi* or the like with sacrificial food). When a man going to a distant country on a pilgrimage or the like performs a śrāddha in which clarified butter is served (to brāhmanas) in abundance or when he comes back to his house, that is *yātrā-śrāddha*. That is called *puṣṭiśrāddha* which is performed for the health (or fattening) of the body (when taking some medicine for the purpose) or for the increase of one's wealth. Out of these <sup>860</sup> twelve the principal ones are *pārvaṇa*, *ekoddiṣṭa*, *vṛddhi* and *sapindikāna*. There are works called *Ṣaṇ-ṇavati-śrāddha* such as those of Śivabhaṭṭa, son of Govinda, and of Raghunātha. The 96 śrāddhas to be performed in a year are briefly enumerated in a verse <sup>861</sup> quoted in the note. They are: 12 śrāddhas on

860. गोहृन्नां यत्क्रियते आहुं गोह्रीआहुं तदुच्यते । बहूनां विबुधां सम्प्रसुखार्थं  
पितृपुत्रये ॥ क्रियते ह्यहुये यत्तु नाह्वयानां तु भोजनम् । ह्यहुयार्थमिति तत्त्वोक्तं वेनतेय  
मनीषिभिः ॥ निषेककाले सोमे च सीमन्तोन्नयने तथा । ज्ञेयं पुंसवने चैव आहुं कर्माह्वये  
च ॥ देवाहुदिश्य यच्छ्राद्धं तत्तु वैदिकमुच्यते । हविष्येण विशिष्टेन सप्तम्याद्विषु यततः ॥  
गच्छन्नेशान्तरं यच्च आहुं कुर्यान्नु सपिषा । यात्रार्थमिति तत्त्वोक्तं प्रवेशे च न संशयः ॥  
हारीशोपचये आहुंसर्पोपचय एव वा । पुष्ट्यर्थमेतद्विज्ञेयसीपचारिकमुच्यते ॥ भविष्यपु. I,  
183. 15-19, q. by स्थितिच. (Ar.) p. 334, आ. क. ल. p. 7, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 374.  
There are some various readings here that are not noted. The printed text  
(Venk. ed.) presents different readings, such as योग्यञ्च क्रियते आहुं and क्रियते  
देवमुदिश्य सप्तम्याद्विषु यततः. These 12 आहुः are defined in स्कन्दपुराण VII.  
1. 205. 43-50 also. On वैदिकआहुः the टोडरानन्द (आहुःसौख्य folio 4 b) remarks  
'अत्र यद्यपि षड्गतं आहुंसप्तम्भवि देवोद्देश्यकत्वेन विधानात् तथापि अहुया कार्यं आहुमिति  
योगसामान्यात् आहुपदार्थमिधेयतावचनं बोद्धव्यम् ।'

861. अमा युगमनुकामिधृतिपातमहालयाः । आश्विहृदयं च पूर्वेषुः वण्णवन्द्यः  
प्रकीर्तिताः । verse 5 of वण्णवतिआहुः of सिद्धहस्त (Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection)

(Continued on the next page)

the 12 amāvāsyās in the year, the four śrāddhas on the Yugādi days (note 841 above), the fourteen śrāddhas on the Manvantarādi days (p. 375 above), the śrāddhas on 12 *saṅkrāntis* (i. e. the sun's apparent motion from one sign of the Zodiac to another), the 13 śrāddhas on the Yoga called Dhṛti (i. e. Vaidhṛti) and the 13 śrāddhas on the Vyatipāta yoga, the 16 Mahālaya śrāddhas, the four Anvastakā days (according to Āśv. as noted on pp. 359-360), the four Aṣṭakā days and the four days (i. e. 7th of dark half of the months of Hemanta and Śiśira) of the day previous (to the Aṣṭakā). These classifications and enumerations of śrāddhas will afford an idea how the doctrine of śrāddhas was carried to an exaggerated extent in the course of centuries. It goes without saying that only a few people could have indulged in the luxury of so many śrāddhas a year and most people were content with the performance of only one Mahālayaśrāddha and one or two more. It may be noted that Manu (III. 122) first prescribed that on the amāvāsyā of each month an elaborate śrāddha should be performed, but knowing that this was almost impossible Manu recommends to all (III. 281) that an elaborate śrāddha should be performed on three amāvāsyās in one year<sup>862</sup> (viz. in Hemanta, Grīṣma and Varsā) and one should perform every day the śrāddha which is one of the five daily sacrifices (III. 82-83). Devala went further and recommended that an elaborate śrāddha may be performed only once a year.

The next important question is about the qualifications of the brāhmaṇas that were invited to dinner on a śrāddha day. Only brāhmaṇas were and are entitled to be invited for śrāddha

(Continued from the last page)

The महालयs are 16 as stated by शास्त्राचार्य and डेबल q. by वरा. मा. I. 2 p. 319 and by स्म. सु. (आ. ॥) p. 745; नभस्वस्वापरे पक्षे तिथिबोधार्कं तु यत् । कन्यास्थार्क-  
म्बितं चेत् स्यात्स कालः आह्निककर्मणि ॥ (शा.); अहःबोधार्कं यत् शुक्लप्रतिपदा सह । चण्ड-  
क्षयविशेषेण सापि दशार्तिका स्मृता ॥ (डेबल). Generally there are 13 वैधृतियोगs  
and 13 vyatipāta yogas in a year, though sometimes there may be 14 of each.  
There are in a month 27 yogas beginning from विष्कम्भ. The ज्ञतपथना. (VI. 4.  
2. 10) speaks of 12 अह्निकs द्वादश पूर्णमास्यो द्वादशाह्निका द्वादशमासाः ।

862. एतेन विधिना आह्नं कुर्यात्संवत्सरं सकृत् । त्रिभुवर्गं यथा (आ. ॥) मासे मासे विने  
रुचिने । डेबल q. by स्मृतिक. (आ.) p. 497 which explains; एतेन विधिना पार्वणविधिना  
प्रतिपत्तवारहेकवारं पित्रिभेऽङ्गि प्रतिपत्तवारं त्रिवारं वा. कल्पतरु p. 22 (आ. ॥) quotes  
the verse.

dinner whoever may be the performer of the śrāddha. In this connection many works contain high eulogies of brāhmaṇas, but they are passed over here, as the eulogy of brāhmaṇas has been already dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 37-38, 135-138. It may be noted that the gr̥hyasūtras contain a few requirements, but as we proceed the smṛtis and purāṇas go on adding qualifications and enlarging the lists of those that should not be invited. For example, the Āśv. Gr. <sup>862a</sup> IV, 7, 2, Śāh. Gr. IV, 1, 2, Āp. Gr. VIII, 21, 2, Āp. Dh. S. II, 7, 17, 4, Hir. Gr. II, 10, 2, Baud. Gr. II, 10, 5-6 and II, 8, 2-3, Gaut. 15, 9 provide that the brāhmaṇas to be invited should be possessed of Vedic learning, should be of excellent character (free from anger and passion and possessed of control of mind and senses) and of meritorious conduct, pure, not deficient in a limb or not having an excessive limb (e. g. having six fingers). The Āp. Dh. S. states that he who has studied the three Vedic verses in which the word 'madhu' occurs (Rg. I, 90, 6-8, Vāj. S. 13, 27-29, Tai. S. IV, 2, 9, 3), he who has studied the Trisuparna, one who is a Tripāciketa, one who has studied the mantras required for the four sacrifices (Āśvamedha, Puruṣamedha, Sarvamedha and Piṭṛmedha) or who has performed these four sacrifices, one who keeps the five fires, he who knows the Sāman called Jyestha, he who carries out the duty of daily Vedic study, the son of one

862 a. ब्राह्मणान् क्षुतशीलवृत्तसंपत्तानेकेन वा । आश्व. गृ. IV, 7, 2; ब्राह्मणान् क्षुचीन् मन्त्रवतः समह्वानयुज आमन्त्रयते । योनियोत्रासम्बन्धान् । नार्थापेक्षो भोजयेत् । हिर. गृ. II, 10, 2; त्रिपुष्टिपुर्णक्षिणाधिकेतश्चतुर्मेधः पञ्चाग्निर्ज्येष्ठसामिको वेदाध्याययन्त्रानयुजः ओत्रिय इत्येते आद्रे धृक्काः पक्षिपाचना भवन्ति । आप. घ. II, 7, 17-22.

त्रिपुर्ण is the name applied, according to Haradatta, to the three anuvākas beginning with ब्रह्ममेतु माय (तै. आ. X, 48-50) or to the verse चतुः-क्षिणञ्चा युषतिः ह्यपेक्षाः in तै. ब्रा. 1, 2, 1, 27 or Rg. X, 114, 3-5. त्रिणाधिकेतः is explained in different ways viz. (1) one who knows the Nāciketa fire, (2) a person who has thrice kindled the Nāciketa fire, (3) a person who has studied the Anuvāka called Virajas. For the Nāciketa fire, vide Kathopaniṣad 1, 1, 16-18. The word 'Trināciketah' occurs in Kaṭha Up. I, 1, 17 and is explained by शङ्कर as 'त्रिःकुत्वा नाधिकेतोऽत्रिभित्तो येन सः त्रिणाधिकेतास्तद्विज्ञानस्तद्वध्ययनस्तद्वद्विज्ञानवान् वा । Tai. Br. (III, 11, 7-8) describes the नाधिकेत fire and the story of Naciketas. The five fires are Gārbhatya, Ahavaniya, Dakṣiṇāgni, Āvasathya (or aupāsana) and Sabhya. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 579. Vide *ibid.* II, p. 767 note 1838<sup>a</sup> for explanations of पक्षिपावन, ज्येष्ठसामिक

and the other words explained above. श्वेकल defines ओत्रिय as 'एकां शाखां सकल्पां वा बहुभिरङ्गैरधीत्य वा । वदकर्मनिरतो विपः ओत्रियो नाम धर्मवित्' q. by आ. प. p. 59. Pāṇini (V, 2, 84) derives ओत्रिय as ओत्रियश्चतुर्धीति. वदकर्म—refers to यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनयतिष्ठवृद्धानि.

who has studied the Veda and is able to teach the whole Veda with its *aṅgas*, a *Śrotriya*—these persons sanctify the company if they eat at a funeral repast. Gaut. 15. 28, Baud. Dh. 8. II. 8.2, Manu III. 185–186, Yaj. I. 219, Varāhapurāṇa 14.2 contain almost the same words about those who sanctify the company of diners (i. e. who are *pāṅktipāvana*). The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 25–31), Kūrmapurāṇa II. 21. 1–14, Matsya 16. 7–13, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 101–104, Vāyu 79. 56–59 and 83. 52–55, Skanda VI. 217. 21–25 give long lists of *pāṅktipāvana* brāhmaṇas. The Hir. Gr. II. 10.2, Baud. Dh. 8. II. 2. 7, Kūrma (II. 21. 14) and others say that a performer of śrāddha should invite one who is not a relative connected by marriage (such as a maternal uncle) nor one who is of the same gotra, nor one who is connected with the performer by Veda study (i. e. is his teacher or pupil), nor a friend nor one who expects monetary help from the performer. Manu (III. 138–139) provides that one should not invite at a śrāddha dinner a personal friend, that one may gain a friend by making valuable gifts to him (on other occasions), that one should feed at a śrāddha a brāhmaṇa whom he does not deem either his friend or foe and that he who performs śrāddhas and offerings to gods chiefly to gain friends reaps no reward after death by those śrāddhas or offerings. But Manu III. 144 (= Kūrma II. 21–22) provides that one may invite even a friend but not a foe though the latter may be learned. Manu (III. 135–137 and 145–147) lays down that the main or best rule to be followed is to present śrāddha food to those who are devoted to spiritual knowledge, that between a man who has studied one whole recension of the Veda but whose father was not a śrotriya and one who is himself not a śrotriya but whose father had studied a whole recension of the Veda (i. e. whose father was a śrotriya) the latter is the more worthy of the two, that one should strive to feed at a śrāddha an adherent of the Rgveda who has studied one entire recension of that Veda or a follower of the Yajurveda who has studied one Śakhā thereof or a singer of sāmans who has finished one recension of the Sāmaveda and that if one of these preceding three is honoured and dines at a śrāddha, the ancestors of the performer will be gratified up to the seventh generation for a very long time. Hārta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 392 and Kalpataru on śr. pp. 66–67) describes the qualifications of those who are *pāṅkteya* brāhmaṇas viz. they must be born in a high family (possessing four characteristics), must be endowed with learning (of six kinds) and *śīla*

(character of 13 kinds) and good conduct (of 16 kinds). Śāṅkha-Likhita<sup>863</sup> give a long list of *pāṅkteya* (fit to be associated with in a *pāṅkti* i. e. row of diners) *brāhmaṇas*, viz. he who knows the Veda and the Vedāṅgas (viz. phonetics, kalpa or śrauta ritual, grammar, Nirukta, metrics and astronomy); one who keeps the five fires; one who has studied the Veda with its *āṅgas*; one who knows Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; a śrotriya, a triṇāciketa, trimadhu, trisuparnaka and one that has studied Jyesthasāman; one who has studied Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; who is devoted to Veda; who always keeps sacred fires; who is obedient to his parents and devoted to Dharmaśāstra. Similar rules are laid down by Viṣṇu Dh. S. 83, Brhat-Parāśara p. 150, Vṛddha-Gautama p. 581, Prajāpati verses 70-72, Laghu-Śātātapa verses 99-100, Auśanāsasmṛti (Jiv. vol. I pp. 523-524). As Medhātithi<sup>864</sup> on Manu III. 147 says the gist of all these passages is that a learned *brāhmaṇa* who has studied the Veda, whose conduct is good, whose family is famous, who is the son of a śrotriya father and who is not related to the performer must be invited and all the rest is mere arthavāda (by way of eulogy). Manu (III. 128) laid down two propositions viz. all food offered as sacrifice to the gods and manes must be given only to a *brāhmaṇa* who studies the Veda and that whatever is presented to the most worthy *brāhmaṇa* (among *brāhmaṇas* studying the Veda) brings in the greatest rewards. Then Manu (III. 183) declares that *pāṅktipāvana* *brāhmaṇas* are those that sanctify a row of diners among whom sit some who are tainted by (latent) blemishes that make them unfit to be among the diners. Then Manu (III. 184-186) gives examples of *pāṅktipāvana* *brāhmaṇas* viz. those who are the foremost among students of all the Vedas or their expository works and who are born in a family of unbroken descent of Vedic students, who are Triṇāciketa &c. Hemādri (on śr. pp. 391-395) and Kalpataru (śr. pp. 64-65) quote numerous verses from Yama on *pāṅktipāvana*.

Manu III. 147 asserts that the best course is to invite a *brāhmaṇa* who fulfils the conditions laid down in Manu III.

863. सङ्कलितवर्णि । अथ पाङ्केयाः । वेदवेदाङ्गविद् पञ्चाग्निर्व्रतानः साङ्ख्ययोगोप-

निषद्दर्शनशास्त्रविष्णुत्रिपयः त्रिणाशिकेतः त्रिमधुः त्रिसुपर्णको ज्येष्ठसामगः । साङ्ख्ययोगोपनिष-  
ज्जनसाङ्गव्याप्यो वेदपरः सदाग्निको मातापितृबुध्बुधर्मसाङ्गरतिः । इति । व by कल्पः (p. 68),  
अन. म. p. 67.

864. ओत्रिचो विद्वान् साधुचरणः प्रख्याताभिजनः ओत्रियापरवमसम्बन्धो भोजनीयः ।  
परिशिष्टं सर्वमर्थवाचार्थम् ॥ मेधा. on मनु III. 147.

132-146, but adds that if it is not possible to secure such a brāhmaṇa then the next best course<sup>865</sup> ('anukalpa') may be followed, viz. the performer may invite his own maternal grandfather, his maternal uncle, sister's son, father-in-law, his teacher of the Veda, daughter's son, son-in-law, a *bandhu* (such as mother's sister's son), wife's brother or a *sagotra*, or his family priest, or his pupil. Similar provisions occur in Yāj. I. 220, Kūrma (Uttarārḍha 21. 20), Varāhapurāṇa 14. 3, Matsya 16. 10-11, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15. 2-4 (anukalpeṣvanantarān). But Manu is careful<sup>866</sup> to point out in a later chapter that one who is able to observe the best course, but observes the second best does not reap other-worldly rewards by his actions. Even Āp. Dh. S.<sup>867</sup> expressly says that if strangers do not possess the requisite qualifications, then even one's full brother possessed of all the qualifications (as to Vedic learning, good conduct &c.) and pupils may be fed at a śrāddha. Baud. Dh. S. also allows even a sapinḍa to be fed.<sup>868</sup> Gaut. 15. 20 appears to be of the view that even pupils and *sagotras* may be invited when they are possessed of excellent qualities and strangers with good qualifications are not available. Even in these times very learned brāhmaṇas are unwilling to be fed at a śrāddha, particularly within a few years (three or five) from the death of the person for whose benefit the śrāddha is to be performed. Smṛtis attach a certain stigma to the fact of being the recipient of a śrāddha dinner and prāyaścittas are prescribed. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 289 quotes several verses of Bhāradvāja, one of which says 'If a brāhmaṇa dines at a pārvana śrāddha he has to perform six prāṇāyāmas (as expiation), if he dines at a śrāddha from the third month after a person's death to one year, he has to undergo a fast; if he dines at a vṛddhiśrāddha, he has to perform three prāṇāyāmas, and a fast for a day and night if he dines at a sapinḍana śrāddha.' The Mit. further quotes a

865. सुखाभावे योजनीयते प्रतिनिधिप्रायेण सोऽनुकल्प उच्यते । मेधा. ०३ मनु III. 147. The अमरकोश says 'सुखः स्वात्ययमः कल्पोऽनुकल्पस्तु ततोऽधमः'.

866. मनुः प्रथमकल्पस्य योऽनुकल्पेन वर्तते । न साम्प्रदायिकं तस्य दुर्मतेर्विद्यते फलम् ॥ मनु XI. 30 (= छात्रिणर्ष 165.17) q in तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 191, where the 2nd half is स नामोति फलं तस्य परजेति विचारितम् ॥

867. गुणहार्यां तु परेषां सद्युदेतः सोऽयोर्योपि भोजयितव्यः । एतेनास्तेवासिनो व्याख्याताः । आय. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 5-6.

868. तस्मादेवंविधं सपिण्डमप्युपाशयेत् । बौ. ध. II. 8. 5. The आ. क. ल. p. 40 explains एवंविधं as गुणवन्तम्.

verse from Dhaumya which prescribes Cāndrāyana for dining at a śrāddha on the birth of a son or at śmantonnayana, in a navaśrāddha etc. Vide also Nirṇayasindhu III. pp. 467-468 for prāyaścittas on eating śrāddha dinners. The Varāhapurāṇa (189. 12-13) provides that if a brāhmaṇa dies while the food offered to a *preta* is still in his stomach he dwells for a *kalpa* in a horrible hell, becomes a *rākṣasa* and then becomes free from the sin.

According to Gaut. 15. 10 young persons with the requisite qualifications are to be preferred to older ones, while, according to some, young men were to be invited at a śrāddha for one's deceased father and old men for a śrāddha for one's grandfather. On the other hand, Āp. Dh. S. says among brāhmaṇas possessing the same qualifications, the older ones are to be preferred and among those that are old are to be preferred the poor that are anxious to earn money.<sup>868</sup>

Some of the works lay special emphasis on inviting ascetics or *yogins* at a śrāddha dinner. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. states that *yogins*<sup>869</sup> are particularly *pañktipāvana* and quotes a stanza as recited by the pitrs 'May (a descendant) be born in our family who feeds a brāhmaṇa yogin at a śrāddha by which we are ourselves satisfied.' The Varāhapurāṇa 14. 50 says that a yogin is superior to 100 brāhmaṇas. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa provides 'a wise man should always feed *yogins* at a śrāddha since the pitrs rely for support on Yoga; if a yogin is fed by being seated as the first among thousands of brāhmaṇas he saves the performer and the other diners as a boat saves men in water.' Then it quotes stanzas sung by the pitrs (29. 32-34) to king Aila. The Saurapurāṇa, after mentioning the qualifications (in 19. 2-3),<sup>870</sup> winds up by stating that even one may suffice provided he be a single-minded devotee of Śivā (verse 6).

868 a. तुल्यलुण्ठेषु वयोवृद्धः श्रेयान् व्रण्यकुशब्धेऽस्मिन् । आप. ध. II 7.17.10.

869. विशेषेण च योगिनः । अत्र पितृगीता गाथा भवति । अपि स स्यात्कुलेऽस्माकं भोजयेद्यस्तु योगिनम् । विंश आदौ प्रयत्नेन येन तृप्तामहे वयम् ॥ विष्णुध. सू. 83.19-20.

870. The ब्राह्मणपुराण III. 9.70 is गृहस्थानां सहस्रेण वानप्रस्थकृतेन च । ब्राह्मचारिसहस्रेण योग एव विशिष्यते ॥ योगिनश्च सदा आदौ भोजनीया विप्रश्चिता । योगाधारा हि पितरस्तस्मात्तान् पूजयेत्सदा ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 29; ब्राह्मणानां सहस्रेभ्यो योगी खग्रासने षड्वि । यजमानं च भोक्तुंश्च नौरिवाम्भसि तारयेत् ॥ वायुपुराण 76. 28, मार्कण्डेय 29. 30; These and other verses occur in ब्राह्मणपुराण 220. 112-115. मार्कण्डेय 29.29-30 are ब्राह्मणपुराण 220. 110-112 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 411 and आ. प. p. 72-73. The important पितृगाथाः are 'कदा नः सन्ततावग्नयः करयन्निज्ञाविता हृतः ॥ यो योगिभृत्करोषासो मुनि पिण्डं प्रदास्यति । नयापानपथा पिण्डं कङ्कमांसं तथा हविः । कालज्ञाकं तिलाज्यं च तुतये कृत्स्नं च नः ॥' ब्राह्मणपुराण 220. 113-115 and मार्कण्डेय 29. 33-34.

The Matsyapurāṇa (16. 11-12) recommends 'He who expounds (the meaning of) texts; he who enters upon the discussion of śrauta sacrifices and he who knows the rules about the accents of sāmans is a purifier of *pañktipāvmanas*; one proficient in the Sāmaveda, a Vedic student, one endowed with knowledge of the Veda or of *Brahma*—where these are fed in a śrāddha it yields the highest benefit.' <sup>871</sup> Though in the above passages the greatest emphasis was laid on the possession of Vedic learning by the brāhmaṇas to be fed, one had also to see whether they were men of good character and observers of the rules of proper conduct, as provided by Āśv. Gr. IV. 7. 2 (note 862), Gaut. 15.9 and Manu II. 118 who says 'a brāhmaṇa <sup>872</sup> knowing only the sacred Gāyatri but living a well-regulated life is to be preferred and not one who knows the three Vedas but who is not well-regulated in conduct and who eats anything (even forbidden food) and who is a vendor of everything.' The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 27 recommends that one should make every effort to know the family of the brāhmaṇas, then their character (śīla), then their age and then the facts about whom they marry or to whom they give their daughters in marriage. The Brahmaṇḍa (Upodghāta, chap. 15) says that there should be no scrutiny of a brāhmaṇa about whom nothing is known because *siddhas* (yogins) roam about on the earth in the form of brāhmaṇas. But if faults in a brāhmaṇa are easily seen or if one knows his disqualifications on account of one's dwelling near him, he should not be invited (verses 5-6). The same Purāṇa (Upodghāta 15. 24-26) arranges the orders of preference as follows: first yati (ascetic), then a brāhmaṇa who knows the four Vedas and itihāsa, then one who knows three Vedas, then one who knows two, then one who knows one Veda, then one who is an *upādhyāya*. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 443) quotes the Agnipurāṇa <sup>873</sup> as follows: 'what is the use of (birth in a) famous

871. यश्च व्याकुरुते वाक्यं यश्च मीमांसतेऽथर्वम् ॥ सामस्वरविधिज्ञश्च पाङ्क्तिपावनपावनः। सामगो ब्रह्मचारी च वेदयुक्तोऽथ ब्रह्मवित् ॥ यत्रैते भुञ्जते भ्रात्रे तदेव परमार्थवत् । मत्स्यपुराण 16. 11-13.

872. सावित्रीमात्रसातेऽपि वरं विप्रः सुयन्त्रितः । नायन्त्रितस्त्रिवेदोऽपि सर्वशी सर्वविक्रयी ॥ मनु II. 118 = बृहद्गीतम् p. 517, which reads चतुर्वेदी. हेमाद्रि p. 444 quotes मनु as reading नायन्त्रितश्चतुर्वेदी.

873. तदुक्तमग्निपुराणे । किं कुलेन विशालेन वृत्तहीनस्य देहिनः । कुमयः किं न जायसे कुटुम्बेषु हुगणेषु ॥ जातकण्ठोपि । अपि विद्याकुलेर्दुक्तान् वृत्तहीनान् द्विजाधमान् । अनर्हान् हव्यकण्ठेन वाद्यात्रेणापि नाचयेत् ॥ हेमाद्रि pp. 443-444, आ. प्र. p. 74.



family if the man is himself devoid of good conduct? Are not insects found in fragrant flowers?' Jātūkarnya says 'one should not honour even with a word (much less with food &c.) in rites for gods and Manes bad brāhmanas void of good conduct, even though they be endowed with learning and be born in a good family.' This insistence on worth was due to the conception that pitrs assuming an aerial form enter brāhmanas at the time of śrāddha. Vide Brahmandapurāṇa (Upodghātapāda 11. 49).

These requirements of learning, character and good conduct would naturally make it incumbent on the performer of a śrāddha to inquire into the antecedents, qualities and defects of the brāhmanas to be invited. Manu and others lay down several rules about the testing of the brāhmanas to be invited. Manu III. 149, Viṣṇu Dh.<sup>874</sup> S. 82.1-2, provide 'at an offering to the gods let a man not enquire into (the qualities of) a brāhmaṇa (when he wants to invite), but at a śrāddha offering to the Manes close inquiry (into qualities) is declared to be proper and just.' Manu III. 130 says that even if a brāhmaṇa be master of the Veda, one should enquire far (into his ancestry). The Vāyupurāṇa<sup>875</sup> appears to provide that inquiry into (the qualifications of) brāhmanas should not be always undertaken when gifts are to be made, but enquiry is declared (necessary) in the case of rites for gods and Manes. The Anuśāsanaparva provides<sup>876</sup> that in rites meant for gods a kṣatriya knowing the rules about gifts should not (closely) inquire into the qualifications of brāhmanas, but in rites for the gods and Manes such inquiry is quite proper. Vṛddha-Manu and the Matsya-purāṇa<sup>877</sup> lay down that a brāhmaṇa's character is to be inquired into at the place where he resides for a long time, his purity by his acts and transactions with other people, his intelligence by discussion with him: with these three one should inquire whether the brāhmaṇa (to be invited) is a worthy person.

874. देवे कर्मणि ब्राह्मणं न परीक्षेत । यत्कृत्वापि त्रये परीक्षेत । विष्णुध. सू. 82. 1-2.

875. न ब्राह्मणान्परीक्षेत सदा देवे तु मानवः । देवे कर्मणि त्रित्रये च श्रूयते वै परीक्षणम् । वायु 83. 51 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 511 (reads देवे तु).

876. ब्राह्मणाश्च परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मवित् । देवे कर्मणि त्रित्रये तु व्यावृत्तमाहुः परीक्षणम् ॥ अश्वत्थामन 90. 2 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 511.

877. परीक्षायाकारस्तु ब्रह्मणस्तत्पुत्राण्योर्दक्षितः । शीलं संप्रसनाज्ज्येयं शीघ्रं संध्य-  
पहारतः । यज्ञा संकथनाज्ज्येया विभिः पार्श्वं परित्यजेत् । हेमाद्रि p. 513, आ. न. p. 102.

The Nṛsimhapurāṇa <sup>878</sup> forbids close inquiry into the character and learning of one who comes by chance as a guest at the time of śrāddha. That inquiry was allowed as to brāhmaṇas who were invited and not as to those who came by chance uninvited as *alithis*. There are no doubt certain passages particularly in the Purāṇas where scrutiny into a brāhmaṇa's qualifications is condemned. For example, the Skandapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 455) and Kalpataru (on śr. p. 102) states 'The Vedic revelation is that śrāddha is to be offered (to a brāhmaṇa) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without inquiry his pitrs are gratified and also gods'. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (q. by Bālabhāṭṭi) states 'It is my view also that one should not test (the qualifications of) brāhmaṇas; one should only consider their caste and not their virtues'. Such passages are explained away as referring to a śrāddha at sacred places or as applicable to gifts or to *alithis* (vide Hemādri on śrāddha p. 513, and Bālabhāṭṭi on ācāra p. 494) <sup>878a</sup>.

Brāhmaṇas were declared to be *apāṅkṭeya* <sup>879</sup> (not fit to sit in the row of brāhmaṇa diners or as defiling a row of diners at śrāddha) on various grounds, such as bodily and mental defects and diseases, pursuit of certain avocations, moral lapses, being guilty of crimes, being followers of unorthodox systems, being inhabitants of certain countries. A distinction has to be made between brāhmaṇas who should not be invited and brāhmaṇas that are *apāṅkṭeya* or *paṅktidūṣaka*. For example, one should not ordinarily invite a friend or a sagotra brāhmaṇa even

878. न परीक्षेत आरिष्यं न विद्यां न कुलं तथा । न शीलं न च देशादीनतिथेरागतस्य हि ॥ मयेत विष्णुमेवं साक्षात्काराय वरिष् । अतिथिं समग्रमासं विचिकित्सन् कारित्वम् ॥  
सुसिद्धपुराण q by आ. प्र p 102; अविज्ञातं द्विजं श्राद्धे न परीक्षेत पाण्डिताः । सिद्धा हि विप्रस्येण चरन्ति पृथिवीमिमां । तस्मादतिथिमावाप्तमभिनन्देत्कुलाजलिः ॥ बह्मण्ड, उपोद्-  
घातपाद, 15. 7.

878 a. इत्यादीनि विप्रपरीक्षामिषेधकानि तानि श्राद्धेतरज्ञानपराणि निर्यश्राद्ध-  
पराणि वा तीर्थश्राद्धपराणि अतिथिपूजापराणि वा । बालम्भट्टी on आचार, p. 494.

879. मेकालिथि on मनु III. 167 explains अपाङ्क्य (derived from पाङ्क्ति) as follows: अपाङ्के-याः पाङ्क्तिः नार्हन्ति । भवार्थे दङ्क कर्तव्यः । अनर्हत्वेनैव पङ्क्त्यावधनमनेन प्रदीयते ।  
अन्यैर्वाङ्गैः सह भोजनं नार्हन्ति । अत एव पाङ्क्तिदूषका उच्यन्ते । तेः सहोपविष्टा अन्येषु वि-  
द्वृतिता भवन्ति । वा. IV.1.20 is शब्दो दङ्क.

though learned, but these are not apāṅkteya. The Ap.<sup>880</sup> Dh. S. states that one suffering from white leprosy, a bald man, the violator of another man's bed, the son of a brāhmaṇa who was a soldier by profession, the son of (brāhmaṇa who had become like) a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman—these defile the company if they are invited at a śrāddha repast. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 19 also gives a brief list viz. 'one should avoid naked (ascetics), those suffering from white leprosy, impotent men, blind men, those who have black teeth, those afflicted with black leprosy and those who have deformed nails.' Very long lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha are given by Gaut. XV. 16-19, Manu III. 150-166, Yāj. I. 222-224, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 82. 3-29, Atri (verses 345-359 and 385-388), Bṛhad-Yama III. 34-38, Bṛhat-Parāśara pp. 149-150, Vṛddha-Gautama pp. 580-581, the Vāyu-purāṇa 83.61-70, Anuśāsana-parva 90.6-11, Matsyapurāṇa 16.14-17, Kūrma (II 21. 23-47), Skanda VII. 1.205.58-72, VI 217.11-20, Varāhapurāṇa 14.4-6, Brahma-purāṇa 220. 127-135, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Upodghāta 15.39-44 and 19.30-41), Mārkaṇḍeya 28.26-30, Viṣṇupurāṇa (III 15.5-8), Nārada-purāṇa (pūrvārdha 28.11-18), Saurapurāṇa (19.7-9) and several other works. The list in the Manusmṛti is one of the longest and that is set out here. One should not invite a brāhmaṇa that is (1) a thief, (2) an outcaste, (3) an impotent man, (4) an atheist, (5) one who wears his hair in braids (a student yet learning Veda); (6) one who does not study the Veda, (7) one who is afflicted with a skin disease, (8) a gambler, (9) one officiating as a priest for a multitude of men, (10) a physician, (11) temple priest (who worships images for money), (12) vendor of meat, (13) one who makes his livelihood as shopkeeper, (14 and 15) a paid servant of a village or of a

880. श्वित्रो शिपिविहः परतल्पमाश्वायुधीयपुत्रः श्वेतोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यानिवृत्ते आदे  
मुजायाः पञ्चद्वका मवन्ति। आप. श. सू. II. 7.17.21. As the son of a śūdra male

from a brāhmaṇa woman was treated as a cāṇḍāla in many smṛtis and therefore could not possibly have been intended to be invited at a śrāddha. Kapardin explained the words श्वेतो...ब्राह्मणाय as meaning 'born of a brāhmaṇa male that had become practically a śūdra by first marrying a śūdra woman, then a brāhmaṇa woman and procreating a son on that śūdra wife and then on the brāhmaṇa wife.' This latter (as the son of a श्वेतस्य ब्राह्मण) is 'अपाङ्केय'; श्वेतोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्या अस्तमर्षाद्वारपरिवहे ब्राह्मण्या पुत्र-

मनुष्याय श्वयायास्त्यादितपुत्र इति कपर्दी' कल्पसूत्र (आ. p. 90.), इत्यत्र follows कपर्दी. हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 496) omits all reference to marrying a śūdra wife first and explains 'यो विद्वज्जातीयायामपि ब्राह्मण्या श्वयात् श्वेतस्यमात्रं ब्राह्मणादुत्पन्नः'.

king, (16) one with deformed nails, (17) one whose teeth are black (naturally), (18) one who opposes his *guru*, (19) one who has forsaken his sacred fire (*śrauta* or *smārta*) without a proper cause, (20) a usurer, (21) one suffering from consumption, (22) one who subsists by tending cattle (though not in distress), (23 and 24) a younger brother who marries or kindles sacred fires before his elder brother, (25) one who neglects the five (daily) sacrifices, (26) an enemy of *brāhmaṇas* or of *Veda*, (27 and 28) an elder brother who marries or kindles sacred fires after his young brother, (29) one who is a member of a guild or corporation, (30) an actor or singer, (31) one who has broken the vow of student-hood by unchastity, (32) one whose (only or first wife) is a *śūdra* female, (33) the son of a remarried woman, (34) a squint-eyed or one-eyed man, (35) one in whose house a paramour of his wife resides, (36) one who teaches for hire, (37) one who is taught by a hired teacher, (38) one whose teacher is a *śūdra*, (39) one who instructs *śūdra* pupils, (40) one whose speech is harsh and untrue, (41) the son of an adulteress, (42) the son of a widow, (43) one who forsakes his mother, father or teacher without (adequate) cause, (44) one who has contracted an alliance with *patilas* either through the *Veda* (i. e. as teacher or pupil) or through marriage, (45) an incendiary, (46) one who undertakes sea-voyages, (47) a bard, (48) an oil-man, (49) a false witness (or forger of documents or counterfeiter of coins), (50) one who has a dispute with his father in a law court, (51) one who induces others to gamble, (52) one who drinks wine, (53) one afflicted with a disease (in punishment for crimes in former lives), (54) one accused of a grave sin, (55) a hypocrite, (56) a vendor of substances used for flavouring food (such as sugar-cane juice or molasses), (57) a manufacturer of bows and arrows, (58) one who is the husband of a woman married before her elder sister, (59) the betrayer of a friend, (60) the keeper of a gambling house, (61) one who learns (the *Veda*) from his own son, (62) an epileptic man, (63) one who has scrofulous swellings of the glands, (64) one afflicted with white leprosy, (65) an informer, (66) a lunatic, (67) a blind man, (68) a caviller of the *Veda*, (69) a trainer of elephants, horses, oxen or camels, (70) one subsisting by the practice of astrology, (71) a bird-fancier, (72) one who gives instructions in the use of weapons, (73) one who diverts watercourses, (74) one engaged in obstructing watercourses, (75) one subsisting by teaching or practising architecture, (76) a messenger, (77) one who plants trees

for money, (78) a breeder of sporting dogs, (79) a falconer, (80) a defiler of a maiden (or who ascribes falsely fault to a maiden), (81) one given to injuring living beings, (82) one who gains his livelihood from śūdras, (83) one who officiates at a sacrifice on behalf of guilds, (84) one who does not follow the ordinary rules of conduct (as welcoming a guest &c.), (85) one who has no energy for religious acts, (86) one who constantly begs for gifts, (87) one who subsists by agriculture (carried on personally), (88) one who suffers from elephantiasis, (89) one who is condemned by good men, (90) a shepherd, (91) a keeper of buffaloes, (92) the husband of a remarried woman, (93) a carrier of dead bodies (for money)<sup>881</sup>. Manu III. 167 says that a brāhmaṇa who knows the sacred laws should avoid or shun at both (sacrifices to Gods and to Manes) the worst of brāhmaṇas enumerated above whose conduct is reprehensible and who are unworthy of sitting in a row of brāh-

881. There is some divergence of views among the commentators about the meanings of certain words occurring in Manu III. 150-166. For reasons of space that matter is not discussed here in detail. A few points alone are noted here. निराकृतिः is explained in two ways viz. (i) one who does not perform the daily five Mahāyajñas, (2) one who after learning the Veda forgets it. The evil diseases are said by Devala to be eight 'उन्माद-स्त्वद्वीषो राजयक्षा स्वासो मधुमेहो भगन्दूरो महोद्वरमन्मरीच्यदौ पापरोमाः', q. by अपरार्क p. 451, स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 401. वृक्षली is explained in various ways by Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 205. 77-80 as meaning a śūdra woman, as one who abandoning her husband cohabits with another, as a girl who is not married though she has reached the age of puberty, as a prostitute, as one who is sterile, or one all whose children are dead. अग्नेदिधिषुपतिः:—When a younger sister gets married before her elder sister the former is called अग्नेदिधिषु while the latter is called दिधिषु. वेत्तल says 'जेष्टायां यद्यनृद्धायां कन्यायासुखतेऽनुजा। सा चाग्नेदिधिषुर्ज्ञेया पूर्वा च दिधिषुर्मता' q. by अपरार्क p. 451, मिता. on या. III. 263. अग्नेदिधिषुपति is taken by मेधातिथे as equal to two words viz. अग्नेदिधिषु and दिधिषुपति. The latter means, according to the Amarakośa, the husband of a remarried woman, while the former means 'one who is the first husband of a remarried woman' पुनर्धादिधिषुस्य हि तस्या दिधिषुः पतिः। स तु द्विजोऽग्नेदिधिषुः सेव यय कुटुम्बिनी' अमरकोश q. by हरदत्त on यौ 15. 15. मनु. III 173 explains दिधिषुपति as one who lasciviously dallies with the widow of his deceased brother, though she be appointed (to bear a son by him) according to the sacred law. The स्मृति is said that the brother appointed should cohabit as an act of duty and not through passion for the widow. Hemādri p. 485 gives another meaning of अग्नेदिधिषु 'जीवतस्तावत् भ्रातुर्भार्यायामनुरक्तोऽग्नेदिधिषुः'. बसिष्ठ I. 18 includes both अग्नेदिधिषु and दिधिषुपति among those who are called एनस्मिन्. Even the तै. ब्रा. III. 2.8. 12 mentions अग्नेदिधिषु as a sinner and आप. ख. छ. (II, 5. 12. 22) mentions both.

manas at a śrāddha repast. Manu III. 170-182 indulge in pointing out how feeding such unworthy brāhmaṇas results in the loss of the gratification of pitṛs and state that the food eaten by such unworthy persons becomes or is to be deemed as equal to foul things. The Kūrmapurāṇa<sup>882</sup> forbids inviting at śrāddhas Bauddha ascetics, Nirgranthas (devotees who have withdrawn from the world and wander about naked or as beggars), those that follow the Pāñcarātra and Pāsupata doctrines, those that are kāpālikas (devotees of Śiva of the left hand order) and other similar heretical people. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 18. 70 ff) narrates how a king after a bath in a holy place talked with a heretic and had to pass in consequence through the bodies of a dog, a jackal, wolf, vulture, a crow, a crane and peacock and ultimately became freed from the taint by a bath at the avabhṛtha in an Āsvamedha sacrifice. The same Purāṇa provides (III. 18. 97) that one should avoid talking with or touching heretics, particularly at the time of a religious rite or when one has consecrated for a solemn sacrifice. The Vāyupurāṇa<sup>883</sup> provides that people who are 'nagna' should not be allowed to see a śrāddha and then defines 'nagna' people as follows: 'the three Vedas are declared to be a protective covering for all beings and therefore those who foolishly abandon the Vedas are called 'nagna'; those who vainly keep matted hair, those who shave their heads for no purpose, those who are *nagna* (naked) without any cause, those who engage in certain observances and mutter certain words aimlessly are called *nag-nādh*'. Just as certain countries were declared unfit for the performance of śrāddhas (vide note 853 above), so certain brāhmaṇas hailing from certain countries were declared in some

882. बुद्धभावकनिर्ग्रन्थाः पञ्चरात्रविदो जनाः । कापालिकाः पाशुपताः पादण्डा ये च द्विधाः ॥ कूर्म (उत्तमार्ध) 21. 32 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 476 and 365; बुद्धभावकनिर्ग्रन्थ-शाक्ताजीवककापिलादयः । ये धर्माननुवर्तन्ते ते वै नग्रादयो जनाः ॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III. 14. 38-39 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 520. The same verse occurs in a corrupt form in वायु 78.30-31.

883. सर्वेषामेव भूतानां त्रयी संवरणं स्मृतम् । परित्यजति यो मोहात्ते वै नग्रादयो जनाः ॥...वृथा जवी वृथा सुण्डी वृथा नग्नश्च यो द्विजः । वृथा व्रती वृथा जापी ते वै नग्रादयो जनाः ॥ वायुपुराण 78.26 and 31. q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 520 (the first verse from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण). The स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 411 reads वर्णानां for भूतानां and ascribes that verse to the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 14.35-41) has these verses. अपरार्क. 473 ascribes verse सर्वेषामेव भूतानां to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, which is found in उपोद्घातपाद 14.35.

works as not fit to be invited at a śrāddha.<sup>884</sup> For example, the Matsyapurāṇa states that brāhmaṇas that are ungrateful, that are atheists, that stay in *Mleccha* countries or the countries of Trisanku, Karavira, Āndhra, Cina, Draviḍa and Konkana should be carefully avoided at the time of śrāddha. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 505) quotes from the Saurapurāṇa the following : 'Brāhmaṇas hailing from the countries of Āṅga, Vāṅga, Kalinga, Saurāṣṭra, (Kāthiawar), Gurjara, Ābhira, Konkana, Draviḍa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Avanti and Magadha should be avoided at śrāddhas. It will be noticed that putting the above two passages together, brāhmaṇas from half of modern India would have been ineligible for being invited at śrāddhas if these passages were literally followed. This was probably a counsel of perfection prompted by the false pride and prejudices of the authors of those works. The Śrāddhāviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 39-41) contains one of the longest lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha.

The following reason is advanced by the Varāhapurāṇa<sup>885</sup> and others for honouring a guest who comes by chance at the time when a śrāddha rite is in progress : "Yogins wander over the earth assuming different forms that prevent recognition, but doing good to people; therefore a wise man should honour a guest who arrives at the time of the performance of a śrāddha". The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa<sup>886</sup> similarly says that an *atithi* (guest) at a śrāddha is one who comes when least thought of and not one who had arrived before the śrāddha rite started. The Mārkaṇḍeya (26, 30) provides that one should not ask such an *atithi* about his *gotra* or *caraṇa* or his Vedic study nor should one consider whether he has a fine appearance. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 430-433) quotes verses from the Śivadharmottara,

884. कृतप्राजास्तिकास्तद्वन्लेष्टदेशनिवासिनः । त्रिशङ्कुषर्षरवावतद्विबिकोङ्कणाश्च  
(त्रिशङ्कुषरीरान्ध्रवीनद्विविभः ?) । बर्जयेत्तुङ्गिनः सर्वान् आद्रकाले विशेषतः । मत्स्य 16.  
16-17 q. by हेमाद्रि ( आ. ) p. 505, कल्पतरु ( आ. p. 94 ).

885. योगिनो विविधे रूपैर्नराणामुपकारिणः । भ्रमान्ति पृथिवीमेतामविज्ञातस्वरूपेणः ॥  
तस्मादन्यथैवेत् प्राप्तं आद्रकालेऽतिथिं बुधः । आद्रक्रियाफलं हन्ति द्विजेन्द्रापूजितो हरिः ॥  
बराह 14. 18-19, विष्णुपुराण 15. 23-4; compare वायुपुराण 79. 7-8 ( सिद्धा हि विप्र-  
रूपेण चरन्ति पृथिवीभिमाश्च । तस्मादतिथिमायान्तमभिगच्छेत् कृताञ्जलिः ).

886. अचिन्त्योऽप्यगतो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथिरुच्यते ॥ अतिथिं तं विजानीयाच्च पुनः पूर्व-  
मागतः ॥ अविद्य. I. 184. 9-10 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 427; न पृच्छेद्द्वयोत्रचरणं स्वाध्यायं चापि  
पण्डितः । शोभनाशोभनाकारं तं मन्येत प्रजापतिम् ॥ अनिरयं हि स्थितो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथि-  
रुच्यते । मार्कण्डेय 26. 30-31.

Viṣṇudharmottara and Vāyu (71.74-75) Purāṇas that gods, *siddhas* and yogins wander over the earth in the form of brāhmaṇa *atithis* in order to favour people and to see how *śrāddhas* are being performed. About the definition of an *atithi* and the necessity and mode of honouring a guest in general, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 749-756.

Hemādri (Śrāddhakāṇḍa, pp. 380-385) holds an interesting discussion as to whether a performer of *śrāddha* belonging to one recension of a Veda must restrict himself to inviting brāhmaṇas that are students of the same recension of the Veda or whether he can invite any brāhmaṇa that may have studied any of the three Vedas. Some people relying on a maxim ('as in the case of a bride so in the case of an offering') invite only brāhmaṇas of their own *śākhā* possessed of the qualifications above set forth. Hemādri replies that this is a wrong notion, relies on Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 9 'one should feed<sup>887</sup> in all (religious) acts brāhmaṇas that are pure (in their conduct) and that have studied the Veda' and asserts that no *smṛti*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Gṛhyasūtra* nor *Kalpasūtra* contains the restriction of inviting only brāhmaṇas of the performer's own *śākhā*. He further says that in such texts as 'tripāciketastrimadhuḥ' (quoted in note 862a above) the rule laid down is to invite brāhmaṇas that have studied different *śākhās* and Vedas. He rejects the idea about any restriction as to selecting a bridegroom of the same *śākhā* as the bride's father and remarks that if some people are not prepared to give their daughters in marriage to young men belonging to other *śākhās*, that is due to ignorance about the families and is also due to pride and vanity. He winds up by saying that in Āryāvarta countries it is found on all sides that marriage connections are entered into with persons studying different *śākhās* but living in the same district, (such connections) not being condemned, while persons who study the same *śākhā* of the Veda but do not know each other do not enter into marital connections.<sup>888</sup> As a contrast to this commonsense view it should be

887. ह्युचीन् मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 9, on which हरदत्त explains 'मन्त्रवतः अर्पितवेदान् । सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् गावेषु स्मार्तेषु च कर्मसु वैशेष्येषु माद्वेषेषु च भोजयेत् ।'.

888. अत्र केचिद्यथा कन्या तथा हविरिति कन्यासाधर्म्येण हविषां स्वशास्त्रीयमतिपाद्यत्वं मन्यमानाः स्वशास्त्रीयमेव भोजयित्वा विष्णुविशिष्टं आन्त्रं नियोजयन्ति । तदसत् । स्मृतीतिहास-



noted that the author of the Bālabhāṭṭi recommends that 'Maharāṣṭra brāhmanas should not invite brāhmanas of other castes (of brāhmanas) and particularly the Koṅkanastha brāhmanas should be avoided and it goes so far as to say that a person belonging to one's own caste not possessed of good qualities and of a blemished character (provided he is not guilty of mahāpātakas or the like) should be preferred to one belonging to another sub-caste even if endowed with good qualities.

The Vas. Dh. S. provides <sup>889</sup> that the performer should invite ascetics, house-holders, well conducted men, who are not very old &c. The Kūrmapurāṇa states <sup>890</sup> 'that man whose offer-

(Continued from the last page)

पुराणग्रन्थकल्पवृक्षेषु कचिदपि रक्षास्त्रीयनियमाश्रयणात् । प्रत्युत स्वस्यादिषु विद्याचिकेत-  
स्त्रिमधुस्त्रिमुपार्णो ज्येष्ठसामग इत्यादिभिर्नानाशास्त्रीयानां नानवेदाध्यायिनामेव विधिदर्शनाच्च  
... किं च कन्यायामेव तत्रावेकाशास्त्रीयनियमः कुतोऽवगतो यद्बलेन हविष्यपि साध्यते । ...  
आर्यावर्तेषु च समानदेशवासिनां नानाशास्त्राध्यायिनामप्युपलभ्यन्ते एव परस्परमनवगीयमानाः  
सर्वतो विद्याहसम्बन्धाः । अविज्ञातपरस्परराणामेकशास्त्राध्यायिनामपि नोपलभ्यन्ते । ... अतो न  
कन्यादाने नापि हविष्वाने स्वशास्त्रीयविज्ञानियम इति सिद्धम् । हेमाद्रि (आद्र) pp. 380-381.  
The words यथा कन्या तथा हविः occur in a verse of गर्ग 'नैकगोत्रे हविर्दद्याद्यथा  
कन्या तथा हविः । अभावे ह्यन्यगोत्राणामेकगोत्रास्तु भोजयेत् ।' q. by आ. प्र. p. 75. हेमाद्रि  
p. 450 reads it as नैक... यथाऽसमानपत्रे तथा । न चाज्ञातकुले दद्याद्यथा कन्या तथा  
हविः । ॥ ; आ. क. ल. p. 39 quotes this verse and the half verse अभावे... न भोजयेत्  
also. The निर्णयसिन्धु III, p. 397 follows हेमाद्रि and relies on मनु III, 145-146.  
एवमपि महाराष्ट्रविजातीयान् ग्राम्यारतत्रापि कोङ्कणस्थादयः सर्वथा न ग्राह्या इति आद्रविप-  
कलिकादिषु सामाणिकनिबन्धेष्विति सर्वशिक्षसंमतम् । ... वज्र्याश्च द्विविधाः दोषवन्तः सजा-  
तीयाः गुणवन्तोऽपि विजातीयाः सुतरां दोषवन्तः । तत्र सजातीयेषु अनिषिद्धलाभेऽभिज्ञास्तत्वा-  
दिष्वलवहोपराहितो बुद्धेऽपि ग्राह्यः । विजातीयेषु गुणवानपि तत्त्वादेव त्पात्र्यः किञ्चत दोषवान् । ...  
केचला चिन्तयेज्जातिः । कन्यादानाविसम्बन्धयोग्यां जातिं यथा कन्या तथा हविरित्युक्तेस्तेन  
तेपि सर्वथा हेया इति विद् । बालम्भट्टी on आचार p. 497.

889. पूर्वधुर्माह्वानम् संनिपात्य यतीन् गृहस्थात्साधून् पाणिनययोऽधिकर्मस्थान्  
भोजयान् शिक्षानन्येवासिनः । वसिष्ठ XI.17, q. by हेमाद्रि p. 379 who explains  
'यतयः प्रव्रजिताः तदसम्भवे गृहस्थान्'. The दोहरानन्द (आद्रसौख्य folio 37b)  
arranges the persons to be invited at a आद्र in the following order: तद्वर्ग  
संक्षेपः । आदौ त्रिविष्टयतिस्तद्वलाभे धानपश्वस्तद्वलाभे ब्रह्मचारी तद्वलाभे गृहस्थस्तत्रापि  
पक्षिपावनावय उत्कृष्टस्तद्वलाभे यो ह्यसम्बन्धः सत्कर्मा च तद्वलाभे तत्सम्बन्धा अपि तद्वलाभे  
सदाचारः शिष्योऽपि ।

890. प्रकृतेर्गुणतत्त्वज्ञो यस्याइनाति यतिर्हविः । फलं वेदान्तचित्तस्य (वेदविदां तस्य ।  
सहस्रादतिरिच्यते ॥ तस्माद्यत्नेन योगीन्द्रमीश्वरज्ञानतत्परम् । भोजयेद्व्यक्तकण्डेषु अलभादि-  
तराभिरिजान् । कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 21, 17-18) q. by आ. प्र. p. 73, हेमाद्रि p. 413 (2ad)  
verse) and p. 417 (first verse).

ing (of food) is eaten by a *yati* that knows the truth about *prakṛti* (primordial matter) and the *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) reaps the reward (merit) of feeding a thousand (other *brāhmaṇas*). Therefore one should feed in offerings to gods and manes an excellent *yogin* who is intent on true knowledge of God and others only if such a one is not available.' Similar verses about ascetics and yogins occur in *Varāhapurāṇa* 14. 50, *Skanda* (VI. 217. 7 ff) and *Vāyupurāṇa*<sup>891</sup> chap. 71. 65-73, chap. 76. 28 &c. *Brhaspati* provides<sup>892</sup> a special rule that, if a person cannot afford to feed at a *śrāddha* more than one *brāhmaṇa*, then he should feed one who has studied the *Sāmaveda*, since in him all the three viz. *Rks*, the *Yajus* and *Sāmans* co-exist, that the father is pleased by *Rks* (i. e. by the feeding of a *brāhmaṇa* who has studied the *Rgveda*), the grand-father by *Yajus*, the great-grand-father by a *Sāman* and a *chandoḡa* (a chanter of the whole of *Sāmaveda*) is superior. A verse of *Sātitapa* is<sup>893</sup> quoted to the effect that if a student of the *Atharvaveda* is fed in a rite for the gods or manes, that yields endless and inexhaustible rewards.

Some of the *smṛtis* were very strict in laying down the qualifications of *brāhmaṇas* to be invited at a *śrāddha*. *Anśanaśa* (chap. 4) asserts: 'that *brāhmaṇa*<sup>894</sup> is called *duṣbrāhmaṇa* and should never be invited at a *śrāddha* in whose family *Veda* study and *Vedī* (i. e. the performance of *Śrauta* sacrifices) have been stopped for three generations'. The same

891. *पृथस्यानां सहस्रेण वानमस्थशतेन च । ब्रह्मचारितहस्रेण योगी रैको विशेषयेत् ॥ वायुपुराण 71.69 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 413, आ. प्र p. 73; it occurs also in ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद) 9.70. यतिस्तु सर्वविघ्नां सर्वेषामग्रभवेत् । इतिहासपञ्चमान् वेदान् यः पठेत् द्विजोत्तमः ॥ अनन्तरं यतेः सोऽयं नियोक्तव्यो विजानता । त्रिदोऽनन्तरस्तस्माद् द्विवेदस्तदनन्तरः । एकवेदस्ततः पश्चाद्यायाध्यायी ततः परम् । वायुपुराण 79. 53-55 q. by हेमाद्रि (p. 419). The printed *वायु* reads सर्वेषामग्रभवेत्; almost the same verses occur in *ब्रह्माण्ड* (उपोद्घातपाद 15.24-26).*

892. यद्येकं भोजयेच्छास्त्रे छन्दोगं तत्र भोजयेत् । ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि त्रयं तत्र तु विधत्ते ॥ कक्षा तु तृप्यति पिता ययुषा तु पितामहः । पितुः पितामहः साम्ना छन्दोगो ब्राह्मिकस्ततः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p. 385, स्मृतिश्रु. p. 765, कल्पतरु on आश्व. p. 58.

893. भोजयेद्यद्यर्षाणं देवे पैथे च कर्मणि । अनन्तमक्षयं चैव फलं तस्येति वै श्रुतिः ॥ शातातप q. by हेमाद्रि p. 385, स्मृतिश्रु. p. 765, कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 59.

894. यस्य वेदश्च वेदी च विच्छिद्येते त्रिषुरुषम् । स वै दुर्ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः आद्रादीन कदाचन ॥ औज्ञानसंस्मृति (Jiv. I. p. 524). बी. श्रु. परिभाषासूत्र I. 10. 6 (which reads नाम यस्यैव दुष्पलीपतिः); q. by अपरार्क p. 286 and p. 449 and हेमाद्रि p. 357, as यमः's. Vide *त्रिकाण्डमण्डन* I. 134-135 for similar definitions.

author<sup>895</sup> further says that six persons are merely *brāhma-bandhus* (i. e. *brāhmaṇas* by birth or caste alone) viz. one who is hired by a *śūdra* or a king as a servant, who has a *śūdra* woman as his wife, who is a village priest and he who subsists by killing (animals) or by catching them. So early as the *Mahābhāṣya*<sup>896</sup> it was stated that austerities (leading a life of restraint and strict observances), Vedic learning and birth (from *brāhmaṇa* parents) are the causes of (a man being called) a *brāhmaṇa* and that he who is devoid of the first two is a mere *brāhmaṇa* by caste (but not a real *brāhmaṇa*). It is curious to note that Yama stated that, if *brāhmaṇas* that do not declare (or point out) the auspicious *nakṣatra* or *tithi* or day or *muhūrta* and other auspicious matters, eat (*śrāddha*) food it becomes inexhaustible.

But the requisite qualifications were so exacting that it must have been found almost impossible to secure for a *śrāddha* *brāhmaṇas* altogether free from any of the blemishes set out above from Manu. Gautama (15. 15-18) contains long lists<sup>897</sup> of over 50 kinds of *brāhmaṇas* that were not to be invited at a *śrāddha* dinner or at a sacrifice for gods, but Gaut. adds that according to some only those beginning with '*duroḍḍa*' (Gaut. in 15. 18) were to be shunned at a *śrāddha* (but could be invited at a sacrifice for the gods). The persons so to be shunned, according to some who flourished before Gautama (i. e. at least before 600 B. C.) are: a bald man, a man who has deformed nails or has black teeth (naturally), one suffering from white

895. शुद्धमेवो ह्यतो राजा वृषली ग्रामयाजकः । वधवन्धोपजीवी च वहेते ब्रह्मवन्धवः ॥ औशनसः (Jiv. I.) p. 325, q. by अथर्वक p. 449. ब्रह्मवन्धु is a contemptuous term for one who is a *brāhmaṇ* in name only (and has not studied the Veda).

896. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येवम् ब्राह्मणकारकम् । तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जतिब्राह्मण एव सः ॥ महाभाष्य on पाणिनि II. 2.6 (ed. by Kielhorn, vol. I, p. 411). This appears to be a quotation. अनुशासनपर्व 121. 7 is तपः... ब्राह्मण्यकारणम् । त्रिभिर्गुणैः सञ्जितो ततो भवति वै हिजः ॥ In the महाभाष्य on पा. IV. 1. 44, vol. II. p. 220 ब्राह्मणाग्रज is defined as त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च । एतच्छिवं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाग्रस्य लक्षणम् ॥ ; 'नक्षत्रतिथिपुण्याहान् शुद्धतांमङ्गलानि च । न शिष्टिर्गति ये विमार्त्तैर्गुणैः ह्यक्षयं भवेत् ॥' यम q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 390), कल्पतरु (आ. p. 62). निचयेषु तपःशब्दः । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 1. हेमाद्रि p. 347 quotes a similar verse from वैधापन.

897. कुण्डाशि-सोमविकट्यगारदाहि-गरदावकीर्णि-गणप्रेष्यामम्यागतानि-विंश-परिवेत्ति-परिवेत् पयाहित-पर्याधातु-त्यकात्म-बुर्बाल-कुनक्षि-इवावदन्त-भित्ति-पोनर्भ-कितवाजप-राज-प्रेष्य-प्रातिरूपिक-शुद्धापति-निराकृति-किलासि-कुसीदि-वणिक्-शिरोपोषजीवि-ज्यावादित्रातल-द्वल्प-गीतशीलान् । ... बुर्बालादीन् आह एवैक । अकृताजन्माह चैवम् । गौ. 15. 18, 31-32. Words joined by *sandhi* rules have not been separated by a hyphen.

leprosy, the son of a re-married woman, a gambler, one who neglects *japa* (the recitation of Vedic mantras), a servant of the king, one who uses false weights and measures, one whose (only) wife is a śūdra female, one who does not perform the daily five sacrifices, one who suffers from a virulent skin disease, a usurer, one who lives by trade or by handicrafts, one who makes his living by (manufacturing) bows (and arrows) or by playing on musical instruments or by keeping time (when another is singing), or by dancing or singing. Vas. quotes a verse <sup>898</sup> as follows: If a brāhmaṇa knowing the Vedas is afflicted with physical defects which (ordinarily) exclude a person from a row of diners, Yama declares that he is irreproachable and that he does sanctify the row of diners. But it must be said that even in modern times emphasis is laid on inviting learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇas for śrāddha. The idea (expressed by Manu III. 189 and the Padmapurāṇa) persists that the *pitṛs* enter into and hover round the invited brāhmaṇas and that the latter are to be looked upon as representing the *pitṛs*.<sup>899</sup> The Garuḍapurāṇa states that Yama allows the departed souls and the *pitṛs* to visit the world of men at the time of śrāddha from the nether regions.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 19-21) prescribes that the performer should avoid wrath, should not shed tears and should not do things in a hurry. The Varāhapurāṇa <sup>900</sup> provides that the performer should not employ twigs for brushing the teeth (but should rinse his mouth twelve times with water), should remain chaste and pure. Āp. Dh. S. prescribes <sup>901</sup> that the performer should not eat food from the commencement (from the time he goes out to invite) up to the end of the śrāddha rite. The

898. अथाप्युवाहरन्ति। अथ चेन्मन्त्रविद्युक्तः शारिरैः पक्षिदुषणैः। अदुष्यं तं यमः माह पक्षिपावन एव सः ॥ वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 20, q. by मेधातिथि on मनु III. 168. The verse is also अत्रि 350-51 and लघुसङ्ग 22.

899. निमन्त्रितांश्च पितर उपतिष्ठन्ति तान् द्विजान्। वायुभूता निगच्छन्ति तथासीनावुपासते ॥ वक्रपुराण (सृष्टिस्रण्ड 9. 85-86). Vide note 759 above. आद्रुकाले यमः प्रेतान् पितॄंश्चापि यमालयात्। विसर्जयति मातृगणे निरयस्थांश्च काश्यप ॥ वक्रपुराण, प्रेतस्रण्ड chap. X. 28-29.

900. वराहपुराणे। वृत्तकाष्ठं च विद्यजेद् ब्रह्मचारी शुचिर्भवेत्। q. by कल्पतरु (भा. p. 104), भा. प्र. p. 112.

901. आरब्धे चाभोजनमा समापनात्। आप. ध. सू. II. 7.17.24.

Kūrma (uttarārdha 22. 8) states that if a person first invites a brāhmaṇa and then foolishly invites another (passing over the first) then he becomes a greater sinner (than the brāhmaṇa who after accepting one invitation promises to dine at another śrāddha) and is born as a worm in human faeces. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa <sup>902</sup> provides that honouring gods, pitrs and men and feeding (brāhmaṇas) should not be done without wearing an upper garment; otherwise the rite will bear no fruit.

About the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha there were several options and several views. The Āsv. Gr. S. states <sup>903</sup> that at the Pārvana—śrāddha (performed on a *parvan* day i. e. on Amāvāsyā), the Ābhyudayika śrāddha, the Ekodīṣṭa or Kūmya, the larger the number of brāhmaṇas the greater is the reward, that in no case should a person invite only one brāhmaṇa at a śrāddha meant for all pitrs or he may optionally invite only one brāhmaṇa except at the first śrāddha, that he may invite one, two or three brāhmaṇas for each of the three paternal ancestors. The Śān. Gr. (IV. 1.2) and Kauṣītaki Gr. III. 14. 1-2 prescribe that one should <sup>904</sup> invite an uneven number of brāhmaṇas, at least three, to sit down as (representing the) fathers. Gaut. requires <sup>905</sup> 'He shall feed an uneven number

902. पितृदेवमनुष्याणां पूजनं भोजनं तथा । नोत्तरीयं विना कार्यं कृतं श्यामिफलं यतः ॥ भविष्य I. 185. 23.

903. ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशीलवृत्तसम्पन्नानेकेन वा काले ज्ञापितान् स्नातान् कृतपञ्चीचानान् चान्ताशुद्धान् पितृवपुष्वेकैकभेकस्य द्वौ द्वौ त्रीन्त्रीन्वा वृद्धौ फलधूपसर्वं न त्वेकैकं सर्वेषाम् । काममनाद्ये । आश्व. गृ. सू. IV. 7. 2-3. पितृवत् is explained in two ways by नारायण 'पितृवदिति वचनं ममेति पितर इति मनसा श्यायक्षपवेशयेदित्येवमर्थमित्येकः' अथे तु पितृवृद्धं पितामहाय वृद्धतरं प्रपितामहाय वृद्धतममित्येवं यथावय उपवेशनार्थमिति । The words नत्वेकैकं सर्वेषाम् in आश्व. are opposed to मनु III. 125. नारायण gives several meanings of अनाद्ये, viz. आद्य refers to सपिण्डीकरण which is the first of the śrāddhas for a deceased person in which three ancestors are invoked; आद्य may refer to पार्वण which is mentioned first by आश्व. गृ. सू.; or अनाद्य means अभोजन and so refers to आसम्नाद्य or हिरण्यम्नाद्य; or अनाद्ये means दुर्भिक्षे. The words एकैकभेकस्य ... त्रीन्त्रीन्वा contradict आश्व. गृ. II. 5. 11-12 'नवावरान् भोजयेत् । अयुजो वा.'

904. अथ मासि मासि पितृभ्यो दद्यात् । ब्राह्मणाभ्येद्विद्वभ्योऽयुग्मान् उपवराध्वान् पितृवपुष्वेदशायुग्मानि तिलपात्राणि तिलैरवकीर्य ब्राह्मणानां पाणिषु निनयेत् । कौषीतकिय, III. 14. 1-2.

905. अमावास्यां पितृभ्यो दद्यात् । ... नवावरान् भोजयेद्वयुजः । यथोत्साहं वा । भोजियान्त्वरूपवयःशीलसम्पन्नान् । ... एकैकं पितृवत् । गौ. घ. सू. 15. 2, 7-9, 11. हरदत्त explains 'एकं मय्यन्ते पित्रायनुरूपं दानमिति । यथा पित्रे तद्वत्पाः पितामहाय वृद्धः प्रपितामहाय वृद्धतरा इति'. गौतम and others simply echo what is said in शतपथ-ब्रा. II. 4. 2. 7-8 about offering food to pitrs on amāvāsyā.

of brāhmanas, at least nine or as many as he is able (to feed) and that they should be learned in the Veda and endowed with polished speech, good appearance, mature age and good character'. If five were invited two would be for gods and three for pitrs; if seven, then four for gods and three for pitrs and so on. Vas. XI. 27 (= Manu III. 125 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 8, 29), Yāj. I. 228, Matsya 17. 13-14, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15.14 provide that one must feed two brāhmanas at the rite for the gods and three for the manes or one only for each of the two purposes and even a rich man should not go in for a large company. The Padma-purāṇa (Śrṣṭi 9.98 and 141) says the same thing. So the number of brāhmanas to be invited did not depend so much upon the means of the inviter, but upon the point whether the inviter would be able to honour them all properly and with ease. The idea was that at the same time when śrāddha was to be performed two brāhmanas should be fed for gods and three for the pitrs. When only one brāhmaṇa could be invited or was available, Vas. (XI. 30-31) provides that portions of the several foods cooked should be put in a vessel and should be placed at the place where Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇa would have been seated, then served in a plate and the *viśve devāḥ* be invoked and should be contemplated as present and then the food should be thrown into the fire or offered to a Vedic student (as alms) and then śrāddha rite should be continued. Śāṅkhya<sup>906</sup> 14.10 provides a similar rule. The result is that if a man can afford to invite only one brāhmaṇa or can secure one only, then that brāhmaṇa is meant for the rite in honour of pitrs and the offering for the gods is to be cast into fire. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.30, Manu III. 126, Vas. XI. 28, Kūrma (uttarārṇha 22.28) contain the same verse which emphatically states 'A large company destroys these five *desiderata*, viz. the respectful treatment (of those invited), the securing of a proper place (such as one sloping to the south) and time, purity and (the

906. भोजयेद्यथाप्येकं ब्राह्मणं पङ्क्तिपावनम्। देवे कृत्वा तु नेत्रेण पश्चादङ्गीं तु तत्क्षिपेत् ॥ शाङ्ख्य 14.10. The आ. क. ल. p. 40 remarks 'एकब्राह्मणपक्षे विश्वेदेवस्थाने पात्रं प्रकल्प्य देवे निवेद्य तमेकं विषं पित्रादिषु मातामहादिषु च नियुजीत।' हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1523) explains Vas. XI.31 as 'अङ्गस्य प्रत्येकमेकदेशं समुद्रस्य देवतायतने वैश्वदेविकद्विजोपवेशनोचिते स्थाने पात्रमासाद्य तत्र परिवेद्य तत्रत्यासने च विश्वान् देवानावाह्य तान् पुरोवातिन इवानुध्याय...विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्य इदमङ्गं स्वाहा ओं तत्क्षिपेत् उक्त्वा' &c. The translation in S. B. E. vol. 14 of देवतायतने in Vas. XI.31 (at p. 54) is wrong.

choice of) meritorious brāhmanas; therefore one should not desire a large company' <sup>907</sup>. The Kūrmapurāṇa (uttarārḍha 23.32) insists that an *atithi* must be fed at a śrāddha or otherwise the śrāddha is not praiseworthy. Though these ancient works insisted upon the avoidance of large preparations and expenses for śrāddhas in honour of a deceased person, there were other smṛtis that favoured lavish distribution of wealth in śrāddhas. For example, Brhaspati lays down: '(An heir) should lay aside half of the wealth that comes to him (by inheritance) for the benefit of the deceased owner and should expend it in the monthly, six-monthly and yearly śrāddhas'. The Dāyabhāga XI. 12 approves <sup>908</sup> of this and also quotes Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13.3 'On the failure of a sapinda the teacher of the Veda takes the wealth of the deceased, on failure of the teacher, the pupil takes it and having inherited it he should employ it in the performance of works of charity for the benefit of the deceased' (or he himself may enjoy it). These passages show to what lengths the cult of benefit to the soul of the deceased was carried in India by certain writers. More practical authors such as Haradatta did not relish these extreme views. In several purāṇas such as the Vāyu <sup>909</sup> and Viṣṇu there are express directions that when a śrāddha is performed at Gayā, it should be on a profuse scale and no stinginess <sup>909</sup> (lit. cheating in money matters) in spending wealth should be shown there; otherwise the performer would not reap the benefit of the performance of śrāddha at that holy place. The Padmapurāṇa appears to inculcate profuse

907. सक्रियां देशकाली च शौचं ब्राह्मणसम्पदः। पञ्चैतान् विस्तरं हन्ति तस्मात्ते हेतु विस्तरम्॥ मनु. III. 126.

908. धनार्जनस्य हि प्रयोजनद्वयं भोगार्थत्वं दानाद्यदृष्टार्थत्वं च, तत्रार्जकस्य तु सुतत्वाद्भने भोग्यत्वाभावेनादृष्टार्थत्वमेव शिष्टम्। अत एव बृहस्पतिः। ससुर्यकाद्भनादर्थं तदर्थं स्थापयेद्युधक्। मासषण्मासिके आद्धे वार्षिके च प्रयन्तः।। दायभाग XI.13. आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र II. 6.13.3 is: तदभावे आचार्य आचार्याभावे अन्तेवासी हत्वा तदर्थं धर्मकृत्येषु योपयोजयेत्।।; हरदत्त explains 'ब्राह्मणात् स्वयं योपयोजित'.

908 a. वित्तज्ञात्वं न कुर्वति गयाआद्धे सदा नरः। वित्तज्ञात्वं तु कुर्वाणो न तीर्थफल-भाग्यवेत्॥ वायु 82.19. This is quoted from another Purāṇa by the रघुतिच. (आद्धे) p. 388, which adds 'अतो वित्तज्ञसारेण शारीरबलासारेण च गयायां आद्धे कार्यम्'.

909. सतिर्ल नामगोत्रेण दद्याच्छक्या च दक्षिणाम्॥ गोधूधिरण्यवासांसि भग्यानि शयनानि च। दद्याद्यद्विष्टं विद्यानामात्मनः पितुरेव च॥ वित्तज्ञात्वेन रहितः पितृभ्यः पीति-साह्वनम्। पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिसंख्य 9. 179-181,

expenditure of wealth in all śrāddhas. The Vāyupurāṇa <sup>910</sup> (82, 26-28) further says that the brāhmaṇas of Gayā are supermen, that when they are gratified (at a śrāddha) the gods together with pitṛs become gratified, that no question should be raised about the family, the character, the learning and the austerities (of the Gayā brāhmaṇas), that by honouring them a man attains liberation, that a man after honouring the brāhmaṇas should proceed according to his resources and strength to the performance of śrāddha; thereby he secures all heavenly desires and obtains the means of Mokṣa. The Skandapurāṇa goes so far as to say that Gayā brāhmaṇas even if they are depraved in their conduct and are backward deserve to be invited at śrāddha and are superior to brāhmaṇas who have mastered the Veda and Vedāṅgas. The Nirṇayasindhu (III, p. 401) notes that, according to the Tristhaliṣetu of his grandfather, this provision holds good only in the case of the śrāddha at the Akṣayya Vāṭa in Gayā and nowhere else. In modern times the brāhmaṇas at Gayā used to require the performer of śrāddha while he was in the sacred Phalgu river to make a declaration about his wealth and demanded fees accordingly, thereby carrying to the letter the words of the Vāyupurāṇa. Many people returned from Gayā thoroughly disillusioned and disgusted with the conduct of the brāhmaṇas at Gayā. In the Varāhapurāṇa <sup>911</sup> it is said that two verses were sung by the pitṛs viz. 'Would such a blessed and intelligent man be born in our family who will offer piṇḍas (i. e. śrāddha) to us without being stingy about wealth and who would bestow on brāhmaṇas with reference to us (i. e. for our benefit) jewels, clothes, land, costly vehicles and all other kinds of wealth including water, when he has riches enough?' Here lavish expenditure on all śrāddhas (not only at Gayā-śrāddha) appears to be strongly recommended. Devala pro-

910. अमानुषतया विप्रः (अमानुषा गयाविप्रः?) ब्राह्मणा (ब्रह्मणा?) ये प्रकल्पिताः । तेषु तुष्टेषु सन्तुष्टाः पितृभिः सह देवताः ॥ न विचार्य कुलं शीलं विद्यां च तप एव च । पुत्रितैस्तेषु राजेन्द्र मुक्तिं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ ततः प्रवर्तयेच्छास्त्रं यथाशक्तिफलफलम् । कामान्स लभते दिव्यान्मोक्षोपायं च विन्दति ॥ वायु 82, 26-28. The first two verses are quoted from another (unnamed) पुराण by स्मृतिच (आ.) pp. 388-389; 'अथाचारपरिभ्रष्टाः ब्राह्मणा इव नागराः । बलीवर्दसमानोऽपि ज्ञातीयो यदि लभ्यते । किमन्यैर्बहुभिर्विधैर्देवाङ्गपारैः ॥ स्कन्दपुराण VI. 222. 23.

911. अपि धन्यः कुले जायावस्माकं मतिमान् नरः । अकुर्वन् वित्तशक्त्यं यः पिण्डाक्षो निर्वपिष्यति ॥ राज्ञश्चमहीयानं सर्वं तोयादिकं वसु । विभवे सति विभेयः अस्माद्वादिदं दास्यति ॥ बराहपुराण 13. 50-51, विष्णुपुराण III, 14. 22-23 (reads यानमहाभोगादिकं वसु).



vides that on the days of *śrauta* sacrifices, of the celebration of charitable acts, of *śrāddhas* on the anniversary of death or on *amāvāsyā*, on lucky occasions (*vrddhi*), on *Aṣṭakā* days, one should never give a frugal or poor dinner to <sup>911a</sup> the worthy *brāhmanas* invited for dinner.

If no *brāhmaṇa* is available, then the *Śrāddhaviveka*, *Śrāddhatattva* and other digests say that effigies of *brāhmanas* made with seven or nine *darbhas* (except in the case of a performer following the *Sāmaveda* who is not restricted as to the number of *darbhas*) should be got ready and *śrāddha* should be performed and afterwards the fee and other materials may be given later on to other *brāhmanas* <sup>912</sup>.

Rules were laid from very ancient times about the method of inviting *brāhmanas*. The *Āp. Dh. S.* states <sup>912a</sup> that the performer should make a request to the *brāhmanas* on the previous day, that on the day of the *śrāddha* he should request a second time (saying 'today is the *śrāddha* day') and then he should address them a third time (with the words 'food is ready, come'). Haradatta on the first of the three *sūtras* explains that the request should be 'tomorrow there is a *śrāddha*, you should do me the favour of being in the place of the *Āhavanīya* fire' i. e. you should partake of the food that will be prepared. *Manu* III. 187 also says that the invitation should be on the previous day or on the day of the *śrāddha*

911 a. इष्टापूर्तमृतारिषु दर्शवृद्धयष्टकास्तु च । पात्रेभ्यस्तेषु कारिषु देयं नेत्र कुभोजनम् ॥ देवल q. by स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 410.

912. ब्राह्मणासम्पत्तौ कुशमयब्राह्मणे आद्रमुक्तं आद्रविवेके । ... ब्राह्मणानामसम्पत्तौ कृत्वा दर्भमयान् द्विजान् । आद्रं कृत्वा विधानेन पश्चाद्विषु दापयेत् । इति आद्रधृत्वाभाष्यकारसमुद्रकरधृतवचनाच्च । आद्रतत्र p. 194 and again at p. 199 'एवं ब्राह्मणानामसम्पत्तौ पक्षत्रयासनेषु दर्भचतुष्टयोपवेशनम्'. The three पक्ष are देव, पितृ and मातामह.

912 a. पूर्वेषुनिवेदनम् । अपरेषुद्वितीयम् । तृतीयमामन्त्रणम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17, 11-13; हरदत्त explains 'श्वः आद्रं भविता तत्र भवताहवनीयार्थं प्रसादः कर्तव्य इति ।'. The exact procedure would be पूर्वेषुनिशि ब्राह्मणमुहं गत्वा दर्भपाणिचतुष्टयः पातितवक्षिणजायुरुपनीती प्रातुःस्वोपविष्टद्विजदक्षिणजायुं दक्षिणकरणेन स्पृशन् स्वो नः पितृकार्यं भविता तत्र विश्वेदेवस्थाने आहवनीयार्थं भवद्भिः क्षणः स्वीकर्तव्यः प्रसीदत ।' पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय (on आद्र) folio 55a. For पितृकब्राह्मणनिवेदन the difference will be पातितवामजायुर्दक्षिणस्तुल्यः प्राचीनीयातीति उवचन्त्य ब्राह्मणं &c.

itself. The Matsyapurāṇa<sup>913</sup> and Padma (Śṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 9.85-88) provide that the person intending to perform a śrāddha should in an humble manner invite the brāhmaṇas on the previous day or (in the morning of) the day of śrāddha, that he should touch the right knee (of the brāhmaṇa to be invited) with the words 'you are given this invitation by me' and repeat in their hearing the following observance 'you should be free from anger, should be intent on purity (of body and mind) and should abstain from sexual intercourse and I, the performer of śrāddha, shall also act in the same way and that the pīṭṛs in an aerial form wait upon the invited brāhmaṇas.' The Brāhan-nāradya-purāṇa states that the invitation should be in the words 'O best men! You should do me a favour and accept the invitation for śrāddha.' It is noteworthy that the Prajāpati-smṛti (63) prescribes that one should invite brāhmaṇas for a śrāddha or sacrifice for gods in the evening of the previous day after uttering the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ &c.'<sup>914</sup> The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 37 says that the performer should address the brāhmaṇa as follows: 'my father (is or will enter) into this your body and so will my grand-father; let him (the grand-father) come with his father and you should strictly observe the *vratā*' (the rules). The invitation to the brāhmaṇas representing pīṭṛs is to be given with the sacred thread in the *prācīnāvīṭa* form and to those for Vaiśvadevika in the *yajñopavīṭa* form. On the question whether the Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇas were to be invited first or the brāhmaṇas for pīṭṛs were to be invited first

913. पूर्वद्युरपरेद्युर्वा विनीतात्मा निमन्त्रयेत् । निमन्त्रितान् हि पितर उपतिष्ठन्ति तान् द्विजान् । वायुभूता तु गच्छन्ति तथासीनाद्युपासते ॥ दक्षिणं जानुमालभ्य त्वं मया तु निमन्त्रितः । त्वं निमन्त्र्य नियमं आवयेत्पितृबान्धवान् ॥ अक्रोधनैः शौचपरैः सततं बह्मचारिभिः । भवितव्यं भवद्भिश्च मया च आद्वेष्टकारिणां ॥ मत्स्य 16. 17-20, q. by Śra. क्रि. को. p. 81, आद्वेष्टत्वं p. 194. The verse निमन्त्रितान् occurs in मनु III. 189 (which reads वायुवच्चानु-गच्छन्ति). हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 763) quotes the verse दक्षिणं जानुं (but reads आवयेत् पितृकान् बुधः) and स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 406 quotes both. पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 85-88) has the same verses with some slight variations. Vide हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 1258.

914. अक्रोधनैः शौचपरैरिति गाथामुदीरयन् । सायमामन्त्रयेद्विधान् आद्वेष्टे देवे च कर्मणि ॥ प्रजापति 63. It is therefore likely that the Prajāpati-smṛti is much later than the Matsyapurāṇa or it is possible that the verse अक्रोधनैः is an ancient one and only repeated by the मत्स्य. Compare मनु III. 192 where we have the words 'अक्रोधनाः शौचपराः सततं बह्मचारिणः'. नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28. 20) puts the request as 'आद्वेष्टाणस्तु कर्तव्यः पसाद्वेष्टेति सत्तम'. This supports the Mit. on Yāj. I. 225.

there is a conflict among *smṛtis* and the medieval digests propose an option (vide Hemādri on *śrāddha* pp. 1154-1157). Manu III. 205 appears to lay down that the *daiva brāhmaṇa* should be invited first (*daivādyantam tad-iheta*). Yama quoted by several digests <sup>915</sup> says that the performer should request in the evening of the previous day *brāhmaṇas* with the words 'You should all be free from exertions and should avoid passion and anger for the *śrāddha* in my house which is to be performed tomorrow,' that the *brāhmaṇas* should reply 'let it be so if the night passes happily and without any mishap to us.' The digests (e. g. *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* p. 81, *Śrāddhatattva* p. 194 and *Nirṇayasindhu* III. p. 804) say that the verse '*sarvāyāsa &c.*' may be repeated when the invitation is given on the day previous to the day of *śrāddha* and the verse '*akrodhanaiḥ*' when the invitation is given on the morning of the *śrāddha* day. The words of invitation differ according to different authorities. For example, according to the *Mit.* on *Yāj. I.* 225 the words are '*śrāddhe kṣaṇaḥ kriyatām.*' Vide *Śr. Pr.* p. 106 also. Manu III. 187 and 191 show that the words '*nimantrana*' and '*āmantrana*' are used as synonyms. In the *Śrāddhasūtra* <sup>916</sup> of *Kātyāyana* the word '*āmantrana*' is used. But *Pāṇini* <sup>917</sup> (III. 3. 161) apparently makes a difference between the meanings of the two words and the *Mahābhāṣya* explains that invitation is called '*nimantrana*' which if rejected (without proper cause) involves a fault or sin, while that invitation which one is free to reject (without incurring blame) is called '*āmantrana*.' Therefore, it must be held that the few writers such as *Kātyāyana* who employ *āmantrana* use it in a secondary sense. The invitation should be given by a performer himself or by his son,

915. प्रार्थयेत् प्रदीपान्ते शुक्लवाकं त्रयितान् द्विजान् ॥ सर्वायासाविनिर्मुक्तैः कामक्रोध-  
दिवर्जितैः । भवद्भिर्भवितव्यं नः श्वोभूते आहूतकर्मणि ॥ ते तं तथेत्याविष्मेन याति चेद्भजनी  
सुखम् । यथाश्रुतं प्रतीक्षेरन् आहूतकालमतन्द्रिताः ॥ यम. q. by आ. कि. कौ. p. 80, आहू-  
तत्त्व p. 194, मव. पा. 564 (from अत्रि).

916. अपरपक्षे आहूतं कुर्वीतोर्ध्वं वा चतुर्ध्यां यदहः सम्पद्यते तदहर्ब्राह्मणानामन्य  
पूरेद्युर्वा । आहूतसूत्र I (of कात्यायन).

917. विधिनिमन्त्रणानामन्त्रणाधीष्टसंप्रथमार्थनेषु लिङ् । पाणिनि III. 3. 161. The  
महाभाष्य explains (Kielhorn, vol. II. p. 165) : याज्ञेयोगतः कर्तव्यं तन्निमन्त्रणम् ।  
किं पुनस्तत् । हव्यं. कव्यं वा । ब्राह्मणेन सिद्धं शुज्यतामिच्छुक्तेऽधर्मः प्रत्याख्यातः । आमन्त्रणे  
कामन्त्रारः । The आ. कि. कौ. p. 82, दोषरामन्द (आहूतसौख्य folio 51) and आहूतसूत्र  
p. 192 refer to this distinction between the two words.

brother or a pupil or a brāhmaṇa, but it should not be given through a person of another *varṇa* <sup>918</sup> or a woman or a child or person belonging to another *gotra* nor from a distance (Prajāpati 64). Pracetas provides that a brāhmaṇa performer of śrāddha when giving an invitation should touch the right knee, a ksatriya inviter the left knee of the invitee, a Vaiśya inviter should hold both feet of the invitee and a śūdra should prostrate himself at the feet of the invitee (vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 and S. K. L. p. 47). The Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 35) states an exception that if, when a śrāddha rite is going on, brāhmaṇas or Vedic students or ascetics come by chance begging for food, the performer should make them pleased by falling at their feet and feed them (i. e. no formal invitation is necessary in these cases). Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15. 12 for feeding uninvited ascetics. It is provided by Bhṛgu quoted by Hemādri that the brāhmaṇas on accepting the invitation should pronounce the finely-worded and comprehensive Vedic benediction quoted below.<sup>919</sup>

Uśanas <sup>919a</sup> provides that the performer should wash the floor of his house with water, cowdung it and cleanse the vessels on the day previous to the śrāddha and then give an invitation to the brāhmaṇas with the words 'tomorrow I am going to perform śrāddha'. The Varāhapurāṇa and the Kūrma also provide for this and for the washing of the clothes. Manu III. 206 also requires that the spot where śrāddha is to be performed should be clean, secluded, cowdunged and should slope to the south.

The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana <sup>920</sup> prescribes that a brāh-

918. अभोज्यं ब्राह्मणस्याहं क्षत्रियाद्यैर्मिमन्त्रितैः। स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 4.

919. आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणे ब्राह्मण्यंसी जायतामस्मिन् राज्ञे राजस्य इवस्यः शूरो महारथो जायतां वीरधी भेदुर्वेदिऽनङ्गानाङ्गः सतिः पुराभिययोऽ जिष्णु रथेयः सभेयो युवाऽस्य पञ्चमानस्य वीरो जायतां निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु कलिष्यो न ओषधयः पश्यन्तो योगक्षेमो नः कल्पताम्। तै. सं. VII. 5. 18, तै. ब्रा. III. 8. 13 (where this is explained), बाज. सं. 22. 22. Vide हेमाद्रि (on आ. p. 1159).

919 a. तत्रोक्तानः। गोमयेनोदकैश्च सुनिमार्जनं भाण्डशौचं कृत्वा श्वः कर्तास्मीति ब्राह्मणान् निमन्त्रयेत्। स्युतिच. (आ.) p. 409, आ. प्र. p. 108, हेमाद्रि on आ. p. 51; वज्रशौचादि कर्तव्यं श्वः कर्तास्मीति जानता। स्थानोपलेपनं चैव कृत्वा विमान् निमन्त्रयेत्। वराहपुराण q. by स्युतिच. (आ.) p. 403, आ. कि. कौ. p. 76, हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 1150, आङ्गतरु p. 192. हेमाद्रि explains 'आविज्ञाद्वैश्च प्रकारवचनः। तेन आङ्गोपयोमिसम्भारसंपादनभाण्डमेलनप्रोद्यनादि युज्यते'.

920. अनिश्चिनामन्त्रितो वापकामेद्वामन्त्रितो वाग्यद्वचं न प्रतिपृच्छीयात्। आङ्गद्वचं of कारपायन (I) q. by आङ्गतरु p. 189 (as गोमिल).

manu who has been invited (to a śrāddha dinner) by a faultless performer should not refuse the invitation nor should he, after being invited (and having accepted the invitation), accept a gift of even (uncooked) food from another person. Manu III. 190 and Kūrmapurāṇa provide that if a brāhmaṇa after receiving an invitation for a sacrifice to gods or manes according to śāstra directions and after having accepted it violates the appointment, he incurs sin and becomes a hog<sup>921</sup> (in his next birth). This does not apply where he is unable to go on account of illness or other valid reason.

The smṛtis laid down some strict and elaborate rules which were to be observed by the brāhmaṇas invited for śrāddha and by the performer himself. Many of the rules are applicable to both. Gaut. prescribes<sup>922</sup> that the brāhmaṇa who has partaken of śrāddha dinner should remain chaste (i. e. shun sexual intercourse) that whole day, and if he has intercourse with a wife of the śūdra caste he thereby makes his own *pitṛs* stay in the ordure of that wife. Vas. XI. 37 makes this rule applicable both to the performer and the invited brāhmaṇa and as regards wives of all *varṇas*. Manu III. 188 provides that the brāhmaṇa invited to dine at a sacrifice in honour of *pitṛs* and the performer of the śrāddha should remain controlled (i. e. chaste and free from anger and passion) and should not study the Veda (except *japa*). Yāj. I. 225 (latter half) briefly puts the matter by saying 'they should be controlled as to their bodies, speech and thoughts'. The Matsyapurāṇa<sup>923</sup> prescribes that both the performer of śrāddha and the brāhmaṇa invited to dine at it should avoid dining again (after the śrāddha dinner), journey, going in a conveyance, exertions, sexual intercourse, study of the Veda, quarrel and sleeping by day. Similar rules to observe continence are laid down for both on the day of śrāddha if invitation be given on the morning of the day of

921. आमन्त्रितो ब्राह्मणो वै योऽयस्मिन् कुर्वते क्षणम् । स याति नरकं चोरं सुकरत्नं प्रयाति च ॥ कूर्म, उत्तरार्धे 22. 7 q. by आ. प्र. p. 110.

922. सद्यः आहूतिं शुद्धावर्णवस्त्रपुरीषे मासं नयति पितृन् । तस्मात्तद्वर्णवस्त्राचारो दयात् । नो. 15. 23-24; on आहूतिं हरदत्त explains "आहूतमनेन शुक्रमिति, अत इतिष्ठति". This is वा. V. 2. 85 'आहूतमनेन शुक्रमितिष्ठति'. This explains the two forms आहूतिन् and आहूति.

923. पुनर्भोजनमज्जानं यानमायासमैधुनम् । आहूतकृष्याहूतशुक्लैश्च सर्वमेतद्विषयैरेतम् ॥ स्वाध्यायं कलहं चैव विवाहस्य च सर्वदा । मत्प 16. 27-28 q. by आ. क्रि. की. p. 98 (which reads अतमायासः). These verses are also यश (सुहृत्कण्ठ) 9. 123-124.

śrāddha and also on the previous day if invitation be given on the day previous to the śrāddha day. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 69. 2-4. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 79 appears to strike a dissenting note about sexual intercourse with one's wife during the days from the 5th to the 16th; while most other medieval writers such as Hemādri (śr. pp. 1036-7) and Śr. P. p. 111 are opposed to this view. The Śrāddhasūtra<sup>924</sup> of Kātyāyana provides that the performer should, from the time of giving invitation to the time when the brāhmaṇas sip water (i. e. perform ācamana after śrāddha dinner), remain pure, free from anger, hurry, negligence, should speak the truth and should shun a journey, sexual intercourse, hard work and study of the Veda and control speech (should remain mostly silent) and the brāhmaṇas invited should observe the same rules. Auśanasa (Jiv. vol. I, pp. 526-527) contains verses very similar in import to Kātyāyana. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 106-108), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 31-33) and Anuśāsana 125.24 have identical verses<sup>925</sup> and Vāyu 79. 60-61 are very similar in import. Laghu-Śaṅkha 29, Laghu-Hārīta 75 and Likhita 60 have the same verse requiring the invited brāhmaṇas to avoid eight matters, viz. dining again, journey, carrying loads, Vedic study, sexual intercourse, making gifts, accepting gifts, performing homa, while Prajāpati 92 substitutes the brushing of the teeth (with a twig), tāmḇūla, bath after applying oil to the body, and fast for the first four of the above eight. The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 12-13) and Padma (Pātālakhaṇḍa 101. 94-95) also contain a list of actions that should be avoided. Briefly put, the following were the observances for both inviter and invitee, viz. avoidance of sexual intercourse, dining again, falsehood, hurry, vedic study, heavy work, gambling, carrying burdens, giving gifts and acceptance of gifts, theft, journey, sleep by day, quarrels; the performer alone was to abstain from eating tāmḇūla, shaving, applying oil to the body, brushing the teeth with a twig; while the brāh-

924. तदहः क्षुचिरक्रोधनोऽत्वरितोऽयमसः सत्यवादी रयादृष्टमेधुनश्चमसाध्यायान्-  
र्जयेद्वाहनादि वायत ओषधर्हनादामन्त्रिताश्चैवम् । आहूय I of कर्त्तव्यम्. पुनर्भाजन-  
मध्वान् भाराध्ययनमेधुनम् । दानं प्रतिग्रहं होमं आहूयुत्वह वर्जयेत् ॥ लघुशङ्ख 29, q. by  
मिता. on या. I. 249 (without name); compare. कूर्मपुराण (II. 22. 6) and नारदीय  
(पूर्वार्ध 28. 4) for very similar verses.

925. आहूय दन्ता च भुक्त्वा च पुरुषो यः स्त्रियं व्रजेत् । पितरस्सत्यं तं मांसं तस्मिन्नेतासि  
होरेते । अनुशासनपर्व 125. 24. Almost the same words occur in मार्कण्डेय 28. 32-33  
and in अनुशासन 90. 12-13, वसिष्ठ 11. 37. The मिता. on या. I. 79 says 'एवं गच्छन्  
ब्रह्मचार्येव भवति । अतो यत्र ब्रह्मचर्यं आहूयादी चोदितं तत्र गच्छतोऽपि न ब्रह्मचर्यस्खलन-  
दोषोऽस्ति'.

manu invited was (alone) to observe the following, viz. not absenting oneself after accepting an invitation, making no delay when called for dinner (vide Śrāddhakalika folio 4b and 5a and Pitr-bhakti on śrāddha <sup>926</sup>).

Elaborate provisions are made from ancient times about the substances and utensils proper for being used at śrāddha and about those that should not be used therein. Ap. Dh. <sup>927</sup> S. remarks: 'the materials in śrāddha are sesamum, māśas, rice, yavas (barley), water, roots and fruits; but the pītṛs are extremely gratified by food that is mixed with clarified butter and for a very long time; so also they are gratified by wealth that is obtained lawfully and is bestowed on worthy persons'. Manu III 267 (= Vāyu 83. 3) is to the same effect as Ap. Dh. S. Yaj. I. 258 is content to say that food which is fit to be offered in sacrifices (*haviṣya*) should be served. Manu III 257 explains that food eaten by hermits in the forest, (cow's) milk, soma juice, meat that is not prepared with spices (or that is free from a bad smell), rock salt are by their very nature *havis* (sacrificial food). According to Gaut. 27. 11 the sacrificial food (*havis*) comprises boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley (after being baked or fried), grain separated from husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. <sup>928</sup> Other smṛtis and digests very much elaborated these brief indications in the early works. The three kinds of wealth (viz. *śukla*, *śabala* and *kṛṣṇa*) and the several lawful or uncondemned means of acquiring wealth have been described already in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 130 ff. The Mārkaṇḍeya (29. 14-15) condemns the use in śrāddhas of wealth that is obtained by taking bribes or from a *patita* (one guilty of a grave sin), that springs from bride-price or that is declared to be unlawful or is obtained by saying to another 'give me for the sake of a śrāddha to be offered to my father' (q. by Sm. C. on

926. निमन्त्रितः आहूकर्ता च पुनर्भोजनं अन्नं हितां त्वरां यन्माहं भारोद्धनं दूरगमनं कलहं शङ्क्यदणं च वर्जयेत् । शुचिः सत्यवादी क्षमी नृह्यचारी च इयात् । पितृभक्तिं of अविदत्त.

927. तत्र द्रव्याणि तिलमाषा व्रीहिषया आपो मूलफलाणि । स्नेहवति त्वेषां पितृणां प्रीतिर्वाथियांसं च कालम् । तथा धर्माद्वृत्तेन द्रव्येण तीर्थश्रुतिपणेन । आप. घ. सू. II. 7. 16. 22-24.

928. अरुभैक्षसत्कृष्णयावकाशकपयोद्धिपुतमूलफलोदकानि हवींषुत्तरोत्तरं प्रशस्तानि । नौ. 27. 11. On आप. घ. सू. I. 9. 6 नारायण quotes a verse of similar import 'पयो दधि यथागृह्य सपिरोद्धनतण्डुलाः । सोमो मांसं तथा तैलमापस्तानि वक्षेव तु ॥'.

śrāddha p. 412). The Skandapurāṇa emphasizes that at a śrāddha purity (*śuddhi*) must be specially secured in seven matters viz. the body (of the performer), the materials, the wife, the place (where śrāddha is to be performed), the mind, the mantras and brāhmaṇas.<sup>929</sup> Manu III. 235 (= Vas. 11.35) states: three are the sanctifying things in a śrāddha, viz. a daughter's son, a Nepal blanket and sesamum grains and three are commended in śrāddha viz. cleanliness, freedom from anger and absence of hurry.<sup>929a</sup> Pracetas mentions several kinds of corn that are commended as food in śrāddha. Manu III. 255 summarises that in śrāddha the riches (i. e. the most important matters) are afternoon, *darbhas*, proper cleansing of the place (or house) for śrāddha, sesame, generous expense (on food &c.), seasoning food, eminent brāhmaṇas.

The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa says that several kinds of corn-yielding plants (some due to tillage in villages and some growing wild) were produced by Brahmā when he milked the earth for famished people, while Brahmapaivarta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 537) affirms that when a few particles fell down on the earth while Indra drank Soma, from them arose such corn as *śyāmūka*, wheat, *yava*, *mudga* and red paddy and as they were produced from soma they were like nectar to the pitrs and food prepared from these should be offered to pitrs. The Mārkaṇḍeya speaks of seven kinds of *grāmya* corn and seven kinds of wild (*āranya*) corn. Prajāpati 119 recommends the use of eight kinds of corn, viz. nivāra, māsa, mudga, wheat, paddy, yava, grain and sesamum. The Matsya (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 538) narrates that when the Sun drank nectar some drops fell down from which arose the several kinds of

929. इरीरद्वयद्वाराभूमनोमन्त्रहिजन्मनाम्। शुद्धिः सप्तसु विज्ञेया आहुतकाले विशेषतः॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 205, 17.

929 a. त्रीणि आहुते पवित्राणि दौहित्रः कुतपस्तिताः। त्रीणि चात्र महांसन्ति शौचमक्रोधमत्नरात्॥ मनु. III. 235, वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 35. This very verse (the first half) is quoted in several Purāṇas as in विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 52, भगवद्गीता I. 185. 20, मार्कण्डेय 28. 64, स्कन्दपुराण (प्रभासखण्ड 205. 13). The पद्मपुराण (सुहृदखण्ड 47. 278-279) has the whole verse but reads आहुते त्रीणि...दौहित्रं and सत्यमक्रोधमत्नरा. It appears clear from the preceding verse that in Manu at least दौहित्र means daughter's son. But in the स्कन्द (प्रभासखण्ड 205 14 ff) several meanings of दौहित्र are given such as 'a vessel made of the horn on the nose of the rhinoceros' or 'clarified butter made from the milk of a cow of variegated colour.' The word कुतप also has nine meanings acc. to a Smṛti text quoted by Aparārka p. 474 'माह्वजः कच्छलो नावः सूर्योऽग्निस्तिथिर्ये च। तिला वभान्श्च कालश्च नवैते कुतपाः स्मृताः॥'; vide note 847 for कुतप.



paddy, *mudga*, sugarcane and that therefore sugar is sacred and may be employed in sacrifices to gods and manes. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* <sup>930</sup> mentions several kinds of corn that may be employed for śrāddha food. The *Brahma-purāṇa* 220. 154-155, *Vāyu* 82. 3, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* III. 16. 5-6, *Viṣṇu*, Dh. S., <sup>931</sup> *Brahmaṇḍa* II. 7. 143-152 and III. 14. contain similar lists of different kinds of corn that may be used in śrāddhas. The *Vāyupurāṇa* (80. 42-48) mentions various desirable eatables prepared from corn of various kinds, sugar and clarified butter and milk. <sup>932</sup>

Certain kinds of corn and cereals were forbidden. For example, the *Matsya-purāṇa* and *Padina* (*Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, chap. 9. 62-66) <sup>933</sup> declare that *masūra*, linseed, *nispāva*, *rājamāsa*, *kusumbhika*, *kodrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapittha*, *madhūka* and linseed are forbidden. *Viṣṇu* Dh. S. 79. 18 provides that the performer should avoid the bean called *rājamāsa*, *masūra*, stale food and salt manufactured from seawater. The *Ṣaṭ-trimśa-nmata* <sup>934</sup> forbids the use in śrāddha of all kinds of cereals covered with dark husk except *sesamum*, *mudga* and *māṣa*.

930. राजश्यामाकश्यामाकौ तद्वज्रैश्च प्रशान्तिकाः नीवाराः पौष्कराश्चैव वज्र्यानि पितृभूतये ॥ यवव्रीहिसर्गोधूमतिलमुद्राः ससर्षपाः । मियङ्गवः कोद्रवाश्च निष्पावाश्चातिशोभनाः । वज्र्या मर्कटकाः आद्रे राजमाषास्तथाणवः । विमूषिका मसूराश्च आद्वकर्मणि गहिताः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29,9-11 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. pp. 542-43) and explained as प्रशान्तिकाः मध्वद्वेषे प्रसिद्धो धान्यविशेषः पौष्कराः पद्मबीजानि निष्पावाः वज्राः. The last are called वाल in modern Marathi.

931. तिलेव्रीहियवैर्मर्षैरद्विर्मूलफलैः शक्विः श्यामाकैः मियङ्गुभिर्नीवारैश्च व्रीहोधूमैश्च मांसं प्रीयन्ते । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 80.1.

932. वज्र्याणि संभवश्यामि आद्रे वज्र्यानि यानि तु ॥ मसूरान्निष्पावराजमाषकुटुम्बिकाः ।...कोद्रवोद्वारचणकाः कपित्थं मधुकातसी ॥ मत्स्य 15.36-38 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) pp. 548-549 and आ. प्र. p. 40; पद्मपुराण (V. 9.64-67) q. by हेमाद्रि p. 548 has almost the same list. हेमाद्रि explains मधुक as उपेष्टीमधु and reads कोद्रवोद्वारचणक-कपित्थं in मत्स्य. चणक is चरी in Marathi.

933. राजमाषमसूर्यद्विषितकृतलवणानि च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 79.18 ; राजमाषामसूराश्च कोद्रवाश्च कोरदूषकाः । लोहितान् वृक्षनिर्वासान् आद्वकर्मणि वर्जयेत् ॥ शङ्ख 14.21 q. by हेमाद्रि on आद्व p. 548, who explains कोरदूषकः बनकोद्रवः.

934. बद्विज्ञप्तमते । कृष्णघाग्यानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेच्च आद्वकर्मणि । न वर्जयेत्तिलांश्चैव मुद्रांश्चार्वास्तथैव च । q. by हेमाद्रि (आद्व) p. 544, आ. प्र. p. 38. 'हविष्यं आद्व-हविष्यं गन्धं श्रीहिंशालियन्गोधूममुद्रामधुमयकालशाकमहाश्लेकलाङ्गुलीमरीचहिरुमुद्राशर्करा-कपूरैश्च गन्धसाम्भारपनस्तनालिकरकदलीचद्वरमय्ययोद्विषितपायसमधुमांसमधुति स्मृत्यन्तर-प्रसिद्धं वेदितव्यम् । हविष्यमित्यनेनैवायोग्यस्य स्मृत्यन्तरप्रतिषेद्धस्य कोद्रवमसूरचणककु-लित्यधुलाकनिष्पावराजमाषकुम्भाण्यवशात्कटुहृतीहयोपोदकीर्णशक्कुरपिप्लीवकाश्चतुष्पुष्पोचर-विडलवणमादिष्वचामरक्षीरद्विषितपायसादीनां निवृत्तिः । मिता. on वा. I. 240.

From considerations of space this matter cannot be pursued further. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 240 puts together a long list of allowed and of condemned kinds of grains and other articles.

What milk should be ordinarily partaken of and what should be avoided has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 782-783. A few words are added here. Manu III. 271 and Yaj. I. 258 provide that if cow's milk or rice cooked therein (called *pāyasa*) is offered in śrāddha the pītṛs are satisfied for one year. Vāyu 78. 17, Brahma<sup>935</sup> 220.169, Mārkaṇḍeya 32.17-19, Viṣṇupurāṇa III.16.11 forbid the use in a śrāddha of the milk of a she-buffalo, of a camari or female deer, of sheep or ewes, of she camels, of human females and of all animals with one hoof and the use of the curds and clarified butter prepared from such milk. But ghee prepared from buffalo milk was allowed by Sumantu and Devala (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 572 ).

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa<sup>936</sup> (29.15-17 ), Vāyu (78.16) and Viṣṇupurāṇa (III.16.10) lay down that the water to be employed in śrāddha must not have a bad smell, must not be foamy, or taken from a puddle or a small reservoir which cannot slake the thirst of a cow, must not have been brought overnight, must not be taken from a reservoir not dedicated to all or from a trough or the like meant for beasts.

Several rules are laid down about the fruits, roots and vegetables recommended or condemned for use in śrāddha. For example, the Brahma-purāṇa (220.156-158) enumerates several kinds of fruits such as mangoes, *bilva*, pomegranate, cocoanut, dates, grapes, as fit to be given in śrāddha. Vide Śāṅkha 14.22-23 also. Vāyu (78.11-15) states<sup>936a</sup> that garlic, leeks and onions, other things that are of bad odour or taste

935 माहिषं चामरं मार्गमाविकैकशफोद्भवम् । जैणमौद्गमाविकं च (०द्गमजाधीकं ?) वाधि क्षीरं घृतं त्यजेत् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220.169 q. by हेमाद्रि ( आ. ) p. 573.

936. दुर्गन्धि केनिलं चाम्बु तथैवात्यतरोदकम् ॥ न लभेद्यत्र गौस्तुतिं नक्तं यच्चाप्युपा-  
हृतम् । यत्र सर्षपास्तुष्टं यच्चाभोज्यनिषानजम् ॥ तद्वर्ज्यं सालिलं तात सदैव पितृकर्मणि ॥  
मार्कण्डेय 29. 15-17. Vide also ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्धातपाद 14. 26).

936 a. लहानं रुखं चैव पलाण्डुं पिण्डमूलकम् । कर्मभ्यानि चान्यानि हिनानि  
रसपथतः ॥...अवेदोक्ताश्च निषांसा लवणाग्नीषराणि च । आहुकर्मणि वयानि याश्च नापा  
रजस्वलाः ॥ वायु 78.12 and 15 q. in हेमाद्रि ( आ. p. 555) and स्मृतिच. ( आ. ) p. 416.  
The स्मृतिच. ( आ. p. 415) quotes a verse and a half from Sūśruta for ten  
varieties of पलाण्डु.

and all exudation from trees not permitted by the Veda and salt gathered from saltish earth, should be avoided in śrāddha. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra<sup>937</sup> (79.17) contains a long list of fruits, bulbs and vegetables that were not to be employed in śrāddha. The Rāmāyana states<sup>938</sup> that Rāma when an exile in the Dandakā forest gratified his pitrs by offering the fruits of *inguda*, *badara*, and *bilva* trees and generalises that deities are offered that food which is partaken of by a person (who is a devotee of that deity). From considerations of space detailed references to the smṛtis and purāṇas are passed over. The Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 52-53, Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 43-47) of Rudradhara and other digests collect in one place the foods, vegetables, fruits and roots that are allowed to be offered in śrāddha and that are condemned in śrāddha. Manufactured salt was forbidden, but natural salt from a lake (called saindhava) was allowed. Salt was not to be served directly (as Viṣṇudharmasūtra 79. 12 says) but when put in while cooking vegetables it was not prohibited. There was a difference of opinion about the employment of asafoetida (vide Hemādri on Śrāddha p. 565). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (79. 5-6) provides that flowers having a strong (or nasty) odour or no odour at all, the blossoms of thorny plants and red flowers should not be given, but one may give white and sweet-smelling flowers even though they are taken from thorny plants and flowers though red in colour may be taken from aquatic plants. Śaṅkha (14. 15-16) is to the same effect (q. by Hemādri p. 684). Vāyu (75. 33-35) is to the same effect and adds that the flowers called Japā, Bhaṇḍī, Rūpikā (of arka plant), Kurantaka should be avoided in śrāddha. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 162-165) specifies the several kinds of flowers that may be offered in śrāddha such as jāti, campaka, mallikā, mango blossom, tulasī, tagara, ketakī and various kinds of lotuses (white, blue and red &c.). The Smṛtyarthasāra includes *tulasī* among things to be avoided in śrāddha. The Sm. C. notes this and remarks

937. पिप्पली-सुकुण्डक-द्वस्तुण-शिथु-सर्षप-सुरसा-सर्जक-सुवर्बल-कुष्माण्ड-अलाधु-  
वार्ताकु-पालङ्गुषा-उपोदकी-तण्डुलीयक-कुसुम्भ-पिण्डालुक-महिषीक्षीराणि वर्जयेत् । विष्णु-  
धर्मसूत्र. 79. 17.

938. इक्षुवैभद्रीर्बिल्वे रामस्तर्पयते पितृन् । यद्वत् पुष्पो ह्येकं तद्वत्तास्तरस्य देवताः ॥  
रामायण, अयोध्या 103.30, 104.15 q. by हेमाद्रि on आश्व p. 561, जेयातिथि on मनु V.  
7, स्मृतिच. (जा.) p. 416. स्कन्द (नारदखण्ड) 220. 49 is 'यद्वत् पुष्पोऽस्माति तद्वत्ता-  
स्तरस्य देवताः'.

that it is not clear on what this dictum prohibiting tulasī is based <sup>938a</sup>.

Kūśas are required in śrāddha. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 657 for general remarks on kūśas. A few words may be added here. The Śat. Br. VII. 2. 3. 2 states that the waters that loathed Vṛtra went out to waterless deserts and became bushes of darbhas <sup>939</sup>. Similarly, Āśv. Gr. III. 2.2 summarizes a Brāhmaṇa text stating that darbhas are the essence of waters and herbs (apām vā eṣa oṣadhīnām raso yad-darbhaḥ). Prajāpati (verse 98) <sup>939a</sup> provides that darbhas should be gathered from a pure spot in the morning by a brāhmaṇa, should have mantras repeated over them, should be greenish in colour, should be as long as a cow's ear and then they are holy. The Gobhila gr. (I. 5. 16-17) states 'the *barhis* consists of kūśa grass cut off at the points at which the blades diverge from the main stalk and that the blades should be cut off near the roots at the rites meant for the Fathers'. Dakṣa (II. 33 and 35) provides that the second part of the day (divided into eight parts) is the proper time for collecting fuelsticks, flowers and kūśas. The Gobhilaśmṛti (I. 20-21) says <sup>940</sup> that the darbhas used in sacrifices are greenish, those to be used in Pākayajñas should be yellowish, those in rites for the pitṛs must be taken out from the roots and those that are to be used in Vaiśvadeva should be dark-pale, and that

938 a. उपोद्धाती—तुलसी—कुण्यातसी शिष्यमहासर्षप-पत्रशाक-कुण्यसर्षप-पुतिगन्ध-शाकानि कुण्याद्वेपलकायाश्च (वज्यानि)। स्मृत्यर्थस्तारं p. 53; स्मृत्यर्थस्तारं तु तुलस्यपि चर्चर्युक्तं तत्र मूलं चित्तं प्रसिद्धस्मृतिसमुच्चयेषु तुलसीनिषेधस्यादज्ञानात्। स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 435. The टोडरानन्द (आज्ञासौख्य) remarks: ग्रन्थागते तुलसीनिषेधस्तु शाकविषयः मेव आज्ञाविषयश्च। तत्र तुलसीविजयं भृङ्गवाजादि प्रज्ञस्तम्। (folio 47 b.).

939. The इतपथब्राह्मण has the following legend about darbha and derives the word from इभ् 'अपश्च ह्येता ओषधयश्च या वै वृत्राद् बीभर्तमाना आपो धृष्व इभस्य उदायंस्ते वर्धो अभवन् यद्वभस्य उदायंस्तस्मादर्थः। ता हेताः छुद्रा मेध्या आपो वृत्राभिप्रसरिता यद्वर्धस्तेनौषधय उभयेनैवैनमेतद्वक्षेन मीणाति। VII. 2.3.2.

939 a. मन्त्रयुता हरिहर्णाः प्रातर्विषसमुद्धृताः। शोकर्णमात्रा वर्धोः स्युः पवित्राः पुष्यभूमिजाः॥ यज्ञापति 98. The उत्पादनमन्त्र is 'विरिञ्चिना सहोत्पन्न परमेष्ठिन् निःसर्गः॥ छद्म पापानि सर्वाणि भव स्वस्तिकरो मम॥ q. by. स्मृतिच. I. p. 107, अपराकं p. 458.

940. हरिता यज्ञिया वर्धोः पीतकाः शाकयज्ञिकाः। समूलाः पितृदेवत्याः कल्माषा वेभदेविकाः॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 21 q. by स्मृतिच. I. p. 109, अपराकं p. 458, आ. क्रि. को. p. 46 (which last explains: समूला मूलसमीपे लूना इत्यर्थः); हरिता वै सपिबूलाः छुद्राः रिनग्धाः सप्ताहिताः। एणिमात्राः प्रमाणेन पितृतीर्थेन संस्कृताः॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 21 and ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्धातपाद 11. 74-75, quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by अपराकं p. 458, which explains 'चक्षुःशुद्धिः करो रणिः, संस्कृताः पराशुष्टाः.' Vide बापुपुराण 75.38-39 for a similar verse.

greenish *darbhas* together with ends uncut, that are smooth and well nourished, one *aratni* in length and touched with that part of the hand called *pitṛtīrtha* are pure. The Padmapurāṇa (Śrīṣṭikhaṇḍa 11.92) and Skanda VII.1. 205.16 state that kuśas and black sesamum spring from the body of Viṣṇu and the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 139.12 says that *tilas* and *darbhas* sprang from the perspiration and hair of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation. The Matsya (22.89) says the same.

The Garuḍa <sup>941</sup> (Pretakhaṇḍa 2.21-22) states that all the three gods dwell in kuśa grass viz. Brahmā at its root, Viṣṇu in the middle and Śaṅkara at the end and that brāhmaṇas, mantras, kuśas, fire, tulasī leaf—these do not become *nirmūlya* (stale and so unfit to be used again) even when the same are employed again and again. But an exception is made by Gobhila <sup>942</sup> that those *darbhas* which are spread on the ground for placing pīṇḍas on them or that are used in *tarpaṇa* and those that are held in the hand while a man is answering the calls of nature should be given up (and not used again). The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79.2 and Vāyu 75.41 provide that if kuśas are not available, kāśa grass or Dūrvā may be substituted. The Skandapurāṇa VII (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa) part 1.206.17 says that straight *darbhas* are used in giving gifts, at baths, in *japa*, *homa*, dinner and worship of gods, but they are double-folded when used in rites for pitrs. The Skanda VII. 1. 205.16 provides that the top of *darbhas* is for divine rites, while *darbha* with the root and tip is meant for *pitṛka* rites. This is based on the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2.17 which states that the top of the *darbha* belongs to gods, the middle to men and the root part to the fathers.

Great importance was attached to the use of *tila* (sesamum) in śrāddha. The Jaiminigr̥hya II.1 states that the whole house should have sesamum grains scattered about in it. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.8 provides that when the invited brāhmaṇas come they should be given water mixed with sesame. The Baud. gr. II. 11.64 provides that sesamum grains are holy in śrāddha for making gifts of them or as part of food or for being mixed in

941. विष्णु मन्त्रा कुशा वज्रिस्तुलसी च समेध्वर । नेत्रे निर्मालयतां पाप्मिन्निवर्तयन्तः  
पुनः पुनः ॥ नवह (प्रेतखण्ड 2. 22).

942. विष्णुर्देवे स्तुता दत्ताः स्तरणार्थे (दर्भास्तर्पणार्थे?) तथैव च । धृतेः कृते च  
विष्णुश्चेत्यावस्तेषां विधीयते ॥ मोघिलसंहति I, 22, q. by अवतार्क p. 458, वेदवति p. 640,  
आ. कि. को. p. 49.

water. The Prajāpatismṛti speaks<sup>943</sup> of four kinds of *tilas* viz. white, black, very black and *jartilas* and states that each succeeding one gives greater gratification to the *pītra* than each preceding one. The Tai. S. V. 4.3.2 refers to *jartilas* and Jai. X. 8.7 holds a discussion thereon. The Nārada-purāṇa (pūrvārdha 28.36)<sup>944</sup> provides that the performer of śrāddha should scatter *tilas* in the midst of the brāhmaṇas invited and at the doors with the mantra 'apahatā' (may the *asuras* and evil spirits that sit on the altar be struck and run away). Yaj. I. 234 also recommends this mantra (which is Vāj. S. II. 29). The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 22. 18) states that sesame should be scattered all round and a goat should be tied near the spot, since śrāddha polluted by *asuras* becomes purified by sesame and a goat. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 16.14) prescribes that by *tilas* scattered on the ground one should ward off evil spirits (Yātudhāna). The Garuḍapurāṇa<sup>945</sup> (Pretakhaṇḍa 2. 16) makes Śrīkrṣṇa say 'tilas have sprung from the perspiration on my body and are holy; *asuras*, *dānavas* and *daityas* run away on account of *tilas*.' The Anuśāsana-parva (90.22) says that *yātudhānas* and goblins snatch away the *havis* when the śrāddha is offered without *tilas*. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 540) quotes a verse as follows: 'he who applies as unguent *tilas*, who bathes with water in which *tilas* are mixed, offers *tilas* into fire, makes gifts of *tilas*, eats *tilas* and who grows *tilas*—these six never sink (i. e. are not unlucky nor in trouble).

A great deal is said about the vessels to be used in offering *arghya* (water for honouring the invited brāhmaṇas and *piṇḍas*), for cooking śrāddha food, for dining and for serving. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana<sup>946</sup> provides that the *arghya* water

943. छल्लः कृष्णः कृष्णतरश्चतुर्थो जर्तिलास्तिलः । उत्तरोत्तरतः आद्धे पित्र्यां वृत्ति-  
कारकाः ॥ प्रजापति 99. जर्तिलाः are wild *tilas*. The तै. सं. V. 4.3.2 has this passage  
'जर्तिलयथाग्ना वा जुहवाद्गन्धीषुकयथाग्ना न शम्यान् पशून् विनस्ति नारण्यामथो स्वत्याहुर-  
नाहुतिर्न जर्तिलाश्च गन्धीषुकाभ्येयजमानेण जुहोति'. शबर appears to quote काठकसंहिता  
6. 3 also. The conclusion arrived at by Jai. X. 8.7 is that the passage about  
जर्तिलाः is an अर्घ्याद् for praising पयोहोम. The स्मृतिच. (आद्ध) p. 433 says  
जर्तिलास्तु तिलाः प्रोक्ताः कृष्णवर्णा वने भवा इति सत्यव्रतेनाभिधानात्.

944. The मन्त्र is अपहता अहुरा रक्षसि वेदिषद्. । वाज. सं. II. 29.

945. श्रीकृष्ण उवाच । मम स्नेहसमुच्चतास्तिलास्तार्क्ष्यं पवित्रकाः । अमुरा दानवा देव्या  
विद्वान्ति तिलैस्तथा ॥ गण्ड (पेतखण्ड) 2. 16; तिलोद्भृती तिलरन्ध्रायी तिलहोता तिलमवः ।  
तिलभक्षी तिलावापी षट्तिली नावसीदति ॥ q. by कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 540.

946. यज्ञियज्ञाक्षमसेषु पवित्रान्नाहितेषु एकैकस्मिन्पत्रे आसिञ्चति शक्नो देवीरिति ।...  
सौवर्णराजतैर्दुष्परत्नैश्च मणिमयानां पात्राणामन्यतमेषु यानि वा विधन्ते पत्रेषु वैकैकर्यकेन  
वद्वाति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु । आद्धहृत् (of कार्याचन) II.

should be taken in camasas (cups) made of sacrificial trees (such as *palāśa*, *aśvattha*, *udumbara*) or in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn, precious stones whichever may be available, or in a vessel made of leaves. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 14-15) provides that the performer should employ metallic vessels, particularly vessels made of silver. The Mārkaṇḍeya (31.65) and Vāyu (74.3) state that in a vessel of silver the (ancient) pitṛs milked *svadhā* and hence a silver vessel is highly desired by pitṛs and brings delight to them. Yāj. I. 237 also specially recommends silver vessels. The Vāyu (74. 1-2), Matsya (17. 19-22), Brahmandā (Upodghāta 11. 1-2) and Padma (Śrṣṭikhanda 9. 147-150) state that vessels of gold, silver or copper are the (proper) ones for pitṛs; that even the talk about silver or the sight or gift of silver gives inexhaustible results to pitṛs in heaven, that vessels to be used for *arṇhya*, for *pinḍa* and for the food to be offered should be preferably of silver and that in rites for gods a silver vessel is not auspicious. Atri (q. by Sm. C. II p. 464) says that in rites for the gods and pitṛs, vessels of gold and silver should be respectively employed and in default of these vessels of other metals (such as copper, bell-metal) should be used (as stated by Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79.22 and 24). The Padma provides<sup>947</sup> that the vessels may be of sacrificial wood or of *palāśa* or of silver or made from a sea product (such as conch shell) and that since silver was produced from the eye of Śiva, it is a great favourite with pitṛs. Prajāpati (111) provides that the three *pinḍas* should be cast in a vessel of gold or silver or copper or bell-metal or of rhinoceros horn but not in earthenware or a wooden vessel, that (verse 112) the cooking vessels should be of copper or of any metal, but an earthen vessel baked in fire and immersed in water is the best (for cooking), that food cooked in an iron vessel is like crow's flesh, that (115) the vessels to be used for taking food by the brāhmaṇas should be made of gold, silver or of an alloy of five metals or they may take their food in *patrāvālī* (i. e. leaves stitched together); vide also Matsya

947. पात्रं वनस्पतिमिव तथा पर्णमिव पुनः॥ राजतं वा यजुर्वीतं तथा सागरसम्भवम् । सौवर्णं राजतं वात्रं पित्राणां पात्रमिष्यते । ...वार्ष्येयि अद्भुता इत्यमकवाचोपकल्पते । अर्ष्येयि पितृपिण्डेषु पित्राणां राजतं स्तुतम् । ...शिवनेत्रोद्भवं यस्माद्वत्सलपितृवृत्तम् । पद्म ( दृष्टिकण्ड 9. 147-151); तथावर्षेयिण्डभोजयादौ पित्राणां राजतं मवम् । शिवनेत्रो...वृत्तम् । अमङ्गलं तद्यत्नेन देवकार्येषु वज्रिद् ॥ मत्स्य 17. 22-23.

17. 19-20. The use of plantain leaves for bhojana is forbidden<sup>947a</sup> by some. Brāhmaṇas should not take ācamana from a vessel made of bell-metal, kharpara, śukra, stone, clay, wood, fruit or iron. Ācamana should be performed with water from a copper vessel. Atri (153) prescribes that no food should be served from an iron vessel; if so served the food is like ordure to the diner and the server goes to hell. The vessels for cooking śrāddha food are to be made of gold, silver, copper or bell-metal or even of clay provided the last are new ones and strong (well baked) but never of iron. Vide Śr. Pr. p. 155 for details. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 24) quotes a verse which says that food offered in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or of *phulgu* wood becomes inexhaustible.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79. 11 provides that for unguents ( *anulepana* ) to be applied to the bodies of the invited brāhmaṇas, sandal-wood, saffron, camphor, *aguru*, *padma* may be used. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 165-166) mentions kuṣṭha, jaṭa-māṇsī, nutmeg, uśīra, mustā and some others as proper perfumed articles to be used at śrāddhas.

It has already been seen at pp. 413-14 what kinds of food were recommended or condemned for śrāddha. The Matsyapurāṇa<sup>948</sup> states that food containing milk and curds and clarified butter from cow's milk mixed with sugar gives satisfaction to all pitṛs for one month and that whatever food, whether cow's milk or ghee or rice cooked in milk, is mixed with honey, yields inexhaustible results. The Brahmapurāṇa also (220. 182-184) provides that such eatables as are sweet and oily and are slightly sour and pungent should be served in śrāddha and one should shun eatables that are very sour or very saltish or very pungent, since they are *āsua* (fit for *asuras*). Great emphasis was laid on serving preparations of food made from *māṣa*

947 a. यत्वाङ्गिरसोक्तम् 'न जातिकुसुमानि न कवलीपत्रम्' इति कवलीपत्रमत्र भोजनमिति पात्रतया प्राप्तं निषिध्यते । स्मृतिच. ( आ ) p. 434. Others said that there is an option as to कवलीपत्र, as certain smṛtis (e. g. लक्ष्मणस्मृत्या 23. 42) allowed plantain leaves. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्धातपाद 21. 35-40) mentions that the leaves of पलाश, अम्बथ, उदुम्बर, विकङ्कत, काश्मर्य, खदिर, हल, न्यग्रोध, बिह्व may be used for taking food in and that vessels made of Phalgu wood, of Bilva wood and bamboo are allowed and yield certain good rewards.

948. अर्घं सद्यश्चिरं गोघृतं शर्करान्वितम् । मांसं प्रजाति वै सर्वान् विदुर्निर्याह केशवः ॥ ...यत्किञ्चिन्मधुसमिधं गोक्षीरं घृतपायसम् । वृक्षमक्षयमिर्याहुः पितरः पूर्ववेवताः ॥ मत्स्य 17. 30-36, the first being q. by स्मृतिच. ( आ. ) p. 431.



beans. The *Aśtanasa*<sup>949</sup>—smṛti pronounces the threat that the brāhmaṇa, who, when dining at śrāddha, does not eat māṣa food, becomes a beast for twenty-one births after death. The Sm. C. quotes a smṛti text saying that a śrāddha in which no māṣa preparation is offered is as good as not performed.

The greatest divergence has prevailed about the employment of flesh at śrāddhas among writers from the earliest times. The subject of flesh-eating in general has been discussed at great length in the History of Dharmasāstra, vol. II. pp. 772-782. A few remarks about flesh in relation to śrāddha will not be out of place here. The Āp. Dh. S. prescribes<sup>950</sup> that the obligatory śrāddha (to be performed every month) must contain food mixed with fat, the best course (for supplying fat) is to employ clarified butter and flesh; on failure of these two, sesamum oil and vegetables may be employed. The same sūtra also provides<sup>951</sup> that the pitṛs are gratified for a year by the offering of cow's flesh in a śrāddha, that by the flesh of a buffalo the gratification of pitṛs extends to more than a year, that this rule extends to the flesh of wild animals (like hares) and village (or domesticated) animals (like goats) that are declared to be fit for being sacrificed, that the gratification of pitṛs extends to endless time if the flesh of a rhinoceros is offered to brāhmaṇas seated on rhinoceros skin, so also by the flesh of the

949. यो नाश्नाति द्विजो मां नित्यं पितृकर्मणि । स येन पशुतां याति सस्ततमेक-  
विंशतिम् ॥ औशनसस्मृति (V.) p. 531 (Jiv. I.).

950. जेयमिकं तु ब्राह्मं स्नेहवदेव वृथात् । सर्पिर्मत्तमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । अभावे तैलं  
शाकमिति । आप. ध. सू. II. 8. 19. 13-15.

951. संवत्सरं नयेन प्रीतिः । भुर्यासमतो माहिदेव । एतेन श्राव्यारण्यानां पशूनां मांसं  
मेधयं श्राव्यातम् । खट्वोपस्तरणे खट्वमांसेनानन्तर्यं कालम् । तथा जलचलेर्मत्स्यस्य मांसेन वार्ध्वा-  
णस्य च । आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 25—II. 7. 17. 3. वार्ध्वाणस or वार्ध्वाणिस is explained as  
a red-coloured goat that is *tripība* (whose ears are so long that they touch the  
water it drinks), that is old and the foremost of the herd. त्रिपिबमिन्द्रियक्षीणं  
यूथस्याग्रचरं तथा । रक्तवर्णं तु राजेन्द्र ताम्रं वार्ध्वाणिसं विदुः ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 141. 48 q. by  
स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 431) The Mit. On या. I. 260 and मेधातिलिपि On मनु. III. 271 quote  
a slightly different verse: त्रिपिबमिन्द्रियक्षीणं श्वेतं बुद्धमजापतिम् । वार्ध्वाणिसं तु तं पाण्डुर्या-  
जिनाः ब्राह्मकर्मणि ॥ and Mit. explains त्रिपिब as 'पिबतः कर्णौ जिह्वा च यस्य जलं स्पृशन्ति  
स त्रिभिः पिबतीति त्रिपिबः'. अपरार्क p. 552 cites this verse as a जेयम. हेमाद्रि (आ.  
p. 590) states that the 2nd verse is a various reading of the first. अपरार्क p. 553  
quotes another verse according to which वार्ध्वाणिस is a white-feathered bird  
with red head and dark throat 'कुण्डलीयो रक्तशिरो श्वेतपक्षो विहङ्गमः । स वै  
वार्ध्वाणिसः प्रोक्त इत्येषा जेयमी कुतिः ॥'. Several forms are met with in printed  
works viz. वार्ध्वाणिस or वार्ध्वाणस or वार्ध्वाणिस. The दीपकलिका gives the two  
explanations of वार्ध्वाणिस (this is the reading of the printed work) as a white  
goat and as a bird.

fish called 'śatabali' and the flesh of a *Vārddhrīṇasa*. Vas. XI 34 contains the following remarkable verse: 'an ascetic, when invited in a rite for the gods or pitrs, who avoids (does not partake of) flesh, dwells in Hell for as many years as the number of hair (on the body of the animal whose flesh he avoids).' Even the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (I. 140. 49-50) emphatically asserts that he who does not partake of flesh-food in a row of diners at a śrāddha which has been properly employed goes to hell. Manu V. 35 and *Kūrma* II. 17.40 contain a similar verse applicable to all those who are invited as brāhmaṇas at a śrāddha. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* II. 22.75 provides that the brāhmaṇa who is employed for the performance of a śrāddha and does not eat flesh offered therein becomes a beast for 21 births. Manu III. 257 states that the following are said to be proper offerings in a śrāddha by their very nature viz. food (prepared from *nivāra* grain and the like) fit for a forest hermit, milk, soma juice, flesh that does not emit foul smell and unmanufactured salt. An ascetic was ordinarily required not to partake of flesh; but *Vasiṣṭha* insisted on his partaking of it when invited at a śrāddha.

Manu III. 267-272, Yāj. I. 258-260, *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 80. 1 ff, *Anuśāsanaparva* chap. 88, the *Śrāddhasūtra* of *Kātyāyana* (kandikā. 7-8), *Kūrmapurāṇa* II. 20. 40-42, 29. 2-8, *Vāyu* 83. 3-9, *Matsya* 17. 31-35, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* III. 16.1-3, *Padmapurāṇa* (Sṛṣṭi 9. 158-164), *Brahmapurāṇa* 220.23-29, *Viṣṇudharmottara* I. 141.42-47 state at length the periods of time for which pitrs are gratified by the flesh of certain animals being served at a śrāddha. The verses of Yāj. being the shortest in all these works are given below. Yāj.<sup>952</sup> states; Pitrs are gratified by the serving of sacrificial food (such as rice, fruits, roots & c.) for a month, for a year by (cows's milk or) rice cooked in cow's milk, for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 months respectively by the flesh of fishes (*pāṭhina*), of (red coloured) deer, of a ram, of a bird (such as a *tilliri*), of a goat, of a spotted deer, of a dark-coloured deer, of a *ruru* deer, of a wild boar, of a hare; the offering of rhinoceros flesh, of a fish called *Mahāśalka*, of

952. हविष्यत्वेन वै मांसं पायसेन तु बल्लरम् । मांसवहारिण्यकौरभसाङ्गुनच्छानपार्श्वतः ॥  
ऐणरीषवाराहशालीमर्त्तैर्यथाक्रमम् । मांसवृद्धञ्चाभितुष्यन्ति द्वैरेहि पितामहाः । सङ्ग्रामिषं महा-  
शल्कं मधु मृग्यक्रमेव वा । लोहामिषं महाशल्कं मांसं वार्धग्यसदयं च ॥ यद्वदति नयारथश्च  
सर्वमानस्यमहमुते । वा. I. 258-261. महाशल्कं is explained as कालशल्कं by the मिता-  
करा, while the स्थितिच. (आ p. 431) frankly admits that it does not know  
what कालशल्क is: 'कालशल्कं कीदृशमिति न विदः ।'.

honey, of food fit for hermits (wild corn such as *nīvāra*), the flesh of a red goat, of *Mahāśaka* (i. e. *Kalāśaka*), and the flesh of *Vārđhrīpasa*—these secure inexhaustible fruit. There is some divergence of views among the several works. For example, *Manu* III. 267 and 271, *Kātyāyana* (in *śrāddhasūtra* 7) appear to hold that by offering food prepared from village corn (such as rice, *māsa* & c.) or wild eatables (such as *nīvāra* or fruits and roots) the gratification is only for one month and the flesh of *Vārđhrīpasa* produces gratification for twelve years only (and not for all time). *Viṣṇu Dh.* S. 80.10 and *Manu* III. 270 bring in buffalo flesh and tortoise flesh as giving gratification for ten and eleven month respectively. *Hemādri* (on *śrāddha* p. 590)<sup>953</sup> is careful to point out that these words about the duration of time are not to be taken literally but what is really intended is to convey greater and greater gratification of the *pitr̥s* according to the kind of flesh offered. *Pulastya* quoted by the *Mit.* and *Aparārka* p. 555 provides that a *brāhmaṇa* should generally or mainly offer at a *śrāddha* hermit's food, a *kṣatriya* or a *vaiśya* should offer flesh, a *śūdra* should offer honey and all *varṇas* may offer anything else (except these three) which is not forbidden.<sup>954</sup> Whoever may be the offerer, the eater at a *śrāddha* dinner was to be a *brāhmaṇa* alone and so it follows that *brāhmaṇas* invited to a *śrāddha* by a *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* had to eat flesh. Yet it is remarkable that even the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Kalpataru* written about 1100–1120 A. D. do not expressly say that in the *Kali* age flesh-eating at *śrāddha* is totally prohibited at least for *brāhmaṇas*. It has been shown already (*H. of Dh.* vol. III pp. 775–776) that even when animal sacrifices were the order of the day in the *Rgveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* there was an undercurrent of thought that the offerings of fuel-sticks or of boiled rice when made with heartfelt devotion to the gods were as good as flesh offerings for

953. इह सर्वत्र श्रित्यतिशयो विवक्षितः। न तु यथाश्रुत एव कालः। तथा सति द्वादश-वर्षपर्यन्तं पित्रणां वृत्तत्वात् आह्वाकरणे प्राप्ते सति न 'प्रतिवर्षं यत्नात्कार्थम्' इत्येतद्वचनं विवक्षित इति हरिहरादयः। हेमाद्रि (भा. p. 590).

954. अत्र यथापि ह्यन्यथासांस्तमन्वादीनि सर्ववर्णानां सामान्येन आह्ने योग्यानि वार्ज-तानि तथापि पुलस्त्योका न्यबन्धावर्णीया। अन्यथा ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः। मधु-प्रदानं शूद्रस्य सर्वेषां चाविरोधि यत्। मिता. on या. I. 260; तथा च आह्वाकरणे बृहन्नारदीये यथाचारं पदेयं तु मधुमांसादिकं तथा—इति। तथा मांसादनं तथा आह्ने इति कलिबर्ज्यनियमा-नभिधाय देशाचाराः परिग्राह्यास्तद्वैज्ञीयजैर्नरेः। अन्यथा पतिसो ज्ञेयः सर्वधर्मसहितकृतः—इति तन्मैत्रायणब्राह्मिहतत्वात्। पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय on आह्ने (folio 416) quoting नारदीय-पुराण.

securing their favour. In course of time that conception grew stronger and stronger, so much so that Manu (V. 27-44 and V. 46-47) and Vasiṣṭha appear to be in two minds (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 778-780). Gradually the offering of flesh in Madhuparka and in śrāddhas came to be totally condemned in works of the 12th and 13th centuries and onwards as a matter prohibited in the Kali age (Varātithipitr̥bhyaśca paśūpākaraṇakriyā). (Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 945-946 and p. 964). Now except among the brāhmaṇas (in Northern India) who have no objection to include fish in diet as permissible to them no brāhmaṇa offers flesh in śrāddha. The usage of Northern India would be in accordance with the view set out in Bṛhannāradiya-purāṇa that one should offer honey, flesh and other things according to the usage of the country, as explained by the Pṛthvīcandrodaya.

Manu (V. 11-18) contains long lists of animals, birds and fishes whose flesh was not to be eaten even by those who were flesh-eaters.

If a person is destitute, some of the Purāṇas such as the Viṣṇu (III. 4.24-30) and the Varāha (13.53-58) mercifully provide in identical<sup>955</sup> verses that instead of entertaining brāhmaṇas with a sumptuous dinner or flesh the poor man may offer only uncooked corn, or some vegetables growing wildly or some slight *lakṣṇū* if he cannot offer even uncooked food or vegetables, or he may offer a few grains of sesamum (7 or 8) to a brāhmaṇa with water in his folded hands, or grass to a cow enough for one day and if he cannot afford even any one of these, then he may repair to a thicket of trees, raise his arms so that his armpits are exposed and loudly address the guardians of the worlds such as the Sun in the following words: 'I have neither wealth nor money nor anything else fit to be offered by way of śrāddha; I bow to my pitrs; may the pitrs be satisfied by my devotion; I have stretched these arms in space!' (lit. the path of the wind).

955. असमर्थोऽन्नदानस्य धान्यं मांसं स्वशक्तिः ।...सर्वाभावे वनं गत्वा कक्षमूलमदर्शकः ।  
सूर्यादिलोकपालानामिदमुच्यते पठिष्यति ॥ न मेऽस्ति वित्तं न धनं न धान्यच्छूद्रादस्य योग्यं  
स्वपितृभक्तौऽस्मि । वृक्षस्य भक्त्या पितरो मयैतौ भुजौ ततो वल्मेनि मातरस्य ॥ बराहपुराण. 13.  
57-58 = विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 29-30, q. by मद्र. पा. pp. 515-16 from विष्णु and by  
निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 467 from both. This passage explains the origin and the  
present meaning of the Marathi phrase खाका वर करणें. बृहत्परादार (chap. 5 p. 152)  
has similar provisions. The पुष्पी- (folio 56 b) notes 'धान्यं मांसमिव च वन्यं  
शाकमिति बराहपुराणीयः वाटः'; in the printed विष्णुपुराण the reading is not धान्यं  
मांसं, but the निर्णयसिन्धु had these words and it appears that the text  
was tampered with in modern times.

It is now time to describe the procedure of the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha<sup>955</sup> which is the pattern or norm (prakṛti) of the other śrāddhas<sup>956</sup> (even including the *Aṣṭakūś*). Here one meets with great divergences of views even from the times of the sūtras up to modern times. Though the main items and stages in the rite of śrāddha are generally the same, there is variation in the mantras, the details and sometimes in the order of the several items. Kātyāyana lays down that every man has to follow his own sūtra as to the use of the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namaḥ', as to wearing the sacred thread in the yajñopavita or prācināvita way and as to the number of *āhūtis*<sup>957</sup>.

It would be very interesting first to find out the vestiges of the sacrifice to the fathers in the most ancient Vedic texts. The Tai. S. (I. 8 5. 1-2) deals<sup>958</sup> with the Mahāpitṛyajña per-

955 a. Terms already explained such as 'Pārvaṇa' and 'Ekoddiṣṭa' are not explained again. Vide n. 855 above for those two words. Śrāddha on amāvāsya is obligatory (*nityā*) as laid down by Gaut. 13.1 q. in note 935 above, while the śrāddhas performed on the other tithis of the dark half of a month are *kāmya*.

956. The अनाकुल of हरदत्त on आप. गृ. 21.1 states 'पुनरपि पाकयज्ञानन्तरं पुरुषवयसं प्रधानकं तादृशानामष्टकादीनां प्रकृतिभूतं मासिकसंज्ञकं पित्र्यं कर्मापदिश्यते.'

957. तथा च कारत्यायनः। स्वाहा स्वधा नमः सव्यमपसव्यं तथैव च। आहुतीनां तु या संख्या सावगम्या स्वध्वजतः॥ q. by मङ्ग. पा. p. 592, स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 458). हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 356) says 'एते देवादेविधयो यद्वीरेषु कल्पद्वयस्योक्त्यास्ते तद्वीरा एवेति व्यवस्थया बोद्धव्याः'.

958. सोमाय पितृमते पुरोडाशं वदकपालं निर्वपति पितृग्यो बर्हिषद्वग्यो धानाः पितृग्योऽग्निष्वात्तेग्योऽभिवान्याये दुग्धे मन्थमेतत्ते तत ये च स्वामन्थे तत्ते पितामहः प्रपितामहः ये च स्वामन्थं पितरो यथामात्रं मन्दध्वं सुसंढशं त्वा बवं मयवम्मन्विषीमहि। य दूनं पूर्णबन्धुरः रुतो यासि वशः अतु। योजा त्विन्द्र ते हरी। अक्षमीमदन्त ह्यय मिया अधुवत। अस्तोवत ह्यभानवो विना नविष्टया मती। योजा त्विन्द्र ते हरी। अक्षं पितरोऽमीमदन्त पितरोऽमीतृपन्त पितरोऽमीयुजन्त पितरः। परेत पितरः सोम्या गम्भीरैः पथिभिः पूर्वैः। अथा पितृन् सुविद्वान् अपीत यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति॥ तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 1-2. सायण explains: अभिवान्या सुतवत्सा धेनुः। क्षीरे यापितं प्रक्षिप्य मिश्रीकृतं द्रव्यं मन्थः। सायण quotes तै. आ. I. 6. 8 'अभिवान्याये दुग्धे भवति सा हि पितृदेवत्वं दुग्धे' and explains 'सुताः पुरुषाः पितरो भवन्ति। अभिवान्या च सुतवत्सेति सजातीयत्वात्तत्र तेषां प्रीतिः'. The milk of an अभिवान्या cow is kept in a vessel in which are put half-ground barley grains, then the milk is stirred once or thrice with a piece of sugarcane to which a string is tied. This preparation is called मन्थ. Vide मैत्रायणीसंहिता 1. 10. 17 (यदेव मन्थस्तेन पितृयज्ञोऽभिवान्याया गोदुग्धे स्यात्... हृक्षशलाकयोपमन्थति) and आप. श्रौ. 8.14.14. The Tai. Br. (I. 6. 8-9) expounds the above Tai. S. passage in its own way. The two verses सुसंढशं and अक्षमीमदन्त are वाज. सं. III. 52 and 51 and are the same as तै. सं. I. 10. 3. तै. आ. II. 6.16 brings together the mantras employed in पिण्डपितृयज्ञ as याज्या, पुरोडावाक्या or सामिधेनी verses.

formed in Sākamedha, the third of the four Cāturmāsyaś: "He offers to Soma accompanied by the pitṛs a cake baked on six potsherds, to the pitṛs Barhiṣadaḥ (sitting on darbha grass or in a yajña) fried grains, for the pitṛs called Agnisvātta he milks a drink from a cow which has to be won over (to another calf). This for thee, O father and for those who come after thee (i. e. for thy descendants); this for thee, O grandfather, great-grandfather and for those who come after thee; do, ye Pitṛs rejoice in your portions. May we gladden thee, O Indra, that castest thy glance at us, come forth now with full chariot seat; being praised (by us) thou goest to places desired by you. Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. They (*pitaraḥ*) have eaten, they have rejoiced, the dear ones have dispelled (evil); the radiant sages have been praised with newest hymn, Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. The pitṛs have eaten, the pitṛs have rejoiced, the pitṛs have been glad, the pitṛs have purified themselves. Go away, O Pitṛs, that art soma-loving by your majestic ancient paths. Then reach ye the *pitṛs* that well know you (or everything) and that revel in the company of Yama."

In the Tai.<sup>959</sup> Br. I. 2.10 the Pinda-pitṛyajña is dealt with at some length. In the note below the important passages are set forth leaving out the legends, repetitions and matters not relevant to our purpose: "Therefore the rite (called pinda-pitṛyajña) is performed the day previous (to the Darśeṣṭi).

959. तस्मात्पितृभ्यः पूर्वेषु क्रियते।...सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याह।...अग्रे कश्यपाहमाय स्वधा नम इत्याह। य एव पितृणामग्निस्ते ग्रीणाति। तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति त्रिनिदधाति षट्सन्पद्यते। बद्ध वा ऋतवः। ऋतूनेव ग्रीणाति।...ऋतवः खलु वै देवाः पितरः।...सङ्कटाच्छिन्नं बहिर्भवाति। सङ्कटादिव हि पितरः। त्रिनिदधाति। तृतीये वा इतो लोके पितरः। तानेव ग्रीणाति। पराङ्मनवर्तते। ह्रीका हि पितरः। ओष्मणो व्यावृत उपास्ते। उष्मभागा हि पितरः।...अवब्रेयमेव तन्नेव मांशितं नेवापांशितम्। वीरं वै पितरः प्रयन्तो हरन्ति। वीरं वा ब्रूति। इडां छिनत्ति। हरणभागा हि पितरः। पितृनेव निरवहयते। उत्तर आधुषि लोम छिन्दीत। पितृणामेताहि नदीयः। नमस्करोति। नमस्कारो हि पितृणाम्। नमो वः पितरो रसाय नमो वः पितरः। छुप्माय। नमो वः पितरो जीवाय। नमो वः पितरः स्वधायै। नमो वः पितरो मन्त्रवे। नमो वः पितरो घोराय। पितरो नमो वः।...एष वै मनुष्याणां यज्ञः। देवानां वा इतरे यज्ञाः। तै. ब्रा. I. 3, 10, 1-10. The words नमो वः पितरो रसाय to पितरो घोराय occur in वाज. स. II. 32 and तै. स. I, 10, 3 but in a slightly different order and वाज. स. reads ह्रीकाय for छुप्माय. It may be noted that though the तै. ब्रा. speaks of three āhutis it mentions only two deities; the third is supplied by the सूत्रकार in the words यमापाक्षिरस्यते पितृमते स्वधा नमः। Vide note 781 above. On 'देवाः पितरः' सायण says 'द्विविधा हि पितरः देवात्मका मनुष्यात्मकाश्च। पितृलोकस्वामिनो देवात्मकाः। सुताः सन्तो भोगात्सौक्यं याता मनुष्यात्मकाः।' On वीरं...ब्रूति, सायण explains 'वैकल्ये पुत्रं मारयन्ति साकार्ये पुत्रं प्रवच्छन्ति। अत्र वैकल्यस्य दुष्परिहरत्वेन पुत्रप्रत्याभ्यासत्वेन वक्राग्रमीष-सूत्रं छित्वा पिण्डेषु निदध्याह।'.

He says 'to Soma drunk by the pitrs, *svadhā*! Adoration!' He says 'to Agni, the carrier of *kavya*, *svadhā*! Adoration! (Thereby) he pleases the fire that pertains to the pitrs. He offers (into fire) three oblations; he puts down (on the darbhas spread on the ground) three pinḍas. (These) thus come to six in number. Six indeed are the seasons. He (thereby) pleases the seasons. The seasons are indeed the shining (or divine) pitrs.....The darbha grass is cut with one stroke; the pitrs have as it were (passed away) once for ever. He puts down thrice (the pinḍas). The pitrs are indeed in the third world from here. He (thereby) pleases them. He (the performer) turns his face away (to the north from the south), for the Fathers are shy. He remains with his face turned away till the steam (of the boiled rice of the pinḍas) ceases to rise, for the Fathers have the steam of rice as their share; he should simply smell (the pinḍas). That as if does not amount to eating or non-eating. The pitrs when departing (from the śrāddha rite) take away or grant a valiant son. He cuts off the fringe (of a garment to place it on the pinḍas), for the share of Fathers is taking away (what is offered). He (thereby) allots their proper share to the pitrs (and dismisses them). When (the performer) is in the latter part of life (i. e. over 50 years of age) he cuts off hair (from his chest instead of presenting a *daśū*). At that time he is nearer to the pitrs (when above 50 years of age). He offers adoration, because adoration (*namaskāra*) is dear to the pitrs. Adoration to you, O Fathers, for vigour; adoration to you, O fathers, for life; adoration to you, O fathers, for *svadhā*; adoration to you, O fathers, for ardour; adoration, O fathers, for the terrible! O fathers! here is adoration to you. This (pinḍapitryajña) is indeed a sacrifice of men (i. e. sacrifice to departed men) and other sacrifices belong to the gods." In the Tai. Br. I. 4. 10 the Pitryajña performed in *sākamejha* is praised (in 2) and further on it is said that *Rtus* (seasons) are pitrs and they offered pitryajña to Prajāpati, their father. This passage supports the provision made in Manu and some of the digests that the *Rtus* are to be identified with pitrs and obeisance is to be made to them. %0

960. तस्मात्सकामेधैर्यजमानः इवावत्स्तीर्णः स्वस्तिमाशास्त इत्याशासीत । अपितृयज्ञेन यजते देवानेव तद्वन्वश्यति । 2...अथर्तवः पितरः प्रजापतिं पितरं पितृयज्ञेनायजन्तः । त एतं लोकमजयन् यस्मिन्नुततः । अपितृयज्ञेन यजते एतमेव लोकं जयति यस्मिन्नुततः । अतुमानेव साधुरवहति । ते. ब्रा. I. 4.10.8. The word पितृयज्ञ here and in ते. सं. III. 2.2.3, मे. सं. I.10.17 (यदेव पितृयज्ञस्तेनैवाय पितरोऽभीष्टा गीता अर्पित) means a sacrifice

The Sat. Br. (II. 4. 2) contains the following somewhat fuller account of the Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña, omitting legendary or other irrelevant matters:—When the moon is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (the performer of the Darśa sacrifice) presents food to the Fathers in each month ..... He presents it in the afternoon. The forenoon indeed belongs to the gods; the midday to men; and the afternoon to the Fathers; therefore he presents (food to the Fathers) in the afternoon. While seated behind the Gārhapatya fire with his face turned towards the south and the sacred thread on his right shoulder he takes that material (for the offering from the cart). Thereupon he rises from thence and threshes the rice while standing north of the Dakṣiṇa fire and facing the south. Only once does he clean the rice, for it is once for all that the fathers have passed away. He then boils it. While it stands on (the Dakṣiṇa fire) he pours some clarified butter on it. After removing it (from the fire) he offers to the gods two oblations in the fire ..... Here he is engaged in a sacrifice to the Fathers; hence he thereby propitiates the gods and being permitted by the gods, he presents that food to the Fathers. He offers to both Agni and Soma ... He offers with the formula 'To Agni, the carrier of *kavya* (what is offered to the Manes), *svāhā!*', 'To Soma accompanied by the Fathers, *svāhā!*' (Vāj. S. II. 29). He then puts the pot-ladle (*mekṣaṇa*) on the fire, that being in lieu of the *Sviṣṭakṛt*. Thereafter he draws (with the *sphya*, the wooden sword) one line south of the Dakṣiṇa fire, that being in lieu of the altar. He then lays down a firebrand at the further (south) end of the line. For, were he to present that food to the Fathers without having laid down a firebrand, the Asuras and Rākṣasas would certainly tamper with it. ... He lays it down with the text 'whatsoever Asuras roam about being attracted by the *svadhā* (offering to Fathers), assuming various shapes, be they large-bodied or small-bodied, may Agni expel them from this world (Vāj. S. II. 30) ... He then takes the water jar and makes the Fathers wash (their hands) merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself (naming the sacrificer's) grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself

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(Continued from the last page)

offered to the manes, while it is doubtful whether in Rg X. 16. 10 the word *पितृवज्ज* means the same thing. But as the verse that immediately follows (Rg. X. 16.11) mentions *pitṛs* in the plural, it looks as if the meaning of *पितृवज्ज* being well known was used in a secondary sense in Rg. X. 16.10.



(naming) the sacrificer's great-grandfather. As one would pour out water (for a guest) when he is about to take food, so in this case. Now those (stalks of sacrificial grass) are severed with one stroke and cut off near the root; the top belongs to the gods, the middle part to men and the root part (of darbhas) to the fathers. Therefore they are cut off near the roots ..... He spreads them along with the line with their tops towards the south. Thereon he presents (to the fathers the three round cakes of rice). He presents thus:— for the gods they offer thus: for men they ladle out; and in the case of the fathers they do in this very way; therefore he presents (the cakes to the fathers) thus. With 'N. N., this for thee!' he presents one cake to the sacrificer's father. Some add 'for those that come after thee', but let him not say this, since he himself is one of those to whom it would be offered in common. Let him therefore merely say 'N. N., this for thee!' as to the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his grandfather; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his great-grandfather... He then mutters 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves; like bulls come hither each to his own share!' (Vāj. S. II. 31). Whereby he says 'Eat each his own share'. He then turns round to the left so as to face the opposite (north) side; for the fathers are far away from men; and thereby he also is far away (from the fathers). 'Let him remain (standing with bated breath) until his breath fail' say some; 'for thus far extends the vital energy'. However, having remained so far a moment—he again turns round (to the right) and mutters 'the Fathers have regaled themselves; like bulls they have come each to his own share' (Vāj. S. II. 31); whereby what he says is 'they have eaten each his own share'. Thereupon he takes the water jar and makes them wash themselves (by pouring water on the pīḍas), merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) his paternal great-grandfather. Even as one would pour out (water for a guest). When he has taken his meal, so it is here. He then pulls down the tuck (of the sacrificer's garment) and performs obeisance. The tuck is sacred to the Fathers; therefore he performs obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck. ... Six times he performs obeisance, for there are six seasons and the fathers are the seasons. He mutters 'Give us houses, O fathers', for the fathers are the rulers of houses; and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacrificial performance. After the

pinḍas have been put back (in a dish) the sacrificer smells at (the rice); this (smelling) being the sacrificer's share. The stalks of darbha cut with one stroke he puts on the fire; and he also throws away the firebrand on to the fire. <sup>960a</sup>

It will be noticed that many of the fundamental conceptions of a pārvaṇa-śrāddha are very clearly brought out in the Śat. Br. Wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder, afternoon as the proper time, cleansing the paddy only once, boiling the rice on the Dakṣiṇa fire, offering into the same fire two oblations to the gods first, the two formulas of presentation to Agni Kavyavahana and to Soma Piṭṛmat, drawing a line or

960 a. अथैनं (प्रजापतिं) पितरः प्राचीनावीतिनः सव्यं जाम्बाज्योपासीवृत्तानववी-  
मसि मासि बोधनं स्वधा वो मनो जवो वश्वम्भुमा वो ज्योतिरिति । इतिपथ II. 4. 2. 2...  
मासि मास्येव पितृभ्यो ददतो यद्वैष्व न पुरस्तात् एवाहृतेऽथैभ्यो ददाति... (7) ।... स वा  
अपराह्णे ददाति पूर्वाह्णे वै देवानां मध्यन्दिनो मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितॄणां तस्मादपराह्णे ददाति ।  
स जघनेन गार्हपत्यं प्राचीनावीती भूत्वा दक्षिणासीन एतं गृह्णाति । स तत एकोपोऽथाधोऽन्तर्या-  
म्वार्यपचनं दक्षिणा तिष्ठन्नवहन्ति सकृत् फलीकरोति सकृदुष्टेव पराह्णः पितरस्तस्मात्सकृत्  
फलीकरोति । (9) तं अपयति तस्मिन्नाधिभूत आज्यं प्रयानयति... (10) स उह्रास्याग्नौ हे  
आहुती जुहोति देवेभ्यः ।... अथैतत्पितृयज्ञेनेवाचारीत्... स वैश्वैः प्रसूतोऽथैतत्पितृभ्यो ददाति ।...  
(11) स वाग्नये सोमाय च जुहोति... (12) स जुहोति । अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय  
पितृभ्ये स्वाहेत्यग्नौ मेक्षणमभ्यादधाति तस्मिन्लङ्काजानमथ दक्षिणेनाम्बाहार्यपचनं सकृदु-  
ष्टिष्वति तद्वेदिभाजनम्... (13) अथ परस्तादुल्लुकं निदधाति । स यदनिधायाल्लुकमथै-  
तत्पितृभ्यो दद्यादसुररक्षसानि हेषामेतद्विमृशनीरन्... (14) स निदधाति । ये रूपानि प्रति-  
मुञ्चमाना अहुराः सन्तः स्वधया चरन्ति । परापुरो निपुरो ये भरन्त्याग्निहोत्राकात्मणुद्वात्यस्मा-  
दिति ।... (15) अथोदपात्रमादायावनेजयति । असाववनेनिक्षेत्र्येव यजमानस्य पितरमसाव-  
वनेनिक्षेति पितामहमसाववनेनिक्षेति प्रपितामहं तद्यथाक्षिप्यतेऽभिषिञ्चेदेवं तत् । (16) अथ  
सकृदाष्टिकाग्न्युपमूलं दिनानि भवन्ति अग्रमिव वै देवानां मध्यमिव मनुष्याणां मूलमिव पितॄणां  
तस्मादुपमूलं दिनानि भवन्ति... (17) तानि दक्षिणोपरुष्याति । तत्र ददाति स वा इति  
ददातीतीव वै देवेभ्यो जुहत्युत्तरान्ति मनुष्येभ्योऽथैवं पितॄणां तस्मादिति ददाति । (18) स  
ददाति । असावनेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च त्वामन्विता ह्येक आहुरतस्तु तथा न ब्रूयात्स्वयं  
वै तेषां सह येषां सह । तस्मादु ब्रूयादसावनेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रेऽसावनेतत् इति पितामहा-  
यासावनेतत् इति प्रपितामहाय... (19) तत्र जपति । अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषा-  
यध्वमिति यथाभागमग्नीतेत्येवैतदाह । (20) अथ पराह्णं पर्यावर्तते । तिर इव वै पितरो मनुष्येभ्य-  
स्तिर इवैतद्वर्तते स वा आतमितीरासीतेत्याहुरेतावान्महुरिति स वै सुहृतेर्मेवासिवा । (21)  
अथोपपलुप्य जपति । अमीमदन्त पितरो यथाभागमावृषायिषतेति यथाभागमाक्षिपुर्नित्येवै-  
तदाह । (22) अथोदपात्रमादायावनेजयति । असाववनेनिक्षेत्र्येव यजमानस्य पितरमसाववने-  
निक्षेति पितामहमसाववनेनिक्षेति प्रपितामहं तद्यथा जजुषेऽभिषिञ्चेदेवं तत् । (23) अथ नीवि-  
सुद्वह्य नमस्करोति । पितृदेवत्या वै नीविस्सस्माकांविशुद्वह्य नमस्करोति... षट्कृत्या नमस्करोति  
षड्वा क्रतव क्रतवः पितरः... गृहाह्वः पितरो दत्तेति गृहाणां इ पितर ईशेति । एषो एतस्याग्नीः  
कर्मणोऽयावजिप्रति मय्यवधाय पिण्डान् स यजमानभागोऽग्नौ सकृदाष्टिकाग्न्यभ्यादधाति  
पुनरुत्सुकमपि सृजति । (24).

furrow to the south of the Daksina fire, laying down a firebrand, making the three paternal ancestors wash (*avanejana*),<sup>61</sup> darbha grass severed from near the root, spreading the darbhas on the line or furrow and offering three pinḍas to the three ancestors to regale themselves, turning away from the pinḍas for a moment and then resuming his position and saying that the ancestors have regaled themselves, offering water for washing (*pratayavanejana*), pulling down the tuck and performing obeisance six times (and identifying the Fathers with seasons) and praying to the Fathers to bestow houses, smelling the boiled rice, throwing the darbhas and firebrand into the fire—these are the principal matters even now in the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha performed by students of the Śukla Yajurveda, although several other details (such as the introduction of the mother's paternal ancestors) and some mantras are added. The Kātyāyana Sr. IV. 1. closely follows the Śat. Br., but adds certain details viz. he folds his hands and repeats the six mantras (Vāj. S. II. 32 'namo vah pitaro rasāya' &c.) throwing three threads on each pinḍa with the mantra 'etadvah' (Vāj. S. II. 32) or the woollen fringe of a garment or hair from the chest of the sacrificer when he is beyond fifty years of age, sprinkling water on the pinḍas or on the ground near them with (Vāj. S. II. 34)<sup>62</sup>.

The other *samhitās* also contain identical mantras. For example, the Vāj. S. II. 29-34<sup>63</sup> are mantras most of which are

961. On 'wash thyself' the com. on काय. श्रौ. सू. IV. 1. 10 says 'अपसर्गं यथा स्यात् हस्तय सव्यपदेशाक्षिण्यदेशेनोदकमिनयनं यथा स्यात्तथाङ्गुल्यपदेशोऽपरस्तारलेनावनेजयति अवावेनैकात्र ह्युच्चीन् करोति पिण्डदानाय । असाविति सधुद्रवस्त-गोत्रनामादेशपूर्वकं, अमुकसगोत्र यजमानस्य पितरमुकहस्तैश्चवनेनित् ।'. Some other sūtra-kāras provide अमुकगोत्र for अमुकसगोत्र.

962. About the use of the words 'those that come after thee' vide n. 781 for the Tai. S. passage where those words are employed and also notes 1040, 1052, 1053. 'He presents them thus'—When the pinḍa is to be offered to the Fathers it is done with the *pitṛiritha* (the part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger). This is indicated by the teacher by means of a gesture. 'He then pulls down the tuck—' The sacrificer (or *adhvaryu*) puts on an upper garment when the rite commences, the *daśā* or unwoven edge of which he tucks under the waistband. This he loosens or pulls out at this stage. It will have been noticed that the Śat. Br. in dealing with Pinḍapitryajña employs Vāj. S. II. 29 (except 'apabātā asurā rakṣāmsi vedigadāh'), 30, 31.

963. अग्नये कम्बवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा । अपहता अहुरा रक्षांसि वेदिवदः ॥ ये क्षपाणि ॥...मण्डितायस्मात् ॥ अत्र पितरो मादयन्...वृषायेवत ॥ नमो वः पितरो रसाय...नमो वः पितरो मन्त्रवे नमो वः पितरः पितरो नमो नो गृहाजः पितरो वस सतो  
(Continued on the next page)

employed in the Pindapitryajña in Śākamedha<sup>94</sup>. Similarly, in the Maitrayaṇī Samhitā<sup>95</sup> I. 10.3. 10-21 these are mantras for the pitryajña employed in Śākamedha many of which are the same as in Vāj. S. or Tai. Br. M. S. I. 10. 3.11 is the same as Vāj. S. III. 52 and M. S. I. 10. 3. 17-20 are the same as Vāj. S. III. 51, 53-55. M. S. I. 10. 3. 13-14 greatly resemble Vāj. S. II. 32 and Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 8.

Coming to the sūtra literature, it is best to begin with the procedure of *pārvanāśrāddha* as described in the Āśv. gr. IV. 7-8<sup>96</sup>. It is stated by the Anākula on Āp. gr. 21.1 that the

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वः पितरो देवमैतहः पितरो वास आधत् ॥ आधत्...सत् ॥ ऊर्जं वदन्तीरसुतं वृतं पयः कीलालं परिक्षतम् । स्वधा रथ तर्पयत मे पिबून् ॥ वाज. सं. II. 29-34. The verse ये रूपाणि and the mantras अन्न...द्वयायिषत् are quoted above in n. 960a from the इतपथभा. For नमो वः पितरो, vide n. 959 and for आधत्...सत् n. 780. Both the commentators, Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, of Vāj. S., hold that *rasa*, *śoṣa* and the other four are to be identified with the six seasons from spring (*madhu* etc.) and some of the digests provide for the worship of *ṛsatu*s in *śrāddha* in this way. The कात्या. श्रौ. सू. (V. 9.24-25) states that with this mantra (Vāj. S. II, 32) the performer folds his hands or makes six obeisances. Vide Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1459-60) who quotes the Vāj. S. (II. 32) and Tai. Br. and explains them.

964. अक्षक्षमीमदन्त...ते हरी ॥ सुसम्हृष्टं...ते हरी ॥ मनो ब्याह्वामहे नाराज्ञंसेन स्तोमेन । पिबूणां च मग्मभिः ॥ आ न एतु मनः पुनः कृते वक्षाय जीवसे । ज्योक्तु च ह्यर्थं हृष्टो ॥ पुनर्नः पितरो मनो ददातु देव्यो जनः । जीवे ब्रातं सचेमहि ॥ वाज. सं. III. 51-55. वाज. सं. III. 51-52 are the same as Rg I. 82.2-3.

965. मै. सं. I. 10.3.13-14 are as follows: अमीमदन्त पितरो नमो वः पितर इषे, नमो वः पितर ऊर्जे, नमो वः पितरः छुष्माय, नमो वः पितरो रक्षाय, नमो वः पितरो यज्जीवं तस्मै, नमो वः पितरो यद्गोवं तस्मै, स्वधा वः पितरो नमो नमो वः पितरः । एषा पुष्पाकं पितर इमाम् अस्माकं जीवा वो जीवन्त इह सन्तः स्याम । Compare also अधर्ववेद 18.4. 81-85.

966. अथातः पार्वणे श्राद्धे काम्य आभ्युदयिक एकोद्विडे वा । बाह्याणाम् सुतशील... सर्वेषाम् । काममनाद्ये । पिण्डेष्वारूढ्यात् । अपः प्रदाय । दुर्भान् द्विगुणभुजानासनं प्रदाय । अपः प्रदाय । तैजसादममयमृणमयेषु त्रिषु पात्रेष्वेकत्रय्येषु वा दुर्भान्तहितेष्वप आसिष्य ऋषो देवीरभिष्टय इत्यहमग्नितासु तिलानावपति तिलोऽसि सोमदेवत्यो गोसवे देवनिमित्तः । प्रत्यबद्धिः प्रतः स्वधया पिबूनिर्मोहोकात् शीणयार्हे नः स्वधा नम इति प्रसर्पेन । इत पाण्यज्ज्ञान्तरेणोपवीतित्वाद् वाक्षणेन वा सग्योपयुक्तीतेन पितरिष्वं ते अर्घ्यं पितामहेष्वं ते अर्घ्यं प्रतिपामहेष्वं ते अर्घ्यमिति । अपूर्णम् । ताः प्रतिग्राहयिष्यन्सकृत्स्नकृत् स्वधा अर्घ्या इति । प्रवृष्टा अनुमन्त्रयेत् पा दिष्ट्या आपः पृथिवी सन्मधुबुयां अन्तरिक्षा उत पाथेवीयाः । हिरण्यवर्णां यज्ञियास्ता न आपः संस्पृश्या भवन्ति । संस्त्राप्समवनीष ताभिरग्निः पुत्रकामो सुखमनक्ति । नोद्वरेत्तथर्म पात्रं पिबूणामर्घ्यपातिताम् । अद्भुतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः शौनकोऽब्रवीत् ॥ एतस्मिन्काले गन्धमात्यधूपवीपाच्छादनानां प्रधानम् । उद्धृत्य घृताकमममधुजापयत्यग्नौ करिष्ये करवे करवाणीति प्रत्यग्यजुषा क्रियतां कुक्ष्य कुर्वति । अथाग्नौ जुहोति यथोक्तं गुरस्तात् । अग्न्यजुषायां पाणिष्वेव वा । अग्निमुखा वै देवाः पाणिमुखाः पितर इति हि बाह्याणम् । यदि पाणिष्वाक्षान्तेऽभ्युदयमनुदिशन्ति अन्नमग्ने । सृष्टं वतसृष्टुकमिति । तृताञ्जाला मधुमतीः आवयेदक्षक्षमीमदन्तेति च । सम्पक्षमिति पृष्ट्वा यद्यदक्षमुपशुक्तं तत्तत्स्थालीपाकेन सह पिण्डार्थजुह्वत्य रूपं निवेदेत्येत ।

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monthly śrāddha (māsi-śrāddha) is the prakṛti of Aṣṭaka and other śrāddhas in which three ancestors are to be invoked. It is as follows: Now then at a Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, or at a śrāddha celebrated for securing some desired object, or at an Ābhyudayaika-śrāddha or at an Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha, the performer causes to sit down brāhmaṇas who are endowed with learning, moral character and proper conduct or who are endowed with (at least) one (of these three characteristics), who have been invited already in proper time, who have taken a bath, whose feet are washed (by the performer) and who have sipped water (taken ācamana), as representatives of (or equal to) the Fathers, with their faces turned to the north, one for each of the Fathers, or two for each or three for each. The larger the number of brāhmaṇas invited the greater is the fruit or reward. But in no case (should he invite) only one for all (the Fathers); or he may invite only one brāhmaṇa except at the first śrāddha<sup>967</sup>. By the exposition of the Pindapitṛyajña the rules for the pārvaṇa-śrāddha have been declared. Having given water (into the hands of the invited brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas after they sit down) and double-folded darbha blades as a seat (on which the darbhas are to be kept), having again given water to them and having poured water into three vessels of metal (silver &c.), of stone and of earthenware or into three vessels made of the same substance (out of these three) which are covered over with darbha blades and having recited (over the water in the vessels) the verse 'śanno &c.' (Rg. X, 9.4)<sup>968</sup> the performer puts sesamum grains into the water with the mantra "Sesamum art thou, Soma is thy deity, at the Gosava"<sup>969</sup>

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अभिमतोऽनुमते वा युक्तस्त्वनामान्तेषु पिण्डादिदध्यात् । आवाप्तेऽन्वेके । प्रकीर्णानुपपीयों स्वधोऽवतमिति निवृजेत् । अस्तु स्वधेति वा । आश्व. सू. सू. IV, 7-8. For the second and third sūtras vide n. 903. कृतपण्डोक्तान्-मनु IV, 76 states आवापदस्तु मुञ्जीत, which is almost the same as अनुज्ञासनपर्व 104.61-62. The first half of the verse वा दिव्या आपः occurs in तै. ब्रा. II, 7, 15, 4. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व reads प्रत्नमग्निः पूकः and प्रीणाहि (folio 78), and explains अग्निः पूकः जलेन मिश्रितः पितृन् लोकान् पितृपितामहादीन् प्रत्नं क्षिरकालं स्वधया स्वधोऽहारेण प्रीणाहि प्रीताम् सुखं. This yields a good sense. Different editions of the आश्व. सू. number the sūtras differently. Here the Nirṇ. edition of 1894 is relied upon.

967. Vide n. 903 above for the several meanings of 'anānye'.

968. The verse is इं नो देवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पीतये । इंयोरभिष्टयन्तु नः ॥ ऋ. X 9.4. This मन्त्र is recited only once.

969. For the गोसव sacrifice, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1213 n 2644. The mantra about sesamum is repeated over each of the three vessels.

sacrifice thou hast been created by the gods, thou hast been offered by persons who are like ancient ones; through the *svadhā* mayst thou make the Fathers and these worlds pleased with us! *svadhā*! Adoration!" The different items of the rite are performed from the right to the left<sup>770</sup>. With the part of the other hand (i. e. left) between the thumb<sup>771</sup> (and forefinger) since he wears the sacred thread over the left shoulder, or with the right which he seizes with the left, (he offers the Arghya water) to Fathers with the words 'Father, this is the *arghya* for thee; Grand-father, this is the *arghya* for thee; Great-grand-father, this is the *arghya* for thee; after first offering (ordinary) water to the Fathers. When about to induce the brāh-

970. The rules about Pindapitryaūja have been set forth in Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6. Nārāyaṇa notes (on Āśv. gr. IV. 7 2) that Āśvalāyana treats of only the procedure relating to the rite for pitṛs and that he does not at all refer to the dinner given to *daiva* or Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas at the time of strāddha. It is therefore possible that feeding *daiva* brāhmanas was added to the ancient ritual, though it must be said that Manu III. 125, Yāj. I. 224-28 and Vas. XI. 27 prescribe such feeding. Dr. Caland (in 'Abnencult' p. 161) asserts that he can prove that the detail of feeding *daiva* brāhmanas spread from the Strāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana to the other sūtras and he relies on the fact that Kātyāyana (in Kandikā 2) prescribes that the *viśve devāḥ* should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsa āgata' and the performer should mutter the verse 'viśve devāḥ śrutemam' which are respectively Vāj. S. VII. 34 and XXXIII. 53. But Dr. Caland tries to prove too much. The first verse occurs twice in the Rg. (II. 41. 13 and VI 52.7) and the second occurs in Rg. VI. 52. 13, Tai. S. II. 4. 14. 5. They are not found only in the Vāj. S. as Dr. Caland seems to have thought. It is possible that other works took over those mantras from the Rgveda or the Tai. S. It may also be noted that Yāj. I. 229 mentions only 'Viśve devāsa' and specifies that it is a ṛk (and not a mantra or yajus). So Yāj. at least does not appear to have borrowed the prescriptions of Kātyāyana. It is not necessary to examine the other arguments.

971. The part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger is called *पितृतीर्थं* and water is offered by that part of the hand for the pitṛs; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 316 note 652. नारदयज explains इतरपात्रपुष्पद्रव्ये in two ways as follows: 'येन पाणिना कर्म करोति हस्तिनेन वा सन्ध्येन वा तस्मिन्काले यज्ञोपवीते स्थिते प्राचीनावधीनी भवति ततोऽपस्मिन्काले स्थिते उपवीती नवति । अथ उपवीतित्वा प्राचीनावधीनस्थित्वा च सत्यपाणिपितृतीर्थेन इतरपात्रमित्यर्थः । अथवा सन्ध्यापात्रेः शिष्टगर्हितत्वाद्दक्षिणं पाणिं सन्ध्येन पाणिना युहीत्वा हस्तिनेन वाणिनीववीत्येवार्थं प्रचक्षते ॥'. The कल्पवृक्ष. (on Brā. p. 148) explains: सन्ध्येन वागेन हस्तेन । तत्रापि न केवलं वागेनैव अपि तु इतर पात्रपुष्पद्रव्येण इतरस्य हस्तिनस्य वागेः अनुष्ठानत्वेन पितृतीर्थेन । तेनैतद्वक्तं भवति । वागहस्तेन अर्घ्यपात्रं धत्वा हस्तिनहस्तेन पितृतीर्थं संस्पृश्य च वा हस्तिनहस्तेन अर्घ्यं धत्तति तथा वेदमिति । अर्घ्यं is respectful offering of water or water with husked rice grains, flowers etc. to gods or venerable persons.

mapas to accept the arghya water he should once only (for each brāhmaṇa or group of brāhmaṇas for each of the Fathers) say to them 'svadhā! these are arghya waters' and then over the waters that are poured out he recites the verse (separately for each brāhmaṇa) 'The heavenly waters which have been produced on the earth, in the aerial regions and the waters that are terrestrial, that are golden-hued, and fit for sacrifice—may these waters bring us welfare and be favourable to us'. Pouring together (in the first vessel) what has been left in the vessels (for holding arghya water) he anoints his face with that water if he (the performer) desires that a son be born to him. 'He should not remove the first vessel into which the arghya water for the Fathers has been poured (till the end of the rite). The Fathers dwell therein concealed; thus did Śaunaka say' <sup>972</sup>. Just at that time the gifts of sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, lamp, and clothes are to be offered (to the brāhmaṇas). <sup>973</sup> Having taken some food (from the Sthālipaka prepared for Pindapitryajña) and smeared it with ghee he asks the brāhmaṇas' permission in the words 'I shall offer it in the fire' or in the words 'let me offer in the fire'. The permission is given (by the brāhmaṇas) in the words 'Let it be done' or in the words 'do it'. He then sacrifices in the fire as stated before <sup>974</sup> or (if the brāhmaṇas give permission) in the hands of the brāhmaṇas; since the Brāhmaṇa text says 'fire is verily the mouth of the Fathers'. If he offers in the hands of the brāh-

972. 'He should not remove etc.' नारायण gives two explanations of this verse of Saunaka 'तृतीयेन पात्रेण प्रथमपात्रस्वपापिधानमिच्छन्ति । अग्नये तु तत्रोत्तृतीयार्थे सप्तमी । अर्घ्यपतितं मघर्नं पात्रं न्यग्विलं कुर्यात् तच्च नोद्धरेद्वा समासेरेति व्याचक्षुः ॥ आश्व. सू. IV. 8. 14.

973. Gifts of गन्ध etc.—नारायण notes on आश्व. सू. IV, 7. 10 that from अर्घ्यदान up to (excluding) the gift of the five articles गन्ध etc., the performer is यज्ञोपवीती (i. e. wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right arm). When giving these he becomes प्राचीनापवीती (i. e. wears the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left arm).

974. यथोक्तं पुरस्तात्. The reference is to आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 12 which reads: प्राचीनापवीतीष्मदुपसमाधाय मेक्षणेनावायावदानसम्पदा जुहोति । सोमाय पितृनस्ते स्वाहा नमः अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वाहा नम इति. The word अथ in आश्व. सू. IV. 8. 4 indicates that all the items of the विष्णुपितृयज्ञ upto होम (i. e. excluding it) are performed before this stage is reached. If the performer has no sacred fire and offers into the hands of the brāhmaṇas the same mantras are employed. The आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 13 allows an option viz. the word स्वाहा may be used but then the order of गन्धसु will be अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितृ-नस्ते स्वाहा and he will be यज्ञोपवीती.

manas<sup>975</sup>, then he assigns other food to them after they have sipped water and the food (that remains) is mixed with the food that is served to the brāhmanas, since it is said 'what is abandoned and given to (brāhmanas)<sup>976</sup> brings prosperity'. When he sees that the brāhmanas are satiated (with the food served at the dinner) he (the performer) should recite to the brāhmanas the verses containing the word 'madhu' (Rg. I. 90.<sup>977</sup> 6-8) and also the verse 'they have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves' (Rg. I. 82.2). Having asked the brāhmanas 'was the dinner perfect?' (they should reply that it was) and then having taken (portions of) the different foods that were enjoyed by the brāhmanas together with the sthālipāka food in order<sup>978</sup> to make lumps (piṇḍas) thereof he should present all (the rest of the food) to the brāhmanas. After the brāhmanas have either accepted (the rest of the food) or given him permission (to use it for his family and friends), and after they have finished eating he should, before they have sipped water (performed ācamana after finishing their dinner), put down the lumps<sup>979</sup> (piṇḍas) for the Fathers. According to some teachers (piṇḍas are put down) after the brāhmanas have sipped water (on getting up from the dinner). Having strewn the food on the ground (near the remnants of food) and wearing the sacred thread on his left shoulder<sup>980</sup> he should (after turning the first vessel with top upside and after giving *dakṣiṇā* to the brāhmanas) bid adieu to the brāhmanas saying 'utter Om!

975. 'If in the hands.' मनु III. 212 provides that if a man has no Smārta fire, he should offer in the hand of the brāhmaṇa only. सुहृद् is explained by हरदत्त and नारायण as प्रभूतम्.

976. On IV. 8. 7. नारायण remarks: अर्धद्वयमत्र विधातुमिष्टमिति गम्यते । तत्राग्नी कुत्सा भोजनेषु भोजनार्थमप्यदक्षमनुविशति द्वात्येकोऽर्थः । यदि पाणिहोमः कुतस्तदाचान्तेषु अप्यदक्षं द्वातीत्यपरः ।

977. Rgveda I. 90. 6-8 (मधुवाता कृतायते etc.) are called मधुमती verses because each contains the word मधु several times.

978. On 'स्थालीपाकेन सह' नारायण observes 'स्थालीपाकेन सहति नात्रापूर्वः स्थालीपाकश्चोद्यते ।...तेन यत्र स्थालीपाको विहितस्तत्र तेन शुकशेषेण च पिण्डनिपरणं भवति । यत्र तु स्थालीपाकविधिर्नस्ति तत्र शुकशेषेणैव केवलं निपरणं भवति ।'. In some *śāstra*s such as काम्यशास्त्र, आम्युदाधिक, अहनीशास्त्र and एकोद्विह there is no स्थालीपाक.

979. 'He should put down the lumps'. Here आञ्जलावन appears to differ from मनु III. 233, 260.

980. The word 'उपवीय' shows that till then the performer was प्राचीनापीथी.



'Svadhā' or he should say 'Om! Svadhā!' (and they should reply 'Om! Svadhā!').<sup>980a</sup>

From considerations of space it is impossible to set out all the differences among the several grhyasūtras of the R̥gveda, of the Taittirīya śākhā (viz. Baudhāyana, Āp., Hir., Bharadvāja and Vaikhānasa), of the Vājasaneyya śākhā (such as Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana), of the Sāmaveda (such as Gobhila and Khādira) and of the Atharvaveda (being Kausika sūtra). A few matters may be set out by way of illustration. The Āp. gr. (21. 3-4)<sup>981</sup> states that (after the brāhmaṇas are invited for śrāddha dinner) from the food prepared for the dinner a portion is taken out in a vessel and therefrom seven *āhutis* are cast into the fire with the seven mantras beginning with 'yan me mātā' (in Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1-7), the first two for the father, the next two for the grand-father, next two for the great-grand-father and the 7th to pitṛs in general with svāhā (but without naming any one) and then six oblations of clarified butter are offered with the six formulas beginning with 'svāhā pitṛe' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 8-13). Thus the agnaukarana in Āp. consists of two parts viz. āhutis of food and of clarified butter, while in Āśv. it is made only with food. Then the performer should touch all food (cooked food and the remainder of what is employed for offering into fire) with the three mantras 'esa te tata madhumān' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14-16), he should make the brāhmaṇas touch the food served to each with the *Yajus* formula 'the earth is thy vessel' (Āp. M. P. 2. 20. 1) quoted in n. 992 below.

Āp. gr. prescribes the mantra, 'putrān pautrān' (Āp. M. P. II. 20. 24) for moistening the pīṇdas, while Baud. gr. and Vaikhānasa gr. (IV. 6) employ the mantra 'ūrjam vahantīr' (Vāj. S. II. 34) for the same purpose. It may be noted that

980 a. It will be noticed that Āśv. omits several details viz. (1) he does not say that the brāhmaṇas for all the gods are to be seated, facing the east; (2) he mentions no mantra such as 'ye agnidadhā &c.:' (3) nothing is said about *dakṣiṇā* or about the performer following the brāhmaṇas a few paces and then returning with their permission.

981. The आप. पृ. 20. 9 sets down the whole procedure very succinctly after the brāhmaṇas have taken the dinner as follows: शुक्रवतोमुत्तमं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य द्वेयं दक्षिणामान् दधामन् संस्तीर्ष्य तेदुत्तरैरपो हव्योत्तरैर्वक्षिणापवर्णांश्च पिबन्तः क्त्वा पूर्वमुत्तरैरपो हव्योत्तरैश्चरथावोत्तरपोषपात्रेण त्रिः प्रक्षाम्यं परिचिन्त्य म्युत्तमं पात्राण्युत्तरं चक्षुरनवान् दधवन्तः ३र्जमावर्तयित्वा मोक्ष्य पात्राणि हव्यमम्युत्तराहृत्य सर्वतः समवहायोत्तरेण चक्षुषा शेषरसं प्रासादयत्तर्ष्य प्राक्षणीयात् । The mantras referred to here occur in आप. म. पृ. II. 19. 1 to II. 20. 26.

these sūtras which belong to the Taittiriya śākhā employ a verse from another recension viz. the Śukla Yajurveda.

The Hir. Gr. (II. 10-13) is more elaborate than the Āp. Gr. and not only sets out at length many of the mantras in Āp. M. P. II. 19-20, but adds some more. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (1-3) sets out the procedure of the monthly śrāddha almost in the same way as the Yājñavalkya-smṛti (which is set out below). It states that in the monthly śrāddha first come the daiva rites and then the various items occur as in the Pīṇḍa-pitṛyajña 'pīṇḍapitṛyajña-vad-upacāraḥ' (first sūtra of the 2nd kaṇḍikā). Some details which it contains (and Yaj. does not expressly mention) may be set out here. It gives in full the mantras 'tilosi', 'yā divyā' (both of which occur in Aśv. gr.), 'prthivī to pātram' (which is Āp. M. P. II. 20.1). It prescribes that in addition to the Gāyatrī and the Madhumatī verses the word 'madhu' should be repeated thrice. The holy texts to be repeated while the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating according to Kātyāyana are the Gāyatrī (once or thrice), the five Rākṣoghñī verses (Rg. IV. 4. 1-5, Vaj. S. XIII. 9-13, Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1-2), Puruṣasūkta, the Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1-13 = Vaj. S. 17. 33-34, 46 = Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 1-4) and others. It expressly states that the *svadhūvācana* (Yaj. I. 244) relates to both paternal and maternal ancestors. Besides the blessing contained in Yaj. I. 246, Kātyāyana provides that the performer is to pray for and the brāhmaṇas are to pronounce two more viz. 'May the pitṛs be kind (lit. not dreadful) to us' and 'May our family prosper'. Dr. Caland in his learned work 'Altindischer Ahnencult' (pp. 150-152) appears inclined to hold that when a sūtrakāra has not actually said anything on certain items in the śrāddha ritual, one has no right to anticipate, on the authority of later authors, that those items existed in the times of that sūtrakāra. I demur to this conclusion. Dr. Caland has attached no weight to the fact that Jaimini (as stated in H. of Dh. vol. III p. 870) laid down the principle that one may include certain items from another śākhā. Jaimini's sūtras cannot be supposed to have laid down those propositions for the first time. Jaimini's sūtras are at least as old as some of the extant śrauta sūtras such as that of Kātyāyana. Therefore hardly any chronological conclusions can be drawn with certainty from the silence of a sūtrakāra as to a certain item in the śrāddha ritual.

We shall now turn to the metrical smṛtis. Manu treats of the procedure of śrāddha at some length in III. 208-265. But

as the procedure prescribed by the Yājñavalkyaśmṛti (I. 226-249) is more compact and at the same time more lucid it is set out here. "When the invited brāhmaṇas come in the afternoon the performer having a *pavitra*<sup>982</sup> in his hand should seat them on seats and make them sip water. The brāhmaṇas invited should be even in number (2, 4 &c.) according to the performer's resources at the *daiva* rite (i. e. the Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇas should be two, four &c.) and uneven (three or five &c.) at a (pārvaṇa) śrāddha for the *pitṛs*; the brāhmaṇas should be seated in a pure (coudunged) plot screened on all sides and sloping towards the south. At the *daiva* (part of pārvaṇa-śrāddha when Viśve-devāḥ are to be invoked) two brāhmaṇas facing the east should sit down and three brāhmaṇas facing the north should be seated in the rite for the *pitṛs* or only one may be seated for each (i. e. in *daiva* and in *pitṛya*). The same rule applies to a śrāddha for maternal ancestors. In both (pitṛśrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha) the worship of Viśve-devas may be performed separately or simultaneously<sup>983</sup>. Then having poured water on the hands of the brāhmaṇas (meant for the rite in honour of viśve-devāḥ) and having given kuśa blades for a seat<sup>984</sup> (towards their right side on the seat already

982. For the meaning of *pavitra* see H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 657 notes 1553-54. It is a ring-like loop of *darbhās* to be worn in the right hand or in both hands on the finger next to the little finger. The Mit. supplies that the invited brāhmaṇas also should have a *pavitra*. The गोभिलस्मृति I, 28 defines it and is quoted by अथर्वक pp. 43 and 480.

983. On Yāj. I. 228 'तन्त्रं वा', the मित्. remarks यदा तु द्वारेव ब्राह्मणौ लब्धौ तदा तु वैश्वदेवे पात्रं सकल्प्य उभयत्र एकैकं ब्राह्मणं नियुज्यात् । यथाह वसिष्ठः । Vide p. 403 above for Vas. II. 30-31 which the मित्. quotes. The विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 16 says: तथा मातामहआर्द्धं वैश्वदेवसमावृतम् । कुर्वीत भक्तिसम्पन्नं तन्त्रं वा वैश्वदेविकम् ॥. तन्त्रं means उभयोद्देशेन सकृद्वृत्तानम् or as शबर on जे. XI. 1.1 explains 'यत् सकृत् कृतं बहुमाहुषकरोति तत् तन्त्रं यथा बहूनां ब्राह्मणानां मध्ये कृतः प्रदीपः'. Yāj. I. 228 contains several options about the number of brāhmaṇas. तन्त्रं वा-If the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors are to be invoked in one śrāddha one may separately invite two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मणस for पितृत्रय and two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मणस for मातामहत्रय ; or only two ब्राह्मणस may do as वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मणस for both पितृत्रय and मातामहत्रय. Or even one may do as वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण for both.

984. For विष्टर (in या. I. 229), a seat made with 25 darbhās, vide H. of of Dh. vol. II. p. 543 n. 1259. The मित्. says that in addition to the vedic verse, a smṛta verse should be recited for invoking the विश्वेदेवाः viz. 'आगच्छन्तु महाभागा विश्वेदेवा महाबलाः । ये यत्र विहिताः आर्द्धे सावधाना भवन्तु ते ॥'. This verse is स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 217. 32-33 and गरुडपुराण I. 218.7. On p. 478 अपराक attributes this स्मार्तमन्त्र to बृहस्पति and to the बृहदपुराण on p. 481. The

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occupied), he should, with the permission of the invited brāhmaṇas, invoke the *Viśvedevāḥ* with the verse 'O! all the gods come!' (Rg. II. 41. 13 or VI. 52. 7; Vāj. S. VII. 34). Having scattered on the ground (near the brāhmaṇas representing *Viśve-devāḥ*) barley grains and then having cast into a vessel (of metal) &c.) covered with a *pavitra* water with the verse 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4, Vāj. S. 36.12, Tai. Ār. IV. 42.4) and barley grains with the mantra 'Yavosi' (Vāj. S. V. 26, Tai. S. I. 3. 1. 1) and (also sandalwood paste and flowers) he should place in the hands (of the brāhmaṇas) the *arghya*<sup>985</sup> water with the verse 'yā divyā' (those heavenly waters &c., Tai. Br. II. 7. 15. 4). Then he should pour water into the hand (of the *Vaiśva-deva* brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas) for washing the hand and give to them perfumes, flowers, incense, lamp<sup>986</sup> and garment. Then wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder<sup>987</sup> and

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कल्पतः (on आ. pp. 142, 151) also attributes it to both. हेमाद्रि (on आ. p. 1226) quotes it from the *ब्रह्मपुराण*, while the मद्र. पा. p. 574 quotes it as *बृहस्पतिः*. The मिता. notes that this and the following items up to (including) the gift of perfumes and four other things should be done by the performer being *यज्ञोपवीति* and having his right side towards the brāhmaṇas "एतच्च यज्ञोपवीतिना प्रदक्षिणं च कार्यं 'अपसर्ग्य ततः कृत्वा पिबूषामप्रदक्षिणम्' इति पिबूषे विशेषस्मरणात् ।" अपसर्ग्य ततः कृत्वा—is या. I. 232 latter half. हेमाद्रि (on आ. pp. 1257-58) explains 'प्रदक्षिणादयम्प्रदक्षिणम् । प्रदक्षिणं नामामिमुखपुष्पवामाङ्गोपलक्षितं प्रदक्षं प्रति कर्मणो निर्वहणं यथा पूर्वाभिमुखोपविष्टवैविकपङ्क्तिर्धूम्रद्विजादारभ्य तत् पङ्क्तिचरमद्विजापवर्गता.' "

985. 'Arghya water'—The मिता. states 'विश्वेदेवा इदं वो अर्घ्यमित्यर्घ्योदकं विनिक्षिपेत्.' The *arghya* is to be offered to each *ब्राह्मण* separately as required by गोभिलस्मृति III. 74 'अर्घ्यक्षय्योदके चैव पिण्डदानेऽवनेजने । तन्त्रस्य तु निहितः स्यात्प्रधावाचन एव च ॥'. The printed मिता. reads the मन्त्र as यवोसि धार्यराजो वा, which is not found in the Vāj. S. or other *samhitās*. Similarly, the मिता. reads the मन्त्र 'वा दिवा आपः यवसा' for अर्घ्य, which is probably Rg. VII. 49.2 with the order of words changed. अपराक (p. 479) states that if there are two *वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण*s then water and yavas should be put in two vessels and the मन्त्र is to be repeated each time when putting water, putting यव and at each अर्घ्य. हेमाद्रि (on आ. p. 1229) defines; 'अर्घ्यो नामार्घ्योपान. पुरतः संमाननार्थः प्रशस्तव्रज्यप्रक्षेपः'.

986. 'दीपे च विशेषः साङ्केनोक्तः । घृतेन दीपो वातग्यास्तिलतैलेन वा पुनः । वसामेदोऽर्घं दीपं प्रयत्नेन विजयेत्' मिता. on या. I. 231. The *विष्णुधर्मोत्तर* has the verse घृतेन (I. 141.12).

987. या. I. 232—अपसर्ग्य ततः. The Mit. quotes बृहृशाततप that from hence the performer should face the south 'उत्तङ्मुखस्तु देवानां पितॄणां दक्षिणामुखः । मध्याह्नात् पार्श्वे लव्यं द्वेपुर्वं विधानतः'.

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under the left arm (i. e. being *prācināvīti*) the performer should offer to the pitṛs (i. e. to the three brāhmanas representing them) double-folded kuśas (with water) for a seat on the left (i. e. on the seats already occupied kuśas should be placed on the left side for a *viṣṭara*), he should then invoke<sup>988</sup> the pitṛs after taking the permission of the brāhmanas with the ṛk 'usantas-tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai. S. II 6. 12. 1), and should then recite in a low voice the mantra (āyantu naḥ pitarah) 'may the pitṛs come to us' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The performer, having scattered sesamum seeds all round (the brāhmanas) with the mantra 'Apahata' (Vāj. S. II 29), should employ sesamum for all purposes where *yavas* were employed (in the daiva part of the ceremony) and should perform all the items such as giving arghya (water for worship) for the pitṛs as before (for the daiva rite). After offering arghya water, he should collect the drops of the arghya water fallen from the hands (or fingers) of the brāhmanas in one vessel (the pitṛ vessel), then turn it upside

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above (p. 434). The स्कन्दपुराण (VII. 1. 206. 17) provides 'दाने स्नाने जपे होमे भोजने देवतार्चने। देवानामुज्ज्वले वर्ध्नाः पितॄणां द्विगुणास्तथा॥'. In offering each of the things in daiva or *pitṛya* rite in śrāddha water must be given before and after. The मिता. says that here the method called काण्डाहुतमय (and not पदार्थाहुतमय) has to be followed. These two are dealt with in Jai. V. 2.1-15. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 739-740. In this case if there are three brāhmanas, water, kuśas and water are all to be given to one, then the same three to the second and the same three to the third. This is काण्डाहुतमय. If water is given one after another to the three, then kuśas one after another to them, then water one after another to three, that would be पदार्थाहुतमय. काण्ड means पदार्थवर्ग. हेमाद्रि (on आ. pp. 759-766) has an exhaustive and lucid discussion on these two. He states that पदार्थाहुतमय is the rule but काण्डाहुतमय also has to be followed in certain cases. For example, on p. 764 he says 'चरणमक्षालना-चमनप्रदानासनोपवेशनानि पदार्थाहुतमयेन । आसनक्षणवाहनार्चनगृह्यपूर्वकीपाश्यादिनां पदार्थानां कृत्स्नं काण्डं वैश्वदेविकेषु द्विजेष्वपवर्त्य पितृकेश्वारभूषणीयम्' and relies on या. I. 229-234 to show that all items relating to वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मण are first finished and those relating to पितृकब्राह्मण are then taken up i. e. there is काण्डाहुतमय as to वैश्वदेविक and पितृकब्राह्मण. Vide हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1215 also.

988. आवाह (या. I. 233). The मिता. remarks "अथ पितॄन् पितामहान् प्रपितामहा-नामाहविष्य इति ब्राह्मणान् वृद्धा आवाहयेति तैरुक्तातः उक्तान्स्त्वा निधीमहि इत्यनयर्वा पित्रादीनामाह 'आयन्तु नः पितरः' इत्यादिना मन्त्रेणापत्तिरिति". It may be noted that in all cases where a question is to be put or permission is to be asked the performer addresses the chief among them or all of them as the आज्ञास्व of का. says—'सर्वेषु मन्त्रेषु पंक्तिपूर्वकं पृच्छति सर्वोऽथ (2nd कण्डिका of आज्ञास्व).'

down<sup>989</sup> on the ground (over a bunch of kuśas with ends turned towards the south) with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitrs.'<sup>990</sup> Then, being about to perform 'agnaukarana' (offering in sacrifice), he takes the food mixed with clarified butter and asks the brāhmanas (in the words 'I shall offer into the sacred fire') and when permitted by them with the words 'do so', he offers into the fire (two portions cut off from the food mixed with ghee) with a *mekṣaṇa*<sup>991</sup> according to the

989. The मित्ता. remarks that on the vessel turned upside down the pavitras covering the three vessels should be placed and unguents, flowers, incense, lamp and garment should be offered to the brāhmanas with the words 'वितरयं ते गन्धः' etc.

990. पूर्ववत्—The मित्ता. very briefly sets forth how the items are to be repeated for वैश्यब्राह्मणः: 'राजतादिषु पात्रेषु त्रिष्वप्युग्मकुशानिर्मिवक्त्रार्चान्तादिषु 'शं नो देवीः' इति मन्त्रेणापः क्षिप्त्वा 'तिलोसि सोमवेवत्यः' इत्यादिमन्त्रेण तिलान् गन्धपुष्पाणि च क्षिप्त्वा स्वार्चयोः—इति ब्राह्मणानां पुरतोऽर्चयामात्राणि स्थापयित्वा या दिव्या इति मन्त्रान्ते वितरिष्यं ते अर्घ्यं पितानमेहं ते अर्घ्यं प्रपितानमेहं ते अर्घ्यमिति ब्राह्मणानां हस्तेष्वर्घ्यं दद्यात्। Vide आश्व. सू. in note 966 above for शं नो देवीः, तिलोसि, या दिव्याः. The मन्त्र is 'अथ हता अहुरा रक्षांसि वैदिवदः' (वाज. सं. II. 29). The बहुचरुह्यपरिनिष्ठ, अपराक्ष (p. 484) and others say that the name and gotra of the ancestors should be mentioned in offering पाद्य, अर्घ्य, गन्ध etc. Therefore the अर्घ्य will be offered in the form 'अमुकगोत्र पितरमुकगोत्रममेतत्तेऽर्घ्यम्'. हलायुध (folio 18a on आङ्गसूत्र) notes that in the case of वाजसनेयस the last words are एष तेऽयं:

991. मेक्षण is a rod of Aśvattha wood one *aratni* long having at one end a square board four *angulas* in length (to be used like a mixing spoon). Two offerings are made with the words अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्वधा नमः, सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः (वाज. सं. II. 29 where the same formula occurs with स्वाहा for स्वधा नमः). Acc. to Baud. Dh. S 'I. 8. 8-11 the offerings are three viz. to सोमाय पितृपीताय, यमायाद्विरस्वते पितृमते, अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्विहकुते. Acc. to मद्र. पा. p. 590 this is peculiar to Baudhāyana. The बह्वपुराण q. by मद्र. पा. (p. 591) speaks of आहुतित्रय and so does Brahmanḍa (upodghāta, 11.93-94). If the performer is आहिताग्नि and has observed सर्वोपधान method he offers into इक्षिणाग्नि; if he is not आहिताग्नि or has followed अर्घ्योपधान method he offers into grhya or āvasathya fire and if he has neither the śrauta or grhya fire he offers into the hand of the brāhmana. For the procedure of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ (which varies from one śākha and sūtra to another) vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1085-1090 and मनु. III. 212 for पाणिहोम. The food offered on the hand has to be mixed with the food served in the plate and then eaten. When there are several pitrya brāhmanas invited the पाणिहोम is to be made on the hand of the best of the brāhmanas acc. to the मद्र. पा. 585 and स्तुतिच. (आ. p. 462). both of which quote गोभिल II. 120 'पित्र्ये यः पक्विर्मूर्धन्यस्तस्य पाणावनग्निमान्।

हुत्वा मन्त्रवद्व्येषां तूर्णं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत्'। हलायुध holds that, since या. (I. 237 इतरेषां प्रदद्यात् भाजनेषु समाहितः) employs the word भाजनेषु without any qualification, the remnants of the food for होम should be put in all plates including those for वैश्वब्राह्मणः. The सौरपुराण (19.22) says: अग्नेरभाषाद्विष्य पाणौ होमो विधीयते। महादेवस्य पुरतो गोष्ठे वा अज्ययाम्बितः ॥

mission<sup>995</sup> (in the words 'partake of it along with your friends and relations'), he should spread (in front of the brāhmaṇas for pitrs) the remaining food on (*darbhas* with their ends to the south placed over) the ground (with the mantra 'ye agnidagdāḥ', those that were cremated and those that were not cremated &c.) and he should pour water once for each into his hand (for rinsing the mouth). Collecting all the cooked food (i. e. portions from each food) with sesamum mixed with it, the performer facing the south should offer the piṇḍas near the remains of the food (eaten by the brāhmaṇas) according to the procedure of the piṇḍapitryajña. For maternal ancestors also the same procedure is to be followed (from invoking the Viśve-devāḥ to offering piṇḍas). Then he should give water to the brāhmaṇas for sipping. Then (he should say to the brāhmaṇas 'pronounce benediction'); after making the brāhmaṇas say 'svasti', he should offer water into their hands for saying 'let it be inexhaustible (after he requests them 'let it be inexhaustible'). Then after giving to the brāhmaṇas dakṣiṇā (fee or presents)<sup>996</sup> according to the ability of the performer, he should say to the brāhmaṇas "may I request you to repeat the word 'svadhā'" and when they permit him in the words 'do request us', he should say 'let svadhā be pronounced for the persons concerned' (i. e. the pitrs and maternal ancestors). Then the brāhmaṇas should say 'let there be svadhā'. On the brāhmaṇas saying so, he should sprinkle water on the ground and say 'let the Viśve-devāḥ be pleased' and when the brāhmaṇas have responded with 'let the Viśve-devāḥ be pleased' he should mutter the follow-

995. तदन्नं विकिरेन्नमो दद्याच्चापः सकृत् सकृत् । या. I. 241. The *mita*, comments: तदन्नं पित्रस्थानब्राह्मणस्य पुरस्तादग्निदहसंक्षिप्तो दक्षिणाग्रदधान्तरितायां भूमौ तिलोदकप्रक्षेपपूर्वकं 'ये अग्निदग्धा' इत्यनया ऋचा निक्षिप्य पुनस्तिलोदकं प्रक्षेपेत् । तदन्नस्य ब्राह्मणहस्तेषु गण्डुवार्यं सकृत्सकृद्वयो दद्यात् । ये अग्निदग्धा—this is Rg. X. 15. 14 translated above (p. 196). Sesamum grains and water were to be cast before as well as after placing the food on the ground. The *Mit.* speaks of the verse ये अग्निदग्धा as a *ṛk*, so it should be taken to be Rg. X. 15. 14; but later works like the *Ādhitattva* (pp. 231–32) prescribe that the two verses quoted in the beginning of note 1007 below should be recited here. Vide ते. ब्रा. III. 1. 1. 7 for pitrs that were अग्निदग्ध and that were not so in another connection.

996. या. I. 244 दत्त्वा तु दक्षिणां शक्या—देवल prescribes that दक्षिणा was to be given to the पित्र्यब्राह्मण first and then to the वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मण 'दक्षिणां पितृवैश्येयो दद्यात्पूर्वं ततो हव्योः' q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 483). मत्स्य 17. 50–52, वायु 75. 14–15 specify the various gifts. Vide n. 1008.

ing: 997 'May donors increase in our family, may the (study or teaching of) Vedas prosper and progeny increase (in our family); may our faith (in rites for pitrs) not vanish and may there be plenty of things for us to make gifts' 998. Having muttered this, having spoken pleasing words to the brāhmaṇas, 999 having fallen at their feet (after going round them) he being pleased in his heart should dismiss the brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38.8, Yāj. S. 21.11, Tai. S. I. 7.8.2), the sending them away being so arranged that the brāhmaṇas representing the pitrs start first, 1000 (i. e. first goes the representative of the great-grandfather, then the one for the grandfather, then the one for the father and then the one representing the Viśvedevāḥ). The vessel in which the drops of *arghya* water from the hands of the brāhmaṇas had been collected before should be turned face upwards 1001 and then the brāhmaṇas should be dismissed. After following the departing brāhmaṇas (up to the boundary) and going round them, he (should return) and should eat the food that (remains in the

997. दातारो नो—या. I. 246. This very verse occurs in मनु III. 252, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.28, पद्मपुराण (सुष्टिलखण्ड 9.117), मत्स्य 16. 49-50, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140.42.

998 The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.50, मत्स्य 16.50-51, पद्म (सुष्टि 9.118) add another verse to या. I. 246 viz. अर्णं त्व नो बहू भवेदतिथिंश्च लभेमहि । याचितारश्च नः सन्तु भा च पाप्मिण्यम कंचन ॥.

999. इत्युक्त्वोक्त्वा मिया दाक्षः—या. I. 247. अपरार्क p. 512 quotes from बृहस्पति two verses stating what should be said 'अद्य मे सफलं जन्म भवत्यादाभिवन्दनात् । अद्य मे वंशजाः सर्वे वंशास्तेषु गृहाद् दिवम् ॥ अत्र शाकादिपानेन क्लेशिता ये मये दशाः । तः क्लेशजातं चित्तेन विस्मृत्य क्षन्तुमर्हथ ॥.'

1000. For पितृपूर्वं विसर्जनम् (या. I. 247), compare विष्णुपुराण III. 15.48 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140.15 which say 'वैश्वदेवनिविष्टानां चरमं हस्तधावनम् । विसर्जनं च निर्विघ्नं तेषु रक्षा यतः स्थिता ॥'. The मित्ता. adds, following the मत्स्यपुराण 17.59, that before dismissal he should touch the brāhmaṇas with the tip of a darbha 'वाजे वाजे इति जपन् कुशाग्रेण विसर्जयेत्'.

1001. The Mit. notices that the upturning of the vessel should be done (as the termination त्वा in कृत्वा indicates) first before the mantra 'vāje vāje' (Yāj. I. 247) is recited and after the brāhmaṇas recite the benedictory mantras, and then the brāhmaṇas start. Compare Jai. IV. 3.37 for कृत्वा denoting पूर्वकालता. संवत्स has two meanings, viz. (1) the drops of water fallen from the hands of the brāhmaṇas when *arghya* water was offered to them (Mit.), (2) the drops of water that remain in the *arghya* vessels. अविश in his पितृभक्ति (D. C. Ma. 152 of 1892-95) says 'संवत्सपदं ब्राह्मणहस्तकुतजलपरमिति निबन्धनारः । कर्कभाष्ये तु अर्घपात्रस्थशेषीभूतजलं संवत्सपदमित्युक्तम् । युक्तं चेत् । शेषे प्रतिपत्तयेषितत्वात्' folio 25b.



house after) the brāhmanas representing the pitrs have partaken of it. He and the brāhmanas that partook of the śrāddha dinner should abstain from sexual intercourse on the night of the śrāddha day <sup>1002</sup>.

Many of the Purāṇas contain detailed descriptions of the śrāddha to be performed on every *amāvāsya*; for example, Matsya 17. 12-60 (closely resembling Yāj. 225-259), Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 15. 13-49, Mārkaṇḍeya 28. 37-60, Kūrma (II. 22. 20-62), Padma (śrṣṭikhaṇḍa) 9. 140-186, Brahmanḍa (Upod-ghātapāda, chap. 12), Skanda VI. 224. 3-51, Viṣṇudharmottara I 140. 6-44. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 163 verses 2-42 are the same (with very slight variations and the omission of 2½ verses) as Yāj. I. 227-270; while Agni chap. 117 contains many verses that closely follow the Āśv. Gr. and Yāj. Similarly the Garuḍa-purāṇa contains numerous verses that are identical with Yājñavalkya's. For example, compare Yāj. I. 229-239 with Garuḍa I. 99. 11-19. The Purāṇas closely follow the Grhya-sūtras, Manu and Yājñavalkya and often employ the same mantras and formulas, though here and there they introduce some details. As remarked by the Varāhapurāṇa 14.51, the procedure for śrāddha is the same in all Purāṇas ( *iyam sarva-purāṇeṣu sāmānyā paitriki kriyā* ). For sample, a summary of the procedure in the Padma (śrṣṭi 9. 140-186) is set out here. The performer having honoured the Viśve-devāḥ (i. e. the brāhmana or brāhmanas invited to represent them) with a seat and with yava grains and flowers should fill two vessels with water and should place them on a *pavitra* of *darbhās*. The water should be offered with the verse 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9.4) and the yava grains with 'Yavosi'. They should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsaḥ' (Rg. II. 41.13) and yavas should be scattered about with the two verses 'Viśve devāsaḥ' (Rg. II. 41. 13-14) and he should scatter about *yava* grains with the verse 'thou art yava, the king of grains &c.' (quoted <sup>1003</sup> below). After decking the brāhmanas with sandalwood paste and flowers

1002. या I. 249. मित्ता. adds that by reason of the word 'tu' in Yā. I. 249 the performer and the brāhmanas have to shun eight actions enumerated in n. 924 above.

1003. यवोसि धान्यराजसु बहवो मधुमिक्षितः। निर्णोदः सर्वपापानां पवित्रद्वयि संस्तुतम्॥ पद्म (वृद्धि) 9.144. बी. घ. वृ. III. 6.5 is almost identical. The मित्ता. on या. I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'यवोसि धान्यराजो वा' which appears to be the same. अपराक्ष p. 479 speaks of 'यवोसि' as a *yajus*.

he should honour them with water with the verse <sup>1004</sup> 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985). After taking leave of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas that have been honoured with *arghya* he should begin the *pitṛ yajña*. He should prepare seats with darbhas on them, worship three vessels, place *paritras* on them and pour water in them with 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9.4), should cast sesamum grains in them with 'tilosi' and then put in them sandalwood and flowers. (Then verses 147-152 speak about the vessels to be employed). He then should announce the names and gotra of his ancestors and give darbhas in the hands of the brāhmanas. He should then request brāhmanas with the words 'I shall invite the *pitṛs*' and when they reply 'let it be so' he should invoke the *pitṛs* with the two verses 'usantas tvā' (Rg. X. 16.12) and 'ā yantu' (Vaj. S. 19.58). Then, having offered *arghya* to the brāhmanas (representing the *pitṛs*) with 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985), having given them sandalwood paste and the other things including garment as the last, he should collect the remainder of the water (in the *arghya* vessels) into the vessel meant for the father and should keep aside the latter to the north with its top turned downwards with the words 'thou art a seat of the *pitṛs*'. Then he should begin to serve various kinds of food after bringing the utensils in which the food was cooked and holding them with both hands. (Verses 157-165 speak of the various foods to be offered and the periods of gratification caused thereby to the *pitṛs*). While the brāhmanas are engaged in eating he should recite the Vedic hymns <sup>1005</sup> referring to

1004. मित. on वा. I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या आपः पयसा'. The mantra in आश्व. वृ. IV. 7.13 'या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी' has been translated above, as also the mantra 'tilosi' from Āśv. gr. IV. 7.8. How the offering of *tila* water in the midst of mango trees serves two purposes is finely stated in the following verse: एको मुनिस्ताम्रकरामहस्तो ह्यग्निषु मध्ये सलिलं ददाति। आम्नाश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च तुता एका क्रिया द्वयार्थकरी मसिद्धा॥ पक्ष (सुष्टिलख 11.77). वायु 111, 37, अग्नि 115. 40; compare महाभाष्य 'आम्नाश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च मीणिताः' vol. I. p. 14.

1005. The verses of the पक्ष (सुष्टि 9. 165-169) about what is to be recited are quoted by अपरार्क p. 502, the first verse स्वाध्यायं etc. being मनु III. 232. Compare नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28.65-68) which among others mentions राक्षोघ्न, वैष्णव and पेंतृक (Rg X. 15.1-13) मन्त्रः, पुरुषसूक्त, त्रिमधु, त्रिसुपर्ण. The Sāntika chapter, acc. to हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1075, is वाज. सं. 36.10 ff. which begins इति नो वातः पवताम्. The मधुवाङ्मय is what is called मधुविद्या contained in the बृह. उ. II 5 (beginning with इयं पृथिवी सर्वेषां धृतानां मधु) and छान्दोग्य III. 1 (beginning with अस्मि वा आदित्यो देवमधु). The मण्डलवाङ्मय is an उपनिषद् (vide Indische Studien III. p. 325). हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 1075 says 'यदेतन्मण्डलं तपतीत्यादि मण्डलवाङ्मयम्'.

(Continued on the next page)

the Fathers, all the Purāṇas, various eulogies of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, the Sun, Rudra and the Vedic hymns addressed to Indra, Rudra and Soma and the Pāvamāni verses, the Sāmans called Brhat, Rathantara and Jyestha Sāman, the chapter on Śānti rites (propitiatory rites for removing evil events or prognostications), the Madhubrahmaṇa, the Maṇḍala Brāhmaṇa and whatever else gives pleasure to the brāhmaṇas and the performer; and the Mahābhārata also should be recited, as it is very dear to the pītṛs. After the brāhmaṇas have finished their dinner the performer should collect together in a lump portions from all kinds of food, put water over them and spread<sup>1006</sup> it (on the ground over darbhas) in front of the plates of the dining brāhmaṇas and should say<sup>1007</sup> 'May those persons in our

(Continued from the last page)

These verses of the पञ्चपुराण about what it is to be repeated occur in मत्स्य-पुराण also (17.37-39). The राक्षोघ्नमन्त्रः are five verses (Rg. IV. 4.1-5=Vāj. S. XIII. 9-13=Tai S. V. I. 2.14). हेमाद्रि (भा. pp. 1069-1073) first sets out the texts mentioned by मनु, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र and the पुराण, then gives the vedic texts to be repeated by the respective followers of the four Vedas (pp. 1073-1074), then deals with the Saptārcis mantra (vide note 1020). Ultimately Hemādri and Śr. P. say that if a man does not know much he should engage in गायत्रीजप.

1006. The verse सार्ववर्णिकमन्त्राय...विकिरन्मुवि in पद्म (सृष्टि 9. 170) is the same as Manu III. 244, मत्स्य 17.41 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.21.

1007. अग्निदग्धाश्च ये जीवा येऽप्यदग्धाः कुले मम। भूमौ दत्तेन वृष्यन्तु वृषा यान्तु परां गतिम्॥ येषां न माता न पिता न बन्धुर्न आन्यमिच्छं न तथाकामस्ति। तन्मृतयेऽहं धुवि दत्त-मेतत्प्रयान्तु योगाय यतो यतस्तत्॥ असंस्कृतप्रमोक्तानां श्यागिनां कुलयेषिताम्। उच्छिष्टभाग-धेयानां दुर्भेषु विकिरासनम्॥ पद्म. (सृष्टि 9. 171-173). These verses occur in मत्स्य 17. 42-44 which presents some various and better readings (viz. प्रयाग्तु लोकेषु सुखाय तद्वत् and त्यक्तानां कुलयेषिताम्); बौ. य. सू. II. 10.42 (येऽग्निदग्धा जाता जीवा ये ये त्वदग्धाः...गतिम्॥) is almost the same as the first verse. The verse असंस्कृतः is मनु III. 245, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.22, and Skandapurāṇa VI. 218, 10-11. कात्यायन as quoted by अपरार्क p. 505 reads 'ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा जीवा जाता कुले मम। भूमौ...गतिम्॥'. Halāyudha in his com. on Kātyāyana's Śrāddhasūtra holds that अदग्धाः is the proper reading and अनग्निदग्धाः is a bad reading and relies on a verse of the Brahmapurāṇa (folio 26b). श्यागिनां कुलयेषितां in मनु III. 245 and elsewhere is explained in different ways. The words may mean 'of persons who abandoned wives descended from good families' or 'of women who forsook their families' or 'of those who committed suicide and of childless women.' One can appreciate the kindly and noble sentiments underlying the above verses. In honouring the pindaś, Manu III. 217 (which speaks of salutation to the six seasons) is deemed to provide for salutation of the six seasons as identified with six ancestors mentioned in the words रत्त-शोचनीवस्वधाश्चेरमन्तु named in वाङ्. सं. II. 32 'नमो नः पितरो रत्ताद...पितरो मन्त्ये.' Vide आश्वलायन pp. 241-242.

family that were cremated or not cremated be gratified by the food offered on the ground and being gratified may they attain the highest world (or bliss)! May this food offered on the ground for the gratification of those that have neither father nor mother nor relative nor any other friend and have no food (offered by any one else in śrāddha) proceed for union with them wherever it may have to go! The remainder of the food cooked for śrāddha and food spread on the ground are the lot (or share) of those that died without the saṃskāras (*caula*, *upanayana* and the like) being performed on them, that abandoned their *gurus* and of (unmarried) women of the family. Finding that the brāhmaṇas are satisfied (by the dinner) he should give water once in the hand of each brāhmaṇa, should place on the ground smeared with cow's dung and urine darbhas with their ends turned to the south and place on them pinḍas made from all kinds of foods (cooked for the śrāddha dinner) following the method employed in *Pinḍapitṛyajña* after washing them with water. He should then utter the names and gotra (of the ancestors to whom the pinḍas are to be offered) and should offer flowers and the rest and should again wash them (pinḍas). He should perambulate the pinḍas thrice holding darbhas in his hand and he should light lamps and offer flowers for the pinḍas. When the brāhmaṇas sip water after eating the dinner, he should himself sip water and give water once to each of the brāhmaṇas and flowers and *akṣatas* and then *akṣayyolaka* with sesamum grains. He should then make according to his means presents (to the brāhmaṇas) of cows,<sup>1008</sup> land, gold, clothes, splendid beds and whatever else was liked by the brāhmaṇas or by the performer himself or his father. He should not be stingy in his presents. Then he should request the brāhmaṇas to say

1008. वस्त्रं (सुष्टि 9. 180) is: गोब्राह्मिण्यासांसि भव्यानि शयनानि च। दद्याद्यदिष्टं विप्रजासाम्भनः पितुरेव च॥ There is epigraphic and other recorded evidence for gifts of land in śrāddhas. An inscription of Karnadeva, son of Gāṅgeyadeva of the Cedi year 793 (1042 A. D.) records the grant of a village (called Susi) to a brāhmaṇa on the occasion of the Sāmvatsarika śrāddha of Gāṅgeyadeva at Prayāga. Vide I. A. vol. 16 pp. 204-207 for the grant of a village by the Chandella king Devavarmadeva in *saivat* 1107 (1050-51 A. D.) on the anniversary of his mother's death and a grant in 1790 A. D. by Fattasing Bhoale, prince of Akhalkot, to a learned brāhmaṇa of thirty *bighas* of land on the 10th day of his father's death (Bhārata-itihāsa-saṃśodhana-maṇḍala, vol. 29, parts 1 and 2, 1948 p. 41). In the Āśramavāsikaparva 14. 3-4 दुषिष्ठिर is said to have made gifts of gold and jewels, slaves, blankets, villages and fields, elephants and horses with their trappings and of girls to जाह्नव्या in क्षात्र for भीष्म, द्रोण, कृपेयन and others.

'svadhā' and they should do so. Then he should request the brāhmaṇas to pronounce the following benedictions and should receive them from them while he faces the east. They are 'May the pitrs be kind ( not dreadful ) to us'; the brāhmaṇas should say 'let it be so'; 'May our family increase!'; they should say 'so be it'; 'May donors in my family prosper and also (the study of) the Vedas and progeny and may these benedictions come out true!'; they should respond 'let it be so'. He should then remove the pipḍas and request the brāhmaṇas to utter the word 'svasti' and they should do so. The remains of the food eaten by the brāhmaṇas remain ( unremoved or unwiped ) till the brāhmaṇas are dismissed; then he should perform the (usual) daily rites *Vaiśvadeva*, *balihoma*<sup>1009</sup> &c. The remnants of food that lie on the ground are the share of the group of slaves that were straight-forward and not roguish (dishonest or shirkers). The performer holding a vessel full of water and muttering the verse 'vāje vāje' ( Rg. VII. 38. 8, Vāj. S. IX. 18, Tai. S. I. 7. 8. 2 ) should touch the brāhmaṇas with the tip of kuśas and dismiss them. He should follow them out of his house for eight paces, should circumambulate them, should then return with his relatives, sons and wife, should then perform the daily *Vaiśvadeva* and *balihoma*. Then after *Vaiśvadeva* he should together with his relatives, sons, guests and servants partake of the food that remains in the cooking pots after what was eaten by the brāhmaṇas.

It should be noticed how closely the Padmapurāṇa follows the procedure (including the mantras) contained in Yājñavalkya. What procedure the author of a Purāṇa follows depends upon his learning and the sūtra that he studied. For example, the Viṣṇudharmottara I.140 appears to rely on the Āp. gr. and the Āp. M. P. (II. 19-20), since I. 140. 12 refers to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1., I. 140. 29-30 to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14-16, I. 140. 35 to Āp. M. P. II. 20. 1. Similarly, Skanda (VI. 224. 3-51) closely follows Āśv. gr and Yāj.

Owing to the difference in details of śrāddha in the several gṛhyasūtras, the smṛtis and the purāṇas, an important question arises whether a person should perform a śrāddha rite only in accordance with the gṛhyasūtra of his own Veda or Śākhā or whether he may perform it after the inclusion ( *upasaṁhāra* ) of

1009. पक्ष, बृहत्संहिता 9. 185-186 are the same as मनु III. 265. 246 and Matsya 17. 56-57.

the several items found in other sūtras and smṛtis though not included in the kalpa or gṛhya sūtra of his own Śākha. This topic is discussed at great length by Hemādri (on śrāddha) pp. 748-759 and briefly by Medhātithi on Manu II. 29 and XI. 216, by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 325, Aparārka p. 1053 and others. Those who are for strictly following the details in one's own sūtra alone argue as follows: If one were at liberty to include details other than those contained in one's own sūtra, the order of the details (*krama*) given in one's sūtra and the time specified for each detail would be interfered with. Besides, if the addition of details were permissible, one would be liable to the charge of giving up the usages of one's own family handed down for generations. These objectors rely upon such passages as that of the Viṣṇudharmottara which states 'He who violating (the dictates of) his own sūtra acts according to a sūtra meant for others, treats thereby his own sage (the author of his sūtra) as unauthoritative and incurs (the blame of) doing what is improper.'<sup>1010</sup> The smṛtis that contain additional details may be meant for those men who have no kalpa or gṛhya sūtra of their own or they may be useful for śūdras.

Those who espouse the view that as far as possible all details found in several gṛhyasūtras and smṛtis on one rite should be included by every one rely mainly on Jaimini II. 4. 8-33 which is called 'sākhāntarādhikaraṇanyāya' or 'sarvasākhāpratyayanāya'. The principal sūtra is Jai. II. 4. 9.<sup>1011</sup> It is established in this sūtra that the *prayō'ana* (purpose) or *phala* (reward to be secured) of the rite is the same in different sūtras and smṛtis. For example, the rewards of śrāddha are stated to be the same in all sūtras and smṛtis (vide notes 787-790 above); then the *dravya* (materials) and the deity are the same (in *Pūrvaṇa* śrāddha the deities are the paternal ancestors and the materials,

1010. यः श्रद्धामतिक्रम्य परध्वजेन वर्तते । अपमानमुचिं कृत्वा सोऽप्यधर्मेण युज्यते ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 127. 148-149.

1011. एकं वा संयोग-रूप-चोदनाख्याविशेषात् । जै. II. 4. 9 (separate as चोदना + आख्या + अविशेषात्); on this ज्ञावर explains 'तदेव प्रयोजनमुद्दिश्य तदेव विधीयमानं प्रत्यभिजातीयः । रूपमप्यस्य तदेव द्रव्यमेव तद् । पुत्रपुत्रयत्नस्तादृश एव चोद्यते । नामधेयं चाविक्षिप्तम् । तेन तदेव कर्म सर्वशाखास्त्विति श्रवणः ।' The तन्त्रवार्तिक explains 'संयोग इति साधय्यात् कलसंयोगग्रहणम्... चोदनेति सर्वधात्वर्थभावनाविषयो विधिः ।' Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 870 for a brief explanation of this सर्वशाखामत्यपभ्यास. मेधा. on Manu XI. 216 puts the maxim very briefly as 'आप्यायस्य सं ते यपांसि-इति श्रुत्यन्तरोक्तो विधिरपेक्षितः । एकशाखायास्तत्सर्वश्रुतीनामस्त्विति विरोधे तमग्रं योग्यं विरोधे तु विकल्पः ।'.

viz. *kuśas*, tilas, water, vessels, foods &c. are the same in all works). The effort that is enjoined (the *vidhi*) is the same and the name (*Pārvaṇāśrāddha*, *Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha* &c.) is the same. Therefore, on account of these various signs one easily recognizes that the same rite is being dealt with by all sūtras, even if many of them differ in details. It cannot be said that smṛtis will be useful for those who have no sūtras of their own. Each man of the first three varṇas is attached to some sūtra or other by the tradition of his family or caste. Similarly, the smṛtis cannot be held to be meant for śūdras alone, since the smṛtis mainly deal with *upanayana*, the study of the Vedas, *agnihotra* and other matters with which a śūdra has no concern. Similarly, the objection that if details were allowed to be inserted from other sūtras and smṛtis the *krama* and *kāla* prescribed in one's sūtra might have to be set aside, the reply is contained in Jai. I. 3. 5-7 (explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 841-848).<sup>1012</sup> The *śruti* says 'after getting ready a bundle of kuśa grass he prepares the *vedi* (altar)'. Here a certain order of acts is laid down. If after a bundle of kuśas is got ready, the man has a sneeze, he has to sip water (perform *ūcamana*) immediately as laid down by Manu V. 145 and Vas. III. 38 before he prepares the *vedi*. So the objector says the *krama* will be interfered with. The reply is that the sequence (*krama*) is only a characteristic of the items in the *śruti* passage, that all that is meant is that the making of the altar follows the getting ready of a kuśa bundle, but that it is not meant that the making of the *vedi* should follow immediately after the bundle is got ready. Therefore, the conclusion is that whatever detail is not in conflict with one's own *śākhā* or sūtra may be included in the rite one is about to perform, but if there is a direct conflict, then one should stick to one's own sūtra. As observed by Kātyāyana 'whatever is declared, whether in great detail or in brief, in one's own gṛhyasūtra about a rite, if he performs that much, it may be taken that he has done all that is required of him; but what is not handed down in one's *śākhā* (or sūtra) but is contained in another *śākhā* and is not in conflict with one's own *śākhā*, should be performed by the learned, as in the case of

1012. अपि वा कारणब्रह्मे प्रयुक्तानि मतीयेरन् । जै. I. 3. 7. On this *śākhā* observes: आचाम्नेन कर्तव्यं यज्ञोपवीतिना कर्तव्यं ... इत्येवंलक्षणाभ्युदाहरणानि । किमेतानि कृतिविवक्षानि न कर्तव्यानि उताविवक्षानि कार्याणि चेत्पश्यसि तैरप्यनुष्ठेयमानैर्वैदिकै किञ्चिद् कृत्वापि तस्माद्विवक्षामीति । नेतदेवम् । शास्त्रपरिच्छिन्नं हि कर्म बाधेरन् । कथम् । वेदं कृत्वा वेदं कृतिविवक्षानां कृतिमुपकम्पयादन्तरा वेदं वेदं चानुष्ठेयमानमाचमनादि । This *pūrvapakṣa* is refuted later on.

agnihotra and the like'.<sup>1013</sup> The first verse of Kātyāyana may be explained as applying where one's śākhā or sūtra deals with a matter without requiring any addition or as the next best course where one is not able to supplement one's sūtra owing to some unseen cause or owing to human difficulties. The Saṅgraha says that where different items of the śrāddha rite are declared to be performed at different times and there is no agreement among the sages, one should follow one's grhya-sūtra, but where one's grhyasūtra is silent as to a certain item or as to the stage when it is to be performed, there is an option and one may follow the opinion of some sage as to that item.<sup>1014</sup> It appears that even the ancient grhya sūtras exhibit tendencies that led to the sarvaśākhā-pratyaya-nyāya e. g. Āśv. gr. (q. in n. 966) employs several passages (such as 'Tilosi', 'Yā divyā,' which do not occur in the R̥gveda.)

It is owing to this maxim of 'sarvaśākhā-pratyayanyāya' that medieval digests go on heaping up details from all smṛtis and purāṇas in their descriptions of the several śrāddhas, the procedures of which were not originally very extensive.

The Kūrmapurāṇa<sup>1015</sup> provides that the performer should before noon time is past bring to his house the invited brāhmaṇas

1013. अविकृद्धानि तु परशाखान्नातानि सर्वाण्यप्यङ्गान्युपसंहृत्य कर्मानुष्ठेयम् । तदुक्तं भविष्यपुराणे । यस्मात्स्नातं स्वशाखायां पारक्यमविरोधि यत् । विद्वद्भिस्तदनुष्ठेयमग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा ॥ इति । हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 759. This verse is गोभिलस्मृति I. 35 (reads परोक्तमविरोधि and ° होत्रादिकमवत्). अपराकं p. 8 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 5 quote this verse as कार्त्तयायन's and also another of his 'बहत्पं वा स्वशुद्धोक्तं यय कर्म प्रकीर्तितम् । तस्य तावति शाखार्थे कृते सर्वः कृतो भवेत् ॥'. हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 756 quotes this last verse as वैजपायन's. Both verses (बहत्पं and यस्मात्स्नातं) are quoted as from the परिशिष्ट by हलायुध in his com. on the आङ्गसूत्र of कार्त्तयायन (folio 30 a). The स्मृतिच. (I p. 5) adds another half verse of कार्त्तयायन viz. आत्मतन्त्रे तु यन्मोक्तं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम्'. In आत्मतन्त्र, तन्त्र means सिद्धान्त (i. e. one's सूत्र). अग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा—This is explained by आङ्गसूत्र (टोडरानन्द folio 64a) as follows: 'यथा छन्दोगानामनुक्तोपि यजुर्वेदविहितोऽग्निहोत्रादिभिः क्रियते'.

1014. यान्यत्र कालभेदेन कर्माणि मुनयो जगुः । स्वशुद्धोक्तानुसारेण विकल्पस्तेषु युज्यते ॥ न शुद्धादिस्मृतिर्येषां आङ्गादाद्युपलभ्यते । कर्तुमर्हन्ति ते कृत्स्नं यय कस्य मुनेर्मतम् ॥ संग्रह q by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1434). The आ. क्रि. को. p. 125 briefly puts the position as follows 'आकांक्षितं परशाखोक्तमपि कर्तव्यमनाकांक्षितं तु न कर्तव्यमेव । उपपन्नोक्तं तु आकांक्षितमनाकांक्षितं वा सामान्यधर्मत्वात्सर्वैरेवानुष्ठेयम् । तत्रापि स्वशाखोक्तविरोधिना कार्यमिति ॥'. The following verse quoted from Gobhila by the com. on Sāh. Sr. S. IV. 4. 10-15 takes a very strict view 'ऊनो वाच्यधिको वापि यः स्वशाखोत्थितो विधिः । तेन समनुयायज्ञं न कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम्'.

1015. ततो निवृत्ते मध्याह्ने तु सरोमनस्नानं द्विजान् । अवगम्य (अभिगम्य?) यथामार्गं प्रयच्छेद्भक्तधावनम् । आसन्नमिति सञ्जल्पन्नासीरंस्ते पृथक् पृथक् । तैलमग्न्यञ्जनं स्नानं स्नानीयं च पृथग्विधम् । कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 22. 20-21). In H. I edition the order of verses is different. The first is quoted by हेमाद्रि (on आ.) p. 1167 from देवल and कूर्म and by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 117) from देवल.



who have shaved themselves and pared their nails, should offer them materials for brushing the teeth and request them to sit down on separate seats, then give them oil and water for bathing. It will be seen that here the purāṇa has added several details that were not provided for by the Āśv. gr. (n. 966), Manu (III. 208), Yaj. (I. 226) and even by some of the purāṇas such as the Varāha 14. 8, which begin the procedure with seating the brāhmanas in the afternoon on seats after welcoming them. Many more examples could be given, but that attempt is not made owing to considerations of space.

Before proceeding to give some idea as to how the pārvana-śrāddha was dealt with in medieval and modern times, observations must be made on several relevant matters, on which there is a difference of views or which are important in a general way.

When the invited brāhmanas come after noon, it is provided in some of the purāṇas that two maṇḍalas should be made in front of the performer's residence for receiving the brāhmanas. For example, the Nārada-purāṇa states<sup>1016</sup> 'the maṇḍala for a brāhmaṇa performer should be square (four cornered) in size, for a kṣatriya triangular, circular for a vaiśya and for a śūdra mere sprinkling of the ground with water is enough.' The maṇḍalas should be made on ground smeared with cowdung and with water mixed with cow's urine. Of the two maṇḍalas one should be on the northern side sloping towards the north and the other on the southern side sloping towards the south. On the northern maṇḍala kuśas with points towards the east should be placed along with akṣata (unbroken or whole) grains and on southern one double-folded kuśas should be placed along with sesamum grains. The northern maṇḍala should generally be two cubits on each side while the southern one should be four cubits on each side. The brāhmaṇa or brāhmanas that represent the Viśvedevāḥ should be honoured in the northern maṇḍala first by the performer himself with water for washing their feet after bending his right knee and the brāhmanas representing the pitṛs should be then honoured in the southern maṇḍala with water for washing the feet (hence called *pādya*) after bending his left knee. The mantra at the time of offering *pādya* is 'śan

1016. आद्वार्य समनुज्ञातः कारयेन्मण्डलद्वयम् । चतुरस्रं ब्राह्मणस्य त्रिकोणं क्षत्रियस्य च । वैश्यस्य वृत्तं शूद्रस्याभ्युक्षणं भवेत् ॥ नारदपुराण ( पृथार्थ 28 32-33 ) ; सौरपुराण ( 19. 13-14 ) has almost the same verse as चतुरस्रं etc. Vide अपराक p. 475 for मण्डलम्.

no devir' Rg. X. 9. 4).<sup>1017</sup> After the mantra is recited he should give the water to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and to the pitrya brāhmaṇas as noted below (in n. 1017). After the pādyā water is offered the brāhmaṇas should come in front of the maṇḍalas and sip water (take *ūcamana*).

The ancient sūtras and smṛtis like those of Manu and Yāj. (I. 229) say generally that the Viśvedevāḥ are to be invoked, but some of the later smṛtis (such as Prajāpati, verses 179-190) and purāṇas contain verses enumerating ten names of Viśvedevas and assign two each (out of the ten) to five classes of śrāddhas. They say:<sup>1018</sup> "in śrāddha performed in an *iṣṭi* the Viśvedevas are Kratu and Dakṣa, in a Nādimukha śrāddha they are Vasu and Satya, in Kāmyaśrāddha Dhuri and Locana, in naimittika śrāddha Kāla and Kāma and in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha Purūravas and Ādrava'. According to the Sm. C. and Hemādri a seat (*āsana*) is to be given to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and invocations are to be made in the several śrāddhas after taking the names enumerated above. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 229, Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1225) and other digests state that the mantras

1017. कं नो देवीरिति मन्त्रं पठित्वा पुरुरवार्षवसंज्ञका विश्वेदेवा इवं वः पाद्यमिति दद्यात् । एवं पित्रर्थं ब्रह्माणपादयोरपि शक्नो देवीति मन्त्रान्ते पितरमुक्तयोत्रासु कर्शमन् वरुण इवं ते पाद्यमिति दद्यात् । मव. पा. p. 567.

1018. ऋतुर्वक्षो वसुः सत्यः कालः कामस्तथैव च । धुरिभारोचनश्चैव तथा चैव पुरुरवार्षाः । आर्द्धवक्ष दक्षेते तु विश्वे देवाः प्रकीर्तिताः । बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 478, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 142), स्मृतिच (आ. pp. 442-443); the words विश्वे देवाः are to be kept separate and not compounded. इष्टिआद्ये ऋतुर्वक्षः सत्यो नाङ्गीकुले वसुः । नैमित्तिके कालकामौ काम्ये च धुरिलोचनौ ॥ पुरुरवा अर्द्धवक्ष पार्वणे सदुदाहृतौ । बृह. q. by अपरार्क p. 478, आ. प्र. p. 23, मव. पा. (p. 573-574) which explains 'इष्टिआद्यमाधानादौ कियमाणं ... । नैमित्तिके मपिण्डीकरणे । कामनयाद्यष्टेपगयामहालपादि आर्द्ध काम्यम् । इष्टिआद्य is the कर्माङ्गआद्य, 9th among the 12 आर्द्धs quoted above from विश्वामित्र (in n. 858). The आ. प्र. p. 23 notes the different readings of some of the names such as पुरुरवश्च and अर्द्धवक्ष, some saying the first is पुरुरव and the second is माद्रव. The printed आद्यतत्त्व p. 199 has माद्रव and so has टोडरानन्द (आद्यसौख्य folio 57 a). आद्यतत्त्व explains इष्टिआद्य as इच्छाआद्य and नैमित्तिक as एकोद्दिष्ट. The आ. कि. को. (p. 56) reads पुरुरवाः and माद्रवाः. कल्पतरु (आ. p. 142) reads माद्रवश्च दक्षेते तु. The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (III. 3, 30-31) enumerates the ten विश्वेदेवाः somewhat differently. It reads 'पुरुरवो माद्रवसो रोचमानश्च'. The ब्रह्माण्ड (III. 12. 3 ff.) states that ten sons were born to विश्वा, one of the daughters of दक्ष. When they performed severe *tāpas* on a Himālaya peak Brahṃā gave them the boon they wanted (आद्येस्माकं भवेदंशी षोड नः काक्षितो वरः) and the pitrs agreed. The pitrs said (verse 13) 'अये दत्त्वा तु पुष्पामकस्माकं वारयते ततः । विसर्जनमथास्माकं पूर्वं पश्चात्तु देवतम् ॥'. This legend is obviously an attempt to explain the usage about vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas at a आद्य.

for invoking the Viśvedevas in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha are two viz. 'Viśvedevāsa āgata' (Rg. II. 41. 13) and 'āgacchantu mahābhāgā' (q. above in note 984), while the Sm. C. (p. 444) prescribes an additional mantra 'viśve devāḥ śrupata' (Rg. VI. 52. 13).

The general rule is that the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas are to be seated facing the east and the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇas facing the north (Yāj. I. 228, Varāha 14. 11), but there were at least five differing views about the directions which the brāhmaṇas were to face as Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1200) points out. It is further pointed out by Hemādri and others (like Yāj. I. 247) that in all items in the procedure of śrāddha the Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇas have precedence except in the matter of washing the hand smeared with the remains of food and the final dismissal of the brāhmaṇas at the end of the śrāddha.<sup>1019</sup> It may be noted that in southern and western India brāhmaṇas invited at śrāddha are worshipped, while in Bengal it is the effigy made with darbhas (darbhabaṭu) that is worshipped as shown by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri (Catalogue of Mss. vol. III p. 406). The Śrāddha-tattva (folio 2b) of Raghunandana provides for the same: '*purūravā-mādravasor viśveṣām devānām pārvaṇa-śrāddham kuśamayabrāhmaṇe kariṣye iti pracheḥ.*'

In the Vāyupurāṇa<sup>1020</sup> it is stated that the following mantra should be repeated thrice at the beginning and end of a śrāddha and at the time of offering pinḍas; on repeating it the pitṛs come quickly to the śrāddha and rākṣasas run away and that the mantra saves the pitṛs in all the three worlds. The mantra is 'Perpetual adoration to the gods, to pitṛs and to the great Yogins, to svadhā, to svāhā'. The Sm. C. (on śrāddha

1019. उच्छिष्टावलिप्तहस्तभालनं विसर्जनं च वर्जयित्वा सर्वेषां आर्क्षीयपद्मार्चनां वैश्वदेविकपूर्वकत्वात् । हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1196. This is supported by विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 15 'वैश्वदेविष्टानां चरतं हस्तपावनम् । विसर्जनं च निर्विघ्नं तेषु रक्षा यतः स्थिता ॥.'

1020. मन्त्रं वदयाम्यहं तस्मादभ्युतं ब्रह्मनिर्मितम् । देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च महायोगिभ्य एव च । नमः स्वधायै स्वाहायै नित्यमेव भवन्त्युत । आद्यावसाने आर्क्षयन् निरावर्तं जपेत्सदा । पिण्डनिर्वापणे चैव जपेदेतत्समाहितः । पितरः क्षिप्रमायाति राक्षसाः प्रव्रजन्ति च । पित्रुस्तस्मिन्नु लोकेषु मन्त्रोऽयं तारयत्युत ॥ वायुपुराण 74. 15-18. These verses are स्कन्ध VII. I. 206. 114-116, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 11. 17-18, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 68-72 (with slight variations). The मन्त्र occurs in वरहपुराण (आचारखण्ड) 218. 6. कल्प-तर्क (आ.) p. 144 quotes these. In most other purāṇas the मन्त्र ends 'नित्यमेव नमो नमः'. हेमाद्रि (on आर्क्ष pp. 1079 and 1208) calls it सप्तचित् and notes that it occurs in seven purāṇas. It is stated in some works that the reading भवन्त्युत is for followers of सामवेद. अत्र सम्बन्धनामयोग्यज्ञानां नानाक्रमदर्शनाद्विकल्पः । स वैश्वदेवः कालाभिदेव वा व्यवस्थितः । आ. प. p. 29.

p. 441) states that the mantra should be repeated after the brāhmanas come and sit down and before kuśas are placed on the seats of the brāhmanas. This mantra occurs also in Brahmapurāṇa 220. 143, Brahmāṇḍa (Upodghātapāda 11. 22), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 68-70 and is styled 'saptārcis' by the last two and is said to be equal to Āsvamedha.

A certain order of words about referring to the ancestors in offering a seat, offering kuśas on seat, and *arghya* is laid down by Brhaspati,<sup>1021</sup> some of the purāṇas and the digests. As almost in every case there are different views here also. Brhaspati says: 'when giving a seat, when offering *arghya*, or pinḍas, in offering ablutions of water on pinḍas, the performer has to declare his relation to each of the ancestors, the names and *gotras* of the ancestors and also the form in which each of the ancestors is to be contemplated (viz. as Vasu, Rudra, Āditya respectively). It is further laid down that the genitive is to be employed for the ancestor's name in offering a seat (to the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa) and *akṣayyodaka*, the objective in invoking the pitṛs, the dative in offering food, the vocative in other cases.

It is laid down that the performer has to take *ācamana* (sip water) in śrāddha rite six times viz., at the commencement of śrāddha, when washing the feet of invited brāhmanas, in worshipping them, in making the *vikira*, in offering pinḍas and at the end of the śrāddha.<sup>1022</sup>

1021. आसने चाख्यदाने च पिण्डदानेऽग्नेजेने। सम्बन्धनामगोत्राणि यथार्हमनु-  
कीर्तयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि (on आ. p. 1257). The word आसन is only illustra-  
tive and is meant to include आवाहन and other पित्र्य items. अक्षर्यासनयोः  
वही द्वितीयावाहने तथा। अक्षदाने चतुर्थी स्याच्छेषाः सम्बुद्धयः स्मृताः ॥ सम्बन्धं प्रथमं  
ब्रूयात् नामगोत्रं तथैव च। एवाद्रूपं विजानीयात् क्रम एव सनातनः ॥ आङ्गलिका folio  
6b and 7a, आङ्गसंग्रह q. by स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 442 and p. 449. The verse  
अक्षर्यासनः is found in नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28. 38) also. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 50)  
quotes it as from श्लोकसंग्रहकारस्मृति. The formula may be 'ओं अनुकनोत्राणाम-  
नुकनार्मणामस्मिपुत्रां सपत्नीकानां वसुरूपाणामिदमासनम्'; then in place of पितृणां  
पितामहानां and प्रपितामहानां and in place of वसुरूपाणां, रुद्ररूपाणां and आदित्य-  
रूपाणां will have to be respectively employed. The words may also be  
employed in the singular as the स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 449) says 'एतासु च वृद्धादि-  
विभक्तिषु सर्वत्रैकवचनमवृत्तवचनयोर्विकल्प एव स्मृतिपुराणद्वयादिषु पितृपितामहादिशब्दानां  
कश्चिदेकवचनान्तया कश्चिद्वचनान्तया च प्रयोगदर्शनात्' 17.

1022. स्मृत्यन्तरे। आह्वारम्येऽसने च पादसौत्रे द्विजार्चने। विकिरे पिण्डदाने च  
वद्गु चासनं चरेत् ॥ q. by वृद्धीचन्द्र (on आ.) folio 62a.

An important question which exercised the minds of many medieval writers was 'who was the real recipient (*sampradāna*)<sup>1023</sup> of the offerings made in śrāddha, whether the brāhmanas or the pitṛs'. Relying on the words of the Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 1 (quoted above in n. 966 'etasmin kāle ... dānam) and passages of the purāṇas such as the Varāha (13. 5f) 'vibhave sati viprebhyo asmān uddiśya dāsyati', the Mahārṇavaprakāśa, Harihara and some others held that brāhmanas were the recipients, while others like Śrīdatta, relying on indications furnished by *śruti* passages like Vāj. S. 19. 36 (*akṣan pitarah amimadanta pitarah*) and such formulas as 'pitar-etai te arghyam' or 'etadvah pitaro vāsah,' held that the real recipients intended were the pitṛs, but, as the pitṛs had gone to another world and could not be bodily present to receive the gifts of such things as sandalwood paste, flowers and clothes, the latter were only handed over or assigned to the brāhmanas who were for the moment contemplated as not different from the pitṛs.<sup>1023a</sup> Vide Sm. C. (śrāddha pp. 447-449), Śr. Pr. pp. 30-31 for a discussion of these two viewpoints. It should, however, be noted that the water given to the brāhmanas and the *dakṣiṇā* given to them were only meant for the brāhmanas, the former for purification and the latter for the inexhaustible merit that *dakṣiṇā* to brāhmanas conferred.

It is to be noted that in the invocation (*āvāhana*) of the pitṛs there is a divergence of views as to the mantras to be employed and also as to the stage when it is to be made. Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1254-56) states that there were five different views on the latter point, the three most important of which were that *āvāhana* should come before giving darbhas as *āsana* on the left side of the seats of the *pitṛya* brāhmanas or after giving such darbhas or after *agnaukarana*. As regards the former (viz. the mantras), Yāj. (I. 232-233), the Brahmandapurāṇa and several others say that the invocation mantra is 'uśantas-tva' (Rg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 1) and after the *āvāhana* the performer should perform *japa* of the verse 'a yantu naḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra<sup>1024</sup> (73. 10-12) states 'The performer after having received

1023. For the meaning of संप्रदान, vide पा. I. 4. 32 'कर्मणा वसभिरेति स संप्रदानम्'.

1023 a. Vide n. 911 for the विष्णुपुराण passage (III. 14. 22-23) which means 'that will give jewels &c to brāhmanas for our benefit'.

1024. सतो ब्राह्मणाद्युक्ताः पित्रोर्वाहयेत् । अपवस्वसुरा इति हार्षां तिलैर्वास्तुधानानां चित्तार्जं कृत्वा । एत पितरः सर्वस्ताम्र आ मे वन्तेतद्वाः पितर इत्यावाहर्न कृत्वा ... । विष्णु.

(Continued on the next page)

permission from the brāhmaṇas should invite the Manes. Having driven away the *Yātudhānas* (demons) by strewing grains of sesamum and by reciting the two mantras (the first of which begins with 'may the Asuras go away') he should invite the Manes with the four mantras 'come near, ye Manes!', 'conduct them here, O Agni!', 'May my (ancestors) come near', 'this is your (share), O Manes'. Hemādri (*śrāddha* pp. 1260-1267) points out how the mantras differ according to different writers.

There is a great deal of discussion about *agnaukarana* mentioned in Yaj. I. 236-237. The Mit. points out that if a man has kept śrauta fires by the *sarvādhāna* method then in the pārvana-śrāddha that he offers after pindapitṛyajña he offers homa in the Dakṣiṇāgni, as he has no *aupāsana* (i. e. grhya) fire and supports this by quoting a passage which occurs in the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.<sup>1025</sup> But if a man consecrates the śrauta fires by the *ardhādhāna*<sup>1026</sup> method, then he has to offer pārvana homa in the *aupāsana* fire and one who is without śrauta fires and has kept up only *aupāsana* fire has to offer homa in that fire. One who has neither the śrauta fires nor the grhya fire offers it in the brāhmaṇa's hand only. The Mit. relies on Manu III. 212 and on two verses from a grhya and comes to the conclusion that one who has consecrated śrauta fires performs homa in dakṣiṇa fire in the case of Anvaṣṭakya śrāddha, the śrāddha on the day previous to Aṣṭakā, the śrāddha

(Continued from the last page)

धर्मसूत्र 73. 10-12. The commentator notes that here it is the काठकीय-आज्य-प्रयोग that is set out. Compare काठकश्रुत 63. 2-4, 10 for all these mantras except one 'पितृनामहविषयामीत्युक्त्वा । अपयस्त्वसुरा इति द्वाग्धा तिलैः सर्वतोऽवकीर्य । एत पितर आगच्छत पितर आ मे यस्त्वस्तर्द्धे पर्वतेरिति जापित्वा । ये मामकाः पितर एतद्वः पितरोऽयं यज्ञ इति तिसृभिः कल्पिताक्षमभिसृजति ।' Dr. Caland (the editor) notes that these are not found in the printed काठकसंहिता. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I. 140. 9-10) corresponds with the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र completely as to the mantras. अस्तर्द्धे पर्वतेः—Is आप. न. पा. II. 19. 4.

1025. यथाह मार्कण्डेयः । आहिताग्निस्तु जुहुयादक्षिणाग्नौ समाहितः । अनाहिताग्निस्तथैव सवे अग्नयभावे द्विजेच्छ वा ॥ मिता. on या. I. 236. This is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 18, as हेमाद्रि says 'तत्रैववाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयः' (आ. p. 1330).

1026. For सर्वाधान and अर्धाधान, vide above n. 991. यतः आज्ञाङ्गनाग्नौकरण-होमो लोकिनाग्नौ न युक्तः किंतु दक्षिणाग्नौ च न यज्ञो एव भवति । अतो यज्ञेन विना नाग्नि-होधिणः आज्ञात् । शौडरानन्द (on आज्ञा folio 24a). न यज्ञेन विना आज्ञमाहिताग्ने-द्विजस्मनः ॥ मनु III. 282, which कुल्लुक explains as 'आहिताग्नेर्द्विजस्य नामावास्याभ्यति-रेकेन कुल्लुकको दक्षिणाग्नौ आज्ञं विधीयते.'

performed in the dark half of each month on some day from the 5th and in the case of pārvana-śrāddha, but he performs, in the case of *kāmya*, *ābhyudayika*, *Ekoddista* and *Aṣṭaka śrāddhas*, *homa* only on the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa's hand; while for one who has kept no sacred fire the *homa* is to be made only in the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa's hand. Vide Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1328-1344), Bālabhaṭṭi (on *ācāra* p. 518). The Tadarānanda (śrāddha-saukhyā) following Manu III. 282 states that one who is an Agnihotrin cannot perform a pārvana-śrāddha on any day except on *darśa* (i. e. on *amāvāsya*).

Another important question on which there is great divergence concerns the number of *āhutis* to be offered in *agnau-karaṇa*, the deities to whom the *homa* was to be offered, the order in which the deities were to be named and the form of words to be used. On these matters there appears to have been divergent views from very ancient times. According to the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 12-13 the *āhutis* were only <sup>1027</sup> two, they were offered to Agni and Soma in that order and the word *svāhā* was used at the end. According to the Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 2-3 <sup>1028</sup> the *āhutis* were three, they were to be offered to Soma, Agni and to Yama in that order and the formula ended with 'svadhā namaḥ' (and not with 'svāhā'). It is therefore that a verse of Kātyāyana <sup>1029</sup> says "whether to employ the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namaḥ', whether and when to wear the sacred chord in the *yajñopavīta* form or *prācināvīta* form and what was to be the number of *āhutis*—all these have to be understood from one's own *sūtra*." The difference of views which is noticed as far back as the Brāhmaṇas persists in the *sūtras*, *smṛtis*, *purāṇas* and is briefly indicated here. The Āp. Gr. S. (quoted above in n. 981) speaks of thirteen *āhutis*, seven with food and

1027. स जुहोति । अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेत्यथग्री मेक्षण-मथावधाति तत्स्विष्टकृत्ताजन्म । शतपथब्रा. II. 4. 2. 13. The words अग्नये... पितृमते स्वाहा are वाज. सं. II. 29.

1028. सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याहुः । ... अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्याहुः य एव पितृणामग्निस्तं पीणाति । तिस्र आहुती जुहोति । तै. ब्रा. I. 3. 10. 2-3, on which सायण explains 'ज्ञात्वाऽन्तरगतं यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम इति मन्त्रेणैका-माहुतिनाग्निमेव त्रित्वं विदधाति'. Vide अथर्व. 18. 4. 71-74 also. आप. औ. (I. 8. 3-4 and 6) says 'सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इति वक्षिणाग्री जुहोति । यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम इति द्वितीयाह । अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्वधा नम इति तृतीयाह । न यमाय जुहोतीत्येके ।'

1029. स्वाहा स्वधाममः सत्यमपेक्षस्यं तथैव च । आहुतीनां तु या संख्या साधनकथा स्वद्वैतः ॥ कारवायन v. by ह्युतिच. (आ. p. 458).

six with clarified butter. Two āhutis only are mentioned by Āsv. Śrauta II. 6. 12 (quoted in note 974), Āsv. gr. IV. 7. 20, Śaṅkha-Likhita,<sup>1030</sup> Kāthaka-grhya, Nārada-purāṇa (pūrvārdha 28. 48) and Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa. Three āhutis are mentioned by most of the smṛtis and purāṇas, such as Baud. Dh. S. II. 14. 7,<sup>1031</sup> Śaṅ. Śrauta IV. 3 and grhya IV. 1. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 12, Manu III. 211, Varāhapurāṇa<sup>1032</sup> (14. 21-22), Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa (Upodghātapāda 11. 93-94), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 19. It is here that various combinations of the order of the deities and of the words 'svāhā' and 'svadhā' occur. The texts of a few works are cited below for illustration. Some give the order as 'Soma accompanied by the pitrs, Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Yama Angiras;' while others give it as 'Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Soma accompanied by the pitrs, Yama Vaivasvata &c.' It is further provided that the āhuti to Agni is made to the southern side of the fire, to Soma on the northern part of it and in the middle of the two sides to Vaivasvata (Yama).<sup>1033</sup>

Various rules of etiquette about serving food, about the way brāhmanas are to eat and related matters have been laid down from ancient times and are observed even now. The Sm. C. (p. 465-470), Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1367-1384), the Śr. Pr. pp. 116-123 and other digests contain elaborate rules on these matters. Yāj. I. 237 prescribes that what remains after offering homa should be served in the plates meant for the brāhmanas representing the Fathers and the plates should preferably be

1030. धूपगन्धमात्यैरलङ्कृत्य ब्राह्मणान्सप्ततमकमलज्जाप्य दूर्ध्वक्षिणाग्रेरग्निं परिस्तीर्य जुहुयादग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेति । शाङ्गलिखितौ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1354), मव. पा. p. 589; अग्नौ करवाणीत्युक्त्वा । अग्निं परिस्तीर्य सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमोऽग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्यग्नौ हुत्वा । काठकपुस्त 63. 89; उपासनाग्निमाधाय स्वगृहोक्तविधानतः । सोमाय च पितृमते स्वधा नम इतीरयेत् ॥ अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इतीह वा । स्वाहान्तेनापि वा माज्ञा जुहुयात्पितृयज्ञवत् ॥ नारद ( पूर्वार्धे 28. 48-49) .

1031. अक्षरयैव तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति । सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नमः स्वाहा । यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नमः स्वाहा । अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्विष्टकृते स्वधा नमः स्वाहेति । तच्छेषेणाक्रमभिधायार्पणस्यैता एव तिस्रो जुहुयात् । बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 8-12. It should be noted that बौ. employs both स्वधा नमः and स्वाहा. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वाहेति । शाङ्करपनश्रौत. IV. 4. 1.

1032. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहेति प्रथमाहुतिः । सोमाय वै पितृमते दातव्या तदनन्तरम् ॥ वैवस्वताय चैवाग्न्या मृतीया दीयते हुतिः ॥ ब्राह्मण. 14. 21-22; सोमायावौ पितृमते कव्यवाहनाय चाग्नये । यमाय चैवाङ्गिरसे हुत्वा प्रयतमानसः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 19-20; मार्कण्डेय (28. 47-48) prescribes the आहुति as अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा, यमाय प्रेतपतये स्वाहा । .

1033. दक्षिणतोऽग्नये नित्यं सोमागोत्तरतस्तथा । पतयोरन्तरे नित्यं जुहुयाद्वै विवस्वते ॥ q. by कल्पतरु ( आ. p. 169) .



of silver. Kātyāyana says that the performer who has no fire ( either śrauta or smārta ) should offer the homa on the hand of the most eminent among the pitrya brāhmaṇas to the accompaniment of a mantra and should offer the remainder in the plates of the other pitrya brāhmaṇas.<sup>1034</sup> The Sm. C. notes that Yama and the Vāyupurāṇa say that the homa should be in the hand of the *daiva* brāhmaṇa and that on account of this conflict there is an option. It is further provided that a portion of the food from which agnaukarāṇa was effected should be kept aside for making piṇḍas (Mārkaṇḍeya and Garuḍa). The food should be served by the performer himself wearing the sacred thread in the *yajñopavīta* form or by his wife of the same caste or by some attendant who is purified. Manu ( III. 224-229, 231-233, 236-238 ) contains several rules.<sup>1034a</sup> 'Himself holding the vessels full of food with both hands the performer should slowly place them near the brāhmaṇas seated for dinner while thinking of his ancestors. That food, which is brought near the brāhmaṇas without ( the containing vessel being held in ) both hands, is snatched away by wicked *asuras*. The performer being himself pure and concentrating his mind ( only on the serving of food ) should place the vessels containing the

1034. चित्रे यः पङ्क्तिर्धर्मस्तस्य पाणावनग्निमान् । हुत्वा मन्त्रवद्वयेषां तृणीं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् । गोभिल II. 120 q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 462.

1034 a. मनु III. 225 is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 8, 22 and Vas. XI. 25. मनु III. 224 is पाणिभ्यां तृणसंगृह्य स्वयमक्षयं वर्धितम् । विप्राग्निके पितृ-  
नृपायश्च ज्ञानकैरपनिक्षिपेत्॥ अक्षय is to be taken as अग्नेन and पितरि is to be under-  
stood after वर्धितम्. The आहृतस्व ( p. 229 ) explains: 'पाकस्थालया आहुतय प्रथमं  
भोजनपात्रे न द्वेयं किन्तु स्वादपादिकं पाणिभ्यां पात्रसमीपे धूमो संस्थाप्य पश्चाद्भुभ्यां पाणिभ्यां  
पात्रान्तरिताभ्यां आहुतिं परिवेशयेत्' and relies on मत्स्य 17. 28 'उभान्पातापि हस्ताभ्या-  
माहुतय परिवेशयेत्', ब्रह्मोद्याश्च—मनु III. 231. ब्रह्मोद्याः are such riddles, ques-  
tions and answers as are found in Tal. S. VII. 4. 18, वाज्र सं. 23. 9-12 ( कः  
स्विदेकाकी चरति etc.) and 23. 45-62; Ait. Br. ( अथ ब्रह्मोद्यं वदस्व परिगृह्य पतिरिति  
इह आहुः ). Or ब्रह्मोद्या may mean, as explained by मेधाः ( ब्रह्मणि वेदे या  
उपयन्ते कथ्यन्ते ता ब्रह्मोद्याः ), the legends of the wars of gods and asuras, the  
slaughter of Vṛtra, the story of Saramā &c. Or ब्रह्मोद्याः कथाः may mean  
'talks relating to the exposition of Brahma' ( the cause of the world ), as  
Kullūka explains. विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81. 19 is हविर्मुक्ताश्च ब्राह्मणा ह्युदीना पृष्टाः. This is  
like Manu III. 236. मनु III. 237 is the same as बसिष्ठ XI. 32, Viṣṇu Dh. S.  
81. 20, Āṅgiras verse 133, Brhad-Yama III. 27, Laghu-Sātātapa 103,  
Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 46. About the sacred texts and other verses to be  
recited by the performer ( being upavītin ) while the brāhmaṇas are dining,  
vide above p. 445 and notes 994 and 994a. जमदग्नि says 'अपसव्येन कर्तव्यं सर्वं  
आहुतं यथाविधि । सूक्तस्तोत्रजपं हुत्वा विमानां च विसर्जनम् ।' q. by आहृत्य of पृथ्वीच.  
folio 101a,

side dishes viz. broths, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee and honey on the ground (and not on a wooden stool or the like). The vessels placed on the ground should contain various kinds of food (such as sweetmeats, *pāyasa*), fruits and roots, delicious flesh, spiced or perfumed drinks. Having brought near the brāhmapas all the vessels containing food, he should serve it in the plates declaring the characteristic of each kind of food (saying 'this is sweet, this is sour' &c.). The performer while serving should not shed tears (remembering his ancestors), he should not become angry, should not utter falsehood, he should not touch the (vessel containing) food with his foot and should not serve food with a violent jerk. Whatever is liked by the brāhmapas should be served to them without any grumbling and he should talk about Brahma (or about Vedic riddles), because that is agreeable to the pitṛs. The performer himself, being pleased, should (by his sweet speech) gladden the brāhmapas, should make them partake of food without hurry, and should urge them on frequently (to take more food) by declaring the good points of the various items of food. All food should be steaming hot and the brāhmapas should partake of it silently and should not themselves speak of the good points of the food even when questioned by the performer. When the food is hot, when the brāhmapas eat in silence and when the good qualities of the food are not declared by the brāhmapas, the Fathers partake of it. When a brāhmaṇa (at a śrāddha dinner) partakes of food, having his head covered with a garment (a turban &c) or facing the south or having his sandals on, evil spirits partake of the food (and not the Fathers). As early as Gaut., it is provided that the food for the brāhmapas should be of the highest sort and should be enriched by condiments and flavoured.

Some of the other rules are: The Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 57-62) states who should cook the food for the śrāddha dinner. The wife, any fortunate (or handsome) woman of the performer's gotra whose husband is living and who has a son or brother and is devoted to waiting upon her elders, the performer's teacher's wife, his maternal uncle's wife, paternal or maternal aunt, his sister, his daughter or daughter-in-law, all of them having their husbands alive, should engage in the cooking of the food for śrāddha. Women of good family, who have a large progeny, whose husbands are alive and who are about 50 years old or these women if they have become widows, and the wife of one's paternal uncle or brother, one's mothers (natural or

step-mothers) and the mothers of one's father may cook the śrāddha food and also a woman of the same gotra who is mild by temper. In the Anuśāsana parva (92.15) it is stated that a woman belonging to a gotra other than that of the deceased should not be employed for cooking śrāddha food. One's brother, paternal uncle, brother's son, sister's son, one's son, pupil, one's daughter's son or daughter's husband may also engage in cooking the śrāddha food, but not a woman who wears a white and wet garment, who has let her hair loose, who does not wear a bodice, who is ill or who has bathed her head. Before the brāhmanas begin to eat, the food should be first served in the plates for the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas and then in those of the *pitrya* brāhmanas (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 13-14), but once the brāhmanas have begun to eat there is no such precedence; whatever each brāhmana may be noted as requiring should be served to him (as indicated by Manu III. 231). The performer of the śrāddha when serving food to the brāhmanas (including *pitrya*) wears his sacred thread in the upavita form. Though it is said that the food should be hot, that does not apply to such eatables as curds, fruits and roots and flavoured<sup>1035</sup> drinks (as Śāṅkha XIV.13 and Skandapurāṇa say). As Hemādri (śrāddha p. 1371) points out, the serving of food in a śrāddha rite should be done with the right hand supported by the left; besides, nothing should be served with the bare hand or with a single hand, but with a wooden ladle or other utensil (but not an iron one). All cooked food, all side dishes and ghee should be served with a ladle (and not with the bare hand) but not water or eatables like *laḍḍus*. No salt was to be directly served (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79. 12). In Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra it is provided<sup>1036</sup> "The food that remains after *agnaukaraṇa* should be served in the plates of the *pitrya* brāhmanas and the performer should touch

1035. उष्णमर्कं द्विजातिभ्यः अद्भ्या विनिवेशयेत् ॥ अथवा फलपुष्पेभ्यः पानकेभ्यश्च पण्डितः ॥ हस्ते दद्यात् तु वे स्नेहोत्प्लवणव्यञ्जनाभि च । आयतेन च पात्रेण तद्वै रक्षसि शुजते ॥ स्कन्दपुराण VII. 206. 37-39; हाङ्ग (14. 12-13) has the first verse but with slight variations and also कूर्म II. 22. 64; हाङ्गितः प्रकर्षेद् शुणसंस्कारविधिरक्षय । गो. 15. 6.

1036. पिण्डपितृयज्ञवज्रुत्था वृत्तमेव दत्त्वा पात्रमालम्ब्य जपति धृषिषी ते पात्रं क्षीरपिधानं भाङ्गणस्य हस्ते अदत्ते अदत्तं जुहोमि स्वाहेति वैष्णव्यर्था यजुषा वाङ्मुहमन्त्रेऽग्नौष्ठापयता इति तिलात् प्रकीर्णोऽपि विष्टमर्कं दद्याच्छाक्यया वा । कात्यायः आद्भुत 3 quoted and explained by Hemādri on Anu p. 1374. The वैष्णवी *rk* is 'हृद् विष्णुविचक्षणो' (म. I. 22.17) and वैष्णवी *yajus* is 'विष्णो हृदये रक्षस्य' (तै. सं. I. 1. 3. 1. वाज. सं. I. 4), अपयता—*is* वाज. सं. II. 29.

each plate for those brāhmaṇas after repeating the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel, the sky is the cover, I offer nectar in the brāhmaṇa's nectar-like mouth; svāhā'. Then the performer plunges the (right) thumb of the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa in the food (the remains of the homa in fire) with the ṛk or yajus addressed to Viṣṇu; and after scattering sesamum grains all round the place where the dinner is to go on with the mantra 'the asuras and rākṣasas) are struck and driven away' he (the performer) should serve hot food very much liked (by the departed or by the brāhmaṇas)". Yāj. I. 238 briefly refers (as translated above) to the mantras and the item of plunging the thumb of the brāhmaṇas in the food; and so does the Baud. Dh. S. also (II. 8. 15-16). The Kālika-purāṇa prescribes<sup>1037</sup> that the thumb of the brāhmaṇa should be moved about in the food covered with ghee and honey with the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel &c.' because Viṣṇu in the form of the thumb protects food meant for sacrifices to gods and manes. The Baud. Piṭṛmedhasūtra provides that while plunging the thumb of the brāhmaṇa in the food served it should be so arranged that the nail of the thumb is not smeared with food.<sup>1038</sup> Vasiṣṭha provides that the brāhmaṇas eating śrāddha food should always hold the plate from which they are eating with (the left) hand till the end of the dinner. Śaṅkha-Likhita provide<sup>1039</sup> that brāhmaṇas (eating śrāddha food) should not declare the good or bad points of the food served, should not say what is untrue, should not praise each other, nor should they say 'there is plenty of food and drink (and so do not serve more food),

1037. धृत्वाङ्गुष्ठं द्विजानां तु अत्रर्पणायमधुमुते। पृथिवी त इति मन्त्रेण हव्यकरये च रक्षयेत्॥ विष्णुर्हङ्गुष्ठरूपेण तस्य चाक्षस्य रक्षिता। कालिकापुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1378) अथैतानि ब्राह्मणेभ्य उपनिक्षिप्य ब्राह्मणस्याङ्गुष्ठेनानखेनाङ्गुष्ठेनिति-अमुष्मा उप-लित्तु-इति। बी. पितृमेधसूत्र II. 9. 19 (Mysore ed.).

1038. तस्मादङ्गुल्य (रथं?) हस्तेन कुर्यादक्षमुपागतम्। भोजनं (भाजनं?) वा समालम्प्य तिष्ठेतेच्छेषणे शुभे (०ताच्छेषणाद् द्विजः?)॥ वसिष्ठ 11. 26 explained by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1024 as 'तस्माद्यदैवाक्षमुपागतं भवति ततः प्रभृत्योच्छेषणात् शुक्रशिष्टाक्षस्य भाजनादिति-करणपर्यन्तं वामहस्तेन भाजनं विधृत्य तिष्ठेत्। कण्डूयनाद्यर्थं वामहस्तव्यापारसमये तु दाक्षिण-हस्तेन भाजनं समालम्प्य वर्तेतेति तात्पर्यार्थः'। आ. p. 119 reproduces this explanation verbatim.

1039. शङ्खलिखितौ। ब्राह्मणा अक्षयुणं शोचं नाभिवदेयुर्गार्हपत्यं ह्युरग्योच्यं न प्रक्षि-युरक्षयानं न प्रभूतमिति ह्युरग्यत्र हस्तसंज्ञायाः। q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1019, आ. p. p. 118, which says पात्रे प्रभूतमक्षमस्ति, अग्न्यत्र परिवेषयमिति भोक्तुर्भिर्न वक्तव्यं किंतु हस्तसंज्ञेतेन सूचनीयमित्यर्थः।

except by signs made with the hand.' Whatever is offered in a brāhmaṇa's hand (by way of agnaukarana) and whatever food is placed in the plates should be mixed up and eaten. Hemādri quotes passages from the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra and from the Skandapurāṇa setting out the mantras wherewith certain articles were to be served; e. g. the Skandapurāṇa says that *pāyasa* should be served with the verse 'namo vaṣṭ pitaro' (Vaj. S. II. 32, Tai. S. III. 2. 5. 5), clarified butter with the mantra 'Tejosi sukram', curds with the mantra 'dadhikrāvno' (Rg. IV. 39. 6, Vaj. S. 23. 32, Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 4). Ap. Dh. S. (II. 8. 18. 11) provides that the leavings of a śrāddha dinner should not be given to one who is inferior to the invited brāhmaṇas in qualities and Manu III. 249 states that the man who after eating śrāddha dinner gives the leavings to a śūdra falls in the Kālasūtra Hell.

The Matsyapurāṇa and some other works provide that the brāhmaṇas should pronounce blessings on the performer (who faces the east) after they have sipped water and have been given water, flowers and *akṣata* grains. The performer prays 'May our Fathers be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us.' The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so'. The performer prays 'May our family grow', 'May donors increase in our family and also food', 'May these blessings turn out to be true'. To all these the brāhmaṇas reply after each one of the prayers<sup>1040</sup> 'May it be so'. There are rules about the time when the leavings or particles of food in the plates of the brāhmaṇas that ate the dinner should be removed or swept away. Vas. (XI. 21-22) and the Kūrmapurāṇa provide that the leavings of food should not be removed till the Sun sets, since streams of nectar flow from them, which are drunk by the (spirits of) those departed persons for whom no water was offered. Manu III. 265 (which is the same as Matsya 17.56 and Padma, Śrṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.185) provides another rule that the leavings of the food in the plates may remain where they are till the brāhmaṇas are dismissed and depart.

1040. ततः स्वधावाचनिकं विधेदेवेषु षोडशकम् ॥ वत्साशीः प्रतिगृहीयाद् द्विजेभ्यः प्राञ्जसो बुधः । अघोराः पितरः सन्तु सन्निव्युक्तः पुनर्द्विजैः ॥ गोत्रं तथा वर्धतां नस्तथेत्युक्तञ्च तेः पुनः । दातारो नोऽभिवर्धन्तामिति चैवमुदीरयेत् ॥ एताः सत्याशिषः सन्निव्युक्तञ्च तेः पुनः । स्वस्तिवाचनिकं कुर्यात्पिण्डाञ्जल्य भक्तितः ॥ मत्स्य 17. 52-55 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1482), समुत्तिष्ठः (आ.) p. 482, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 220). Compare अप. श्रौ. I. 10. 4 यद्वाचः पितरो दत्तं सदी वा पितरो देवम् । Yāj. I. 246 (दातारो नो etc.) is the same as भविष्य I. 185. 28.

Hemādri (śrāddha, p. 1512)<sup>1041</sup> therefore provides that if the performer has another house the leavings may not be removed till sunset, but if he has only one house, they may be removed after the brāhmanas have gone away (vide Yāj. I. 257, Matsya 17.56). It is further provided by Bṛhaspati<sup>1042</sup> that the plates should not be removed before the brāhmanas pronounce the word 'svasti', and Jātukarṇya<sup>1043</sup> and the Skandapurāṇa say that the plates and the leavings should be removed by the performer himself or by his pupil or son, but not by women nor by a child nor by one who is not of the same caste. Manu III. 258 provides that, after the brāhmanas have left, the performer should look at the south and pray to the pitrs for certain blessings contained in Manu III. 259 which are the same as Yāj. I. 246 translated above (vide p. 447), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 28, Matsya 16. 49-50. The Āp. gr. 20.9 (q. in note 981), Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 16, Manu III. 264, Yāj. I. 249 provide that the performer should partake of the remainder of the food cooked for the śrāddha along with his wife, paternal and maternal relatives after reciting (according to Haradatta) the Yajusa mantra (Āp. M. P. II. 20.26) which means 'entering the life breath I offer nectar; my soul is centred in Brahman for the sake of immortality.' The Āp. gr. and Āp. Dh. S. provide<sup>1044</sup> that the performer must eat at least a morsel of the food left after serving to the brāhmanas. Vyāsa and Devala prescribe that on the day of śrāddha the performer must not observe a fast (even if he usually does so as on Ekādaśī or Śivarātra). A way out was provided by the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa by recommending that the performer should merely smell the remnants of the śrāddha food. Vide

1041. आद्रे नोद्वासनीयानि उच्छिष्टान्या दिनक्षयात् । अच्योतन्ते हि सुधाधारतराः पिबन्त्यकृतोदकाः ॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 21; नोद्वासयेत्तदुच्छिष्टं यावत्कास्तमितो रविः । कूर्मपुराण II. 22. 85. कल्पतरु (आ. p. 227) remarks 'नोद्वासनीयान्युच्छिष्टानीति भूमिष्ठोच्छिष्टविषयम् । उच्छिष्टं न प्रमुञ्चयात्-इति भूमिगतोच्छिष्टप्राविषयम्' ।

1042. भाजनेषु च तिष्ठतु स्वस्ति कुर्वन्ति ये द्विजाः । तद्धतमसुरैर्भुक्तं निराशैः पितृभिर्गतेः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 482), हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1485).

1043. पात्राणि चालयेच्छ्राद्धे स्वयं शिष्योऽथवा पुत्रः । न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नासजाऽथ कथंचन ॥ जातुकर्ण्य q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 482), हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1486; न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नाप्येनैव च केनचित् । आद्रे पिण्डं च पात्रं च स्वयमेव प्रचालयेत् ॥ स्कन्द (नागर खण्ड) q. by हेमाद्रि (आद्रे) p. 1486.

1044. सर्वेषु द्वेषेषु सर्वतः समवदाय शेषस्य आसावराध्वं प्राक्षीयाद्यथोक्तम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 16. यथोक्तं refers to आप. गृ. 20. 9 The यजुस् referred to in the latter is प्राजे निविष्टोऽभूत्तं जुष्टोमे बह्वणि मे आत्माभूत्तस्याय । आप. म. पा. II. 20. 26. This मन्त्र occurs also in तै. आ. X. 33.

Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1519-1521) for the discussion. Hemādri (p. 1485) refers to the practice (observed even now) that after the performer receives the blessings referred to above, his son, grandson and the like should offer adoration to the *devatās* in the form of pīṇḍas. The brāhmaṇas should praise the good characteristics of the food served at the end of the śrāddha ceremony.<sup>1045</sup> The brāhmaṇas should not get up from the dinner, carelessly leaving remnants of food in their plates, but they may leave in the plates a little food except milk, curds, honey or barley flour.<sup>1046</sup>

There were several views as to the exact stage at which the offerings of pīṇḍas were to be made. According to Śān. Gr. IV. 1.9., Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12,<sup>1047</sup> Śāṅkha 14.11, Manu III. 260-261, Yaj. I. 242 and several other works, the performer offers the lumps of boiled rice after the brāhmaṇas have finished eating their dinner. The pīṇḍas are made with boiled rice mixed with sesame and are placed on darbhas on a clean spot and at a distance of about one aratni from<sup>1048</sup> the plates in which the brāhmaṇas ate and the performer faces the south. Here again there are two opinions, one being that pīṇḍas were to be offered before the brāhmaṇas sip water (perform *ūcamana*) after dinner (e. g. Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12-13, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana, kāṇḍika 3), while others hold that they were to be offered after the brāhmaṇas have rinsed their mouth and taken *ūcamana*. Another view referred to as the view of some by Śān. gr. IV. 1. 10 and Manu III. 261 was that pīṇḍas were to be offered to the ancestors first after honouring the invited brāhmaṇas or after agnaukarana and then the brāhmaṇas were to partake of the dinner. The

1045. आद्रावसाने कर्तव्या हिजैरक्षुणस्तुतिः। इन्द्रसिद्ध q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1019).

1046. तद्वाहोऽनाः। भोजनं तु न विःशेषं कुर्यात्पात्रः कथंचन। अथवा दध्नः क्षीराद्वा क्षौद्रात्सकम् एव च॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1026). Acc. to मनु III. 245-46, विष्णु 81. 22-23, मत्स्य 17. 56-57, the leavings of food in the plates of ब्राह्मण्य and the विकिर were the lot of persons of the family dying young, while the leavings of food that fell or were left on the ground were the share of deceased slaves. 'पात्रगतमुच्छिष्टमसंस्कृतप्रमीलानां भूमिगतं दासवर्गस्य' इत्यादि on कात्यायन's आद्रावसाने (folio 30a). Vide n. 1007 above for मनु III. 245.

1047. अभिमतेऽनुमते वा मुक्तवत्त्वनाचान्तेषु पिण्डाक्षिदव्यात्। आचान्तेष्वेके। आश्व. गृ. IV. 8. 12-13.

1048. सति तेन तलोकेन पिण्डान् सर्वेण पुत्रक। पितृमुच्छिष्टं वनेषु कथादुच्छिष्टसंक्षिप्तौ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 28. 55. अरति is the hand from the wrist to the small finger,

Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa<sup>1049</sup> emphatically asserts that this is the correct position as stated by Bṛhaspati. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (73 15-24) provides that the pinḍas are to be offered to the ancestors while the brāhmanas are actually eating. A fourth view is that of the Āp. gr. 24.9, Hir. gr. (II. 12.2-3) which state that the performer<sup>1050</sup> should, after the brāhmanas have eaten and gone away and he has followed and circumambulated them, offer pinḍas. Owing to this conflict of views Hemādri (quoting smṛti) and the Madanapārijāta (p. 600) say that each one should follow the procedure laid down in his own śākha.<sup>1051</sup> Hemādri adds that those in whose gṛhyasūtra no special time is mentioned for pinḍadāna should follow the view that pinḍas are to be offered after the brāhmanas have partaken of the dinner and sipped water. The Śr. P. (p. 247) endorses this view.<sup>1052</sup> The pinḍas were to be deposited on bunches of (25) darbhas for each pinḍa. Aparārka on Yāj. I. 24 states that in all cases without exception pinḍas were to be offered near the plates from which the brāhmanas took their meals, while Hemādri who relies on Kātyāyana's word 'ucchistasannidhau' says that where the performer is an *ālitāgni* the pinḍas were to be offered near his sacred fire, but when a performer had not kept the sacred fires pinḍas were to be offered near the plates from which brāhmanas ate the śrāddha food. The Śrāddhasāra (p. 163) quotes Atri to the effect that pinḍas should be offered at a distance of three *ardhis* from where the brāhmanas ate the śrāddha dinner and that in such śrāddhas as Navaśrāddhas Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before pinḍadāna and that it is to be performed after

1049. पूजनं चैव विमानं पूर्वमेवेह नित्यशः ॥ तद्धि धर्मार्थकुशलौ नेत्युवाच बृहस्पतिः ।  
पूर्वं निवेदयेत् पिण्डान् पश्चाद्विमानं भोजयेत् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण, उपोद्घात 12. 24-26. These  
verses are quoted from ब्रह्मपुराण by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 221). The सौरपुराण  
19. 23 says 'पिण्डनिर्घणं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणान् चैव भोजयेत् । केचिदप्येवमिच्छन्ति नैव भानोर्मतं  
विजाः ॥'

1050. शुक्रवतीऽशुभप्रलय शेषमनुज्ञाप्योदकुम्भं दर्भसुखं चादाय दक्षिणपूर्वमन्तर-  
पेशं गत्वा दक्षिणाग्रान्दर्भान् संसरीष्यं तेष्ववाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणाग्रवर्णाजिपुङ्काञ्जलिं निनयति  
मार्जयन्तां पितरः सोऽप्यासः मार्जयन्तां पितामहाः सोऽप्यासः मार्जयन्तां पितामहाः सोऽप्यासः  
इति । अस्माकमेवित्वासावनेभिरेति वा । तेष्ववाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणाग्रवर्णाजिपुङ्काञ्जलिं निनयति । द्विष्य.  
सू. II. 12. 2-3. For आप. सू. vide n. 981.

1051. तथा च स्मृतिः । सुनिमित्तिककालेषु पिण्डदानं तु यत्सुतम् । तत् स्वशास्त्रान्तं  
यत्र तत्र कुर्वादिच्छातः ॥ हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1408), who adds 'उपलक्षणं चैतत् स्व-  
शास्त्रानुसृतैः ।'

1052. येषां तु सुखादौ पिण्डदानकालो नीकस्तेषां सौकर्यादाच्चाप्तेष्वित्येव पक्षो  
धातु इति बहवः । आ. म. p. 247.



piṇḍadāna in Samvatsarika śrāddha, Mahālaya and the like (p. 164).

There is another conflict of views as regards the ancestors to whom piṇḍas are to be offered at the śrāddha on amāvāsyā. Most of the ancient Vedic works refer only to the three paternal ancestors as the *devatās* of the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha and not to any other relatives. The three paternal ancestors are separately the *devatās* of śrāddha and not cumulatively, as indicated by the Āśv. Śrauta II. 6. 15 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 13-14. The important questions are whether the wives of the paternal ancestors, viz. the mother, the grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother were associated with their husbands in ancient times and secondly, whether the three paternal ancestors of one's mother viz. the maternal grandfather, the maternal great-grandfather and the maternal great-great-grandfather were invoked together with their wives in the Pārvaṇa. The answer to both these questions so far as the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas are concerned is in the negative. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 5.1, Tai. Br. I 3. 10, II 6. 16, Vāj. Ś. 19. 36-37, Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 16, in all of which the only persons expressly named are the pitṛs and three paternal ancestors. It may be noted, however, that in Vāj. S. 9. 19 (which is cited by Kātyāyana at the end of Śrāddhasūtra 3 as the mantra to be recited when following the brāhmaṇas that are dismissed) there is a clear reference to paternal ancestors and also to mothers. Almost all sūtras also are silent as regards the invocation of the maternal ancestors in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha along with paternal ones. Vide <sup>1053</sup> Āśv. Śr.; Sudarśana on Āp. gr. VIII. 21. 2 states that the Sūtrakāra and Bhāṣyakāra did not speak of Mātāmahaśrāddha as it is not obligatory for a daughter's son to offer it. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana <sup>1054</sup> speaks of three piṇḍas being made for the paternal ancestors and three for the mother's paternal

1053. तस्या पिण्डान् मिथुणीयात्पराक्षीनपाणिः पित्रे पितामहाय अपितामहायैतसेऽसौ ये च तानमन्त्रति । आश्व. औ. II. 6. 15 on which गार्ग्यनारारण्य explains 'निरर्ण पित्रेणैव तीर्थेन । पाणेरक्षानत्वमजहदेव विप्र्येण तीर्थेन यदा कुर्वात् तदा पराक्षीनपाणिर्भवति । असावित्यस्य स्थाने सम्बद्धवन्तानि पित्रादीनां नामानि गृहीयात्' । तस्या refers to लेखायां.

1054. सर्वमन्त्रमेकतोऽदुत्योऽष्टसमीपे द्वर्धेदु त्रीक्षीन् पिण्डानवनेज्य दद्यादाद्यान्ते-  
वित्ययेके । ... वाचस्पतमित्यष्टज्ञातः पितृभ्यः पितामहेभ्यः अपितामहेभ्यो मातामहेभ्यः यमाता-  
महेभ्यो ब्रह्मयमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वधोऽप्यताम् । ... वाजे वाजेऽनेति विदुज्य आ मा वाजस्यपेनुज्य  
प्रक्षिणीकृत्योपविशेत् । कात्यायनः आह बृ. III. The मन्त्र reads 'आ मा वाजस्य  
असौ जगत्यादेने द्यावापृथिवी विभक्तये । आ मा माता पितरा मातरा च मा सोमो अहृतत्वेन  
भक्ष्यत् । वाज. सं. 9. 19.

ancestors. The Gobhilaśmṛti provides<sup>1055</sup> that six piṇḍas should be offered except in the Anvaṣṭakāśrāddha, the first śrāddha (on the 11th day), the sixteen śrāddhas and the yearly śrāddha for a deceased person. Dhaumya<sup>1056</sup> prescribes that where the paternal ancestors are honoured (or fed) the maternal ancestors also should be certainly honoured without making any difference (between the two classes); if he makes a distinction the performer will go to Hell. The Viṣṇupurāṇa,<sup>1057</sup> the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and the Varāhapurāṇa say that some hold that a śrāddha for maternal ancestors is to be performed separately while other sages hold that one śrāddha is to be offered at the same time to the paternal and maternal ancestors. Brhaspati (q. by Kalpataru on śrāddha p. 204) prescribes<sup>1058</sup> that one should offer piṇḍas made from all food cooked for the śrāddha and mixed with honey and sesamum grains for both paternal and maternal ancestors according to the rules of one's gr̥hyasūtra. The Varāhapurāṇa (14. 40-41) says that *pitṛya* brāhmanas should be dismissed first and then the *daiva* brāhmanas together with those for the mother's ancestors and that separate piṇḍas were to be offered to the mother's paternal ancestors (14.37). Some held the view that the offering of piṇḍas to maternal ancestors was obligatory for the *putrikā-putra*<sup>1059</sup> (son of the appointed daughter) or for a daughter's son that inherited the wealth of his maternal grandfather. Bṛhat-Parāśara (chap. V. p. 153) mentions several views on this point. It seems probable that when the appointment of a

1055. कर्तुमस्मिन्नेतं सुकृत्वा तथायथाद्वापोदशम् । पत्यान्विकं तु गोपेषु पिण्डाः स्युः  
बहिर्नि स्थितिः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 73. कर्तुमस्मिन्नेतं is explained by निर्णयसिन्धु (III. p. 395) and हेमाद्रि as सपिण्डीकरण and by आ. कि. की. p. 93 as अष्टकाद्वाद्.

1056. पितरो यत्र पूज्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा ध्रुवम् । अविशेषेण कर्तव्यं विशेषाक्षरकं ब्रजेत् ॥  
धौम्य q. by आ. प्र. p. 14; स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 337) quotes it as स्मृत्यन्तर; the  
स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 56 merely quotes it (without name) and आ. कि. की. p. 93  
quotes it from योगियाज्ञवल्क्य.

1057. पृथक्तयोः केचिदाहुः आद्वयं करणं द्वयम् । एकत्रैकेन पाकेन वदन्त्यग्रे महर्षयः ॥  
विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 17; पृथक्तामहानां तु केचिदिच्छन्ति मानवाः । त्रीन् पिण्डानानुपूष्येण  
साङ्गुडान् पुष्टिवर्धनान् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद) 11. 61. The verse पृथक्तयोः is  
also ब्रह्मपुराण 14. 12.

1058. सर्वस्म्यप्यकृतादवात् पिण्डान् मधुतिलान्वितान् । पितृमातामहादीनां दद्याद्भुक्ष-  
विधानतः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 479), हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1428. It may  
be noted that या. (I. 242) does not mention honey.

1059. Vide मनु IX. 132 and H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 647 and 657 (for  
प्रविकापुत्र).

daughter as a son became rare or went out of vogue the maternal ancestors came to be associated with the paternal ancestors in *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*.

The question when the wives of ancestors became associated with the male ancestors cannot be solved satisfactorily. The *pitūmahī* is not mentioned in the extant Vedic Literature. But it is certain that the wives of male ancestors had come to be associated with their husbands in the *sūtra* period. For example, the Hir. Gr. II. 10 associates the mother, the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother with their respective husbands in the monthly *śrāddha* performed in the dark half. Similarly, the Baud. gr. II. 11.34 not only associates in the *Aṣṭakā śrāddha* the male maternal ancestors with the male paternal ancestors, but also their respective wives. The Āp. M. P.<sup>1060</sup> has mantras referring to the three male paternal ancestors as well as their wives. The Śān. gr. (IV. 1.11) provides that behind the lumps for the paternal ancestors the performer places the lumps for their wives, putting something between the two sets of *piṇḍas* and the commentator explains that *darbhās* are placed between the two sets. The Kausika *sūtra* (88.12) also provides for the offering of *piṇḍas* to the wives of male ancestors to the south of the *piṇḍas* for male ancestors. The Āśv. gr. (II. 5. 4-5), while speaking of the *Anvaṣṭakya* rite, refers to *piṇḍas* to be offered to the wives of ancestors with the addition of rum and the scum of boiled rice. The *Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra* IV. 7 (after describing the *Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña* in IV. 5-6) notes that the difference between it and the ordinary monthly *śrāddha* is that in the latter *piṇḍas* are offered to the wives of the *pitṛs*<sup>1061</sup>. Dr. Caland (in 'Ahnencult' p. 164) thinks that this inclusion of the women ancestors among those to whom *piṇḍas* were to be offered was made by taking over from *Anvaṣṭakya* ceremonial described above. This conjecture does not look very probable. The *Aṣṭakā* rites existed from remote antiquity as shown above. If the offering of *piṇḍas* to women ancestors were borrowed from the *Anvaṣṭakya*

1060. मार्ययन्तां मम पितरो मार्ययन्तां मम पितामहा मार्ययन्तां मम प्रपितामहाः ॥  
मार्ययन्तां मम मातरौ मार्ययन्तां मम पितामहौ मार्ययन्तां मम प्रपितामहः। आप. न. पा.  
II. 19. 2-7.

1061. अथ ब्राह्मं मांसि मादयपरपक्षेऽन्यतमेह्यजन्मर्क्षे ब्राह्मणमिमन्त्रणादि सर्वमह-  
कावत्। तथाज्यपक्षे ह्युत्साहं पिण्डार्थं पात्रे समवदाय ब्राह्मणाभोजयित्वा नमो वः पितरो  
रसायेति पिण्डं मन्त्रं पितृभ्यो नमो वः पितरः सोम्यास इति द्वितीयतृतीयौ पितामहप्रपितामहा-  
भ्याम्। पितृभ्यस्तत्पत्नीभ्यः पिण्डानर्पयतीति विशेषः। देवानस्तद्वत् IV. 7.

this item would have figured in all *sūtras* just as *Aṣṭakā śrāddha* does. It is rather more probable that the extension to women was a natural growth in course of time. Some of the *smṛtis* emphasize the participation of the wives of paternal ancestors in the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* offerings. *Śātaṭapa* states<sup>1062</sup>: 'In what is offered to the *pitṛs* after *Sapindikarāṇa*, the mother is a participant everywhere. A *śrāddha* may be separately offered to the mother in the *Anvaṣṭakā* rites, in *Vṛddhi-śrāddha*, at *Gayā* and on the anniversary of the day of her death; but in other cases it is performed along with the husband'. It is stated by *Bṛhaspati* that the mother partakes of the *śrāddha* food along with her husband (i. e. the father of the performer); that the same rule applies to the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother<sup>1063</sup>. The *Kalpataṛu*<sup>1064</sup> and others held that the wives of the paternal ancestors were not *devatās* in the *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, but they only enjoyed the ethereal food which came to the *pitṛs*, while *Hemādri* and other southern writers held that the mother and other female ancestors were among the *devatās* of *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, but not the step-mother. There was a divergence of views whether the words 'mother', 'paternal grandmother' and 'paternal great-grandmother' included the co-wives (*sapatnīs*) of these. *Hemādri* (on *śrāddha* pp. 97-104) has a long disquisition on this question. According to one view the step-mother, the co-wife of the *pitāmāhi* and the co-wife of the *prapitāmāhi* would be included in

1062. सपिण्डीकरणानुर्ध्वं यात्येतुषः प्रदीयते। सर्वत्रांशहरा माता इति धर्मेणु निश्चयः ॥  
अन्वष्टकासु वृद्धौ च गयायां च कथ्येहनि। मातुः आर्द्धं पृथक् कुर्याद्व्यञ्ज पतिना सह ॥  
शातातप q. by आ. प्र. p. 9, स्मृतिसं. (आ.) p. 369 as स्मृत्यन्तर.

1063. स्वेन भर्त्रा सह आर्द्धं माता युक्ते स्वधामयत्। पितामही च स्वेनैव तथैव प्रपिता-  
मही ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिसं. (आ.), p. 369, हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 99, आ. प्र. p. 9.

1064. न सपत्नीकानां देवतात्वमिति कल्पतत्प्रभृतयः। हेमाद्रिप्रभृतयो दक्षिणाग्यास्तु...  
एकस्यामेव आर्द्धाग्नौ पितृन् तद्योचितं देवतात्वेनोद्दिशेदिति विधीयते। आ. प्र. pp. 9-10.  
The argument of those who hold the former view is 'सपत्नीकपितरस्तु कर्मान्तर-  
रक्षणे पितुरेव देवतात्वं भवेत् तत् विशेषणीयतायाः पर्यायः—इति।' डोडरानन्द (आर्द्धसौख्य)  
folio 3a. The आर्द्धतत्त्व p. 190 similarly says 'उक्तश्रुत्यादिषु पित्रादीनां प्रत्येक-  
निर्देशात्, अत्र पितरो देवता इत्यापस्तम्बस्यैव देवता इति बहुवचननिर्देशात्, न योषिद्व्यं  
इत्यादिबन्धनाच्च पित्रादीनां प्रत्येकेन पत्नीनिरपेक्षेण च देवतात्वम्।' Vide n. 783 for the  
आप. ध. सू. passage. न योषिद्व्यः—is apparently गोभिलस्मृति II. 102 'न योषिद्व्यः  
पृथग्दद्याद्भवसानदिनाहते। स्वभर्तृपिण्डमात्राच्च तृतिरासां यतः स्मृता ॥'. The कल्पतत्त्व  
(आर्द्धकाण्ड p. 4) says: नापि पित्रादेः सपत्नीकरय देवतात्वं तथात्वे प्रमाणभावात्। प्रत्युत  
न योषिद्व्यः पृथग्दद्याद्भवसानदिनाहते। स्वभर्तृपिण्डमात्राग्यास्तृतिरासां यतः स्मृता ॥ इति  
शातातपयचने भर्तृसम्बन्धि पिण्डभागस्यैव पत्नीतृतिहेतुत्वेनाभिधानाच्च विपरीतमेव प्रमाणमस्ति।  
कल्पतत्त्व, आ. p. 260.

the presentation formula (as quoted below), while according to Hemādri only the real mother, the real paternal grand-mother and the real paternal great-grandmother would ordinarily be included except on rare occasions such as a Mahālayāśrāddha or a śrāddha at Gayā. <sup>1065</sup>

As regards the mantra to be recited when offering each of the piṇḍas there is some divergence of views, which reaches far into antiquity. The piṇḍa <sup>1066</sup> is offered to each ancestor after stating his gotra, his relationship to the performer and name (all in the vocative). According to several writers the form of the presentation of the piṇḍa is 'this is for thee, O Father! N. N. (by name) and so and so by gotra.' In the Tai. S. I. 8.5 1, in the Āp. M. P. II, 20.13 and in some sūtras, the following is added 'and for those who follow thee' (ye ca tvām-anu). <sup>1067</sup> In the Gobhila-grhya IV. 3.6 and Khādiragrhya the formula is still longer 'This piṇḍa is thine, O father! and of those who follow thee and of those whom thou followest. <sup>1068</sup> To thee, Svadhā!'. The Bhāradvaja <sup>1069</sup> gr. II. 12 introduces slight changes. It has been already noted above (n. 781) how the Śat. Br. disapproves of

1065. तदेवमेतानिपूर्वं यद्वपुस्तीकापित्रादिदेवत्यामावास्याविसाधारणकालिकआहु-  
प्रयोगे अस्मत्पितर्यज्ञदत्तशर्मन् वासिष्ठगोत्राहुकाहुकनामिकाभिर्वासिष्ठगोत्राभिः पत्नीभिः  
सहैतुल्यमकामित्यादिभिः श्रीपुंसोदेशोपलक्षितैर्वापैरनुष्ठानं कर्तव्यमिति । This is the  
पूर्वपक्ष view. हेमाद्रि replies 'अत्र सिद्धान्तोऽभिधीयते । तत्र तावन्मुख्ये पार्षणे जननी-  
व्यतिरिक्तानां पितृपत्नीनां न सहोदेशः कार्यः । नापि पितृजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां पितामहपत्नीनां  
नापि पितामहजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां प्रपितामहपत्नीनाम् । हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 100. हेमाद्रि  
adds (p. 102) 'यदा तु नानापितृपुत्रिकामनया विशिष्टे महालयादिकालविशेषे गयादि-  
तीर्थविशेषे वा आहुं कुर्यात्तदा पुत्रवतीनामपुत्राणां वा मातृसपत्नीनामपि आहुं कुर्यात्'.

1066. अर्घदानेऽथ सङ्कल्पे पिण्डदाने तथा क्षये । गोत्रसम्बन्धनामानि यथावत्प्रतिपाद-  
येत् ॥ पारस्कर q. by अपराकं p. 506, हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1434), आ. म. p. 258 which  
explains 'सङ्कल्पे अक्षतवाने'. The form of the address will be 'अहुकगोत्रास्म-  
त्पितरमुकशर्मन् एतत्तेऽहं (or एष ते पिण्डः) इत्यादि । इत्यादि नम इदमहुकगोत्रायास्मत्पित्रे अहुकशर्मणे  
न ममेति' हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1436). It should be noted that this formula is to be  
employed only by the Vājasaneyins.

1067. एतत्ते ततासी ये च त्वामनु, एतत्ते पितामहासी ये च त्वामनु, एतत्ते प्रपितामह ये  
च त्वामनु । आय. म. पा. II. 20. 13. Vide note 781 for तै. सं. passages and  
n. 1053 for आश्व. श्रौ. passage.

1068. असाववनेनिक्षये यात्र त्वामनु यांश्च त्वमनु तस्मै ते स्वधेति । गोभिलगृह्य III.  
3, 6 and खादिरगृह्य III. 5. 17. The टोबरानन्द (आहुसौख्य folio 77a) gives the  
formulas for followers of यजुर्वेद and सामवेद as follows: अहुकगोत्रपितरमुकशर्मन्  
तत्तेऽहं स्वधेति यजुर्वेदिनाहुस्वर्गवाक्यम् । अहुकसगोत्र पितरमुकदेवशर्मन्तत्तेऽहं ये यात्र त्वामनु  
यांश्च त्वमनु तस्मै ते स्वधेति छन्दोगानाम् । compare आहुतत्त्व p. 237 and आ. क्रि. कौ.  
p. 70 for similar formulas.

1069. यांश्च त्वमन्वाप्सि ये च त्वामनु । भारद्वाजगृह्य II. 12.

the usage of the Tai. S. in this matter, the reason being<sup>1070</sup> that when the son offers a pinḍa to his father and employs the formula 'this is thine and of those that follow thee', he would be included among those that follow the father and be thus offering a pinḍa to himself, which is inauspicious. It is provided by Gobhila-grhya<sup>1071</sup> that if he does not know the names of his ancestors he should put down the first pinḍa with the Formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling on the earth', (he should put down) the 2nd pinḍa with the formula 'svadhā to the fathers dwelling in the air', the third with the formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling in heaven' and should recite in a low voice the words 'Here, O Fathers, gladden yourselves, show your vigour each according to his own part.' Yama quoted by Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), following Gobhila provides generally (whether the ancestors be known or not) that the first pinḍa should be offered to the father with the expression 'prthivi', the second to the grandfather in the aerial regions and the third to the paternal great-grandfather with the mantra 'dyaus darvi'. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (73.17-19) has similar provisions, the mantras respectively being 'prthivi darvirakṣitā', 'antarikṣam darvirakṣitā', 'dyaus-darvirakṣitā'. Medhātithi on Manu III. 194 says (following Āśv. Śr. and others) that if the names of the ancestors are not known he should simply say 'O Father, Grandfather' &c. If the gotra be not known then he should employ the gotra name Kāśyapa.<sup>1072</sup>

Certain matters pertaining to pinḍas must be stated in one place once for all. There is a good deal of discussion about the

1070. तदेतदमङ्गल्यमभिधानं भवति । यतोऽयं पिण्डदानं कुर्वाणः पुत्रादिः ये च त्वामनु इति मन्त्रेण येषां प्रमातॄणां सहेत्याह तेषां पश्चाद्भूतः स्वयमेव सह भवति । अतश्चासौ स्वस्मा एव पिण्डदानं करोतीति प्रतिभाति । हेमाद्रि (आ. ) p. 1437.

1071. यदि नामानि न विद्यात् स्वधा पितृभ्यः पृथिवीष्वभ्य इति प्रथमं पिण्डं निदध्यात् । स्वधा पितृभ्योऽन्तरिक्षस्य इति द्वितीयं स्वधा पितृभ्यो दिविष्वभ्य इति तृतीयं निधाय जपति अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वमिति । गोभिलगृह्य IV. 3, 10-11 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 1443 and आ. प्र. 260. Compare तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 1 एतत्ते तत् ... प्रपितामह ये च त्वामन्वञ्च पितरो यथाभागं मन्वदध्वम् and वाज. सं. II. 31 'अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वम्'. The आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 24 says 'नामान्यविद्वान्स्ततःपितामह-प्रपितामहेति'.

1072. गोत्राज्ञानेऽप्याह व्याघ्रपादः—गोत्रनाशे तु कश्यपः—इति । गोत्राज्ञाने कश्यप-गोत्रग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । कश्यपसगोत्रस्य सर्वसाधारणत्वात् । तथा च स्मृतिः । तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः कश्यप्य इति । स्मृतिश्च. (आ. p. 481); vide आ. प्र. p. 260 for a similar provision. The शुद्धकमलाकर p. 49 says: यद्यपि तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः कश्यप्य इति ज्ञापयथ्युक्तेः ... कश्यपं गोत्रमस्ति तथापि आहु एव तत् । 'सर्वाः प्रजाः कश्यप्यः'—These words occur in ज्ञापयथमङ्गल VII. 5. 1. 5.

size of the pīṇḍas. Marici (quoted by Aparārka p. 507) provides that in pārvana-śrāddha the pīṇḍa should be of the size of undried *amalaka* fruit, of the size of a *bilva* fruit in Ekoddiṣṭa, in navaśrāddhas the pīṇḍa should be bigger than in any one of the preceding when offered every day during the days of impurity on death. The Skandapurāṇa says that pīṇḍas should be of such a size as would enable a calf two years old to put it easily into its mouth.<sup>1073</sup> Āṅgīras (q. by Sm. C. p. 475 and Hemādri, śrāddha p. 1429) prescribes that the pīṇḍas may be of the size of *kapittha* or *bilva* fruit or of the size of a hen's egg or of an *amalaka* or *badara* fruit. In the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra<sup>1074</sup> it is said that the pīṇḍa for the paternal grandfather should be bigger than that for the father and should be in the middle (of the three pīṇḍas), that the pīṇḍa for the great-grandfather should be the largest of all. The next point is from what materials the pīṇḍas were to be made. If pīṇḍas were offered before *agnaukarāṇa* they were to be made from the boiled rice (*caru*) prepared for *agnaukarāṇa*. If made after *agnaukarāṇa*, the pīṇḍas were to be made from the cooked food (remaining after *agnaukarāṇa*) mixed with sesamum (vide Yaj. I. 242). If pīṇḍas were to be offered after the brāhmanas took their dinner, the pīṇḍas were to be made from the remainder of the food cooked for the brāhmanas which was to be mixed with the boiled rice for *agnaukarāṇa* as stated in Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra.<sup>1075</sup> The pīṇḍas were to be placed according to the Matsya<sup>1076</sup> on darbhas spread on the ground cleaned with water mixed with cow's dung and urine. There were others such as Devala, the Brahmapurāṇa and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa that prescribed that an altar, either circular or square, of sand was to be raised on ground 4 fingers in height and one cubit in extent near the plates from which brāhmanas were to eat and thereon *darbhas*

1073. द्विहावनस्य वत्सरस्य विज्ञान्यत्स्यं यथासुखम् । तथा कुर्यात्पमाणेन पिण्डान् व्यासेन भाषितम् ॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 41 q. by स्वतिस्र. (आ. p. 475) and हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1429 as व्यास's.

1074. अर्घ्योद्धृत्योद्धृतेषु पिण्डाजिवधाति पितृर्नाम्नाऽसावेतत्ते ये चात्र त्वाहु तरसै तेष्टव्य स्वधेति प्रथमं, पितामहश्च नाम्ना स्वर्वायासं मध्यमं, प्रपितामहनाम्ना स्वविष्टं दक्षिणं द्वयोः परयोर्नामनी शुद्धं मूलवेने लेपं निर्माष्टि । मैत्रायणीयसूत्र q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1430, आ. म. p. 257.

1075. पुनतः स्म इत्यनुज्ञातः शेषमक्षमनुज्ञाप्य सर्वमक्षमेकतोद्धृत्योच्छिद्यसमीपे वर्धेत् श्रीक्रीन्पिण्डानवनेष्ट्य दद्यात् । आह्नयत् of कार्या. III.

1076. उपलिप्ते महीपृष्ठे गोशकुन्धुश्च शरिणा । निधाय वर्धान् विधिबह्विणाग्राम्पत्यतः । सर्ववर्जं चाजेन पिण्डांस्तु पितृयज्ञवत् । मत्स्यपुराण 16. 45-46.

were to be placed and then piṇḍas. The Vāyupurāṇa provides that a line should be drawn on the altar or the ground with the root of a *darbha* to the accompaniment of the following mantras viz. <sup>1077</sup> 'I destroy whatever is impure; I have killed all *asuras*, *dānavas*, *rākṣasas*, *yakṣas*, *piśācas* (goblins), *guhnyakas* and *yātudhānas*' and the mantra 'struck down (are the *asuras* and *rākṣasas* sitting on the Vēdi)'. In Āp. Śr. I. 10.2, Manu III. 217, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73.17-19, Yama (q. by Hemādri p. 1440), the Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), Mahārṇavaprakāśa (q. by Hemādri), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1440-42) and Śr. P. pp. 266-267 reference is made to adoration of the six seasons and the obeisance (*namaskāra*) to the pitṛs in the words 'namo vaḥ pitaro' (Vāj. S. II. 32) <sup>1078</sup> and the repetition of three mantras when each of the three piṇḍas is offered, some holding that the seasons were to be deemed as identified with '*rasa*', '*śoṣa*' and four other words (in Vāj. S. II. 32), while others held that the adoration of the seasons is quite distinct from the *namaskāras* to the pitṛs. In the Śaunakātharvaṇaśrāddha-kalpa, the piṇḍas are offered in the reverse order i. e. first to the great-grandfather, then to the grandfather and then to the father (Hemādri on śrāddha p. 1442). Āp. Śr. I. 9. 4 refers to this method in 'pitāmahaprabhṛtin vā'.

1077. निहन्मि सर्वं यदमेध्यवद्भवेद्धताश्च सर्वेऽसुरदानवा मया । रक्षोसि यक्षाश्च पिशाच-  
सङ्घा इता मया वायुधानाश्च सर्वे ॥ अनेन मन्त्रेण हुंसंयतात्मा वेदीं च सर्वां सकृदुल्लिखेच्च ॥  
ब्रह्मपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 214, 216, आ. प्र. p. 251. This is cited as  
from ब्रह्मपुराण by अपरार्क p. 478 (which reads 'हुंसंयतात्मा तिलान् क्षिपेद्विष्णु  
तथा विदिषु'). The verses are वायुपुराण 75. 45-46 and are mentioned as from  
वायुपुराण in आहृत्य p. 235. Both अपरार्क and आ. प्र. add the vedic mantra  
'अपहताः' (वाज. सं. II. 29) here.

1078. पूर्वपिण्डं प्रयच्छेत्तु पित्र्यं च पृथिवीति च । पितामहाय स्वपरमन्तरिक्षे च वाप-  
येत् ॥ प्रपितामहाय च ततस्तृतीयं तु निवेदयेत् ॥ द्यौर्दक्षिरिति मन्त्रेण क्षुतिरेषा समातनी ॥  
यम q. by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 203), हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1440). उच्छिष्टसंनिधौ दक्षिणाग्नेषु  
द्वभेदु पृथिवी दक्षिरक्षिता इत्येकं पिण्डं पित्रे निवेदयात् । अन्तरिक्षं दक्षिरक्षिता इति द्वितीयं  
पितामहाय । द्यौर्दक्षिरक्षिता इति तृतीयं प्रपितामहाय । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73. 17-19. आचम्यो-  
क्त्वा परावृत्य त्रिरागम्य ज्ञानैरक्षुत् । बह्वृत्तं नमस्कुर्यात् पितृनेव च मन्त्रवित् ॥ मनु III. 217.  
The मन्त्र is: पृथिवी दक्षिरक्षिता इति: स्वधानुपवस्ता तां पृथिवी दक्षिरक्षितां तृतिं स्वधामनु-  
पवस्तामाग्नेरिव पृथिवीमुपजीवासी ये चात्र स्वामन्वेवा ते स्वधा. In the other two  
mantras in honour of पितामह and प्रपितामह substitute अन्तरिक्षं and द्यौः for  
पृथिवी, वायुः and द्युयः for अग्निः wherever necessary. The meaning is 'the  
earth is a ladle giving inexhaustible gratification' &c. The काठकण्ठ  
(63. 14) provides 'पृथिवी दक्षिरिति निपरणं कुर्यात्' and the कौशिकसूत्र (88. 8-10)  
also mentions the three mantras uttered at the time of offering the three  
piṇḍas (viz. पृथिवी दक्षिरक्षिता, अन्तरिक्षं दक्षिरक्षिता, द्यौ दक्षिरक्षिता). Compare  
काठकसंहिता IX. 23.



About the final disposal (*pratipatti*) of the *piṇḍas* several views were entertained. We have already seen (note 780) that the Vāj. S. and several sūtras provided that the middle one of the three *piṇḍas* for paternal ancestors was to be eaten by the wife of the performer of the śrāddha if she was desirous of a son. Manu (III. 262-263) provides that the *dharma-patni* (i. e. a wife of the same varṇa and married before any other wife) should eat the middle *piṇḍa* with the mantra 'ādhata pitaro garbham' (q. in n. 780) and then she gives birth to a son who lives long, secures fame, is intelligent and obtains wealth and progeny and who is of a good and righteous turn of mind. The same rule is provided for by the Laghu-Āśvalāyana 23.83, the Kūrma II. 2. 71, 76, Matsya 16.52, Vāyu 76.31, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 171 8, 220, 149, Padma (śrṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.121) and other purāṇas. As regards *piṇḍas* in general, the Āśv. Śr. (II. 7. 14-17) says that the other two *piṇḍas* (except the middle one) should be cast into water or in fire or they may be eaten by a brāhmaṇa who has suddenly developed a distaste for food or they may be partaken by one who has been suffering from a serious disease (such as tuberculosis or leprosy) and that in the latter case the man either recovers or dies. The Gobhila-gr. (IV. 3. 31-34) provides that the *piṇḍas* should be thrown into water or in fire or should be given to a brāhmaṇa or a cow to eat. Manu (III. 260-261) says the same and adds that they may be given to a goat for eating and that some allow them to be devoured by birds. Yāj. I. 257, Matsya 16.52-53, and Padma<sup>1079</sup> mention the same five ways of disposal but the last adds one more viz. placing them near a mound of earth. The Varāha-purāṇa<sup>1080</sup> (190.121) says that the performer may eat the first *piṇḍa* himself, he should give the middle to his wife and the third he should cast into water. The Anuśāsanaparva (125.25.26) provides that the first and the third should be thrown into water or fire and the middle *piṇḍa* should be eaten by the wife. It is provided by Bṛhaspati that if the wife is suffering from a disease or is already pregnant or is staying in some other

1079. पिण्डाश्च गोजवियग्यो दद्यादग्नौ जलेपि वा । वयान्ते वायु विकिरहापोभिरथ वाहयेत् ॥ पद्म (सुष्टि 9. 120) : अपराकं p. 550 and हेमाद्रि read विमान्ते and वयोभिरथ वाहयेत् ! (p. 1504). That birds should be allowed to eat the *piṇḍas* is natural since it was believed as stated above (p. 339) that the *pitṛs* wander about in the form of birds. Vide कूर्म II. 22.83 for a similar verse.

1080. भक्षयेत् प्रथमं पिण्डं पत्न्यै देयं तु मध्यमम् । तृतीयमुदके दद्याद्वाह्ने एवं विधिः स्मृतः ॥ वराहपुराण 190.121.

place, then an old bull or a goat may eat the middle piṇḍa (quoted by Sm. C. on Śr. p. 486, Kalpataru on Śr. p. 224). The Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 141. 8) prescribes that when a śrāddha is performed at a *tirtha*, the piṇḍas should be cast into the sacred water. The Anuśāsanaparva 125. 38-40 and some of the purāṇas such as Vāyu (76.32-34) and Brahma (220.150-152) provide that certain consequences follow from the disposal of piṇḍas in one way or another viz. the best worlds by giving piṇḍas to cows, intellect and fame from casting into water, long life from offering them to birds &c. Vide also Brahmāṇḍa (upodghāta, chap. 12. 31-35) which provides that if given to cows the result is best complexion, if to cocks then delicacy, long life if given crows. In this connection it should be noted that piṇḍas of rice or of flour were not to be offered in all śrāddhas. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā (pp. 86-89) has a long discussion about the śrāddhas in which the offering of piṇḍas of food is forbidden. For example, it quotes Pulastya to the effect that in śrāddhas performed on the two *ayana* days, on the two equinoctial days, on any sankrānti, no piṇḍas are to be offered, so also in śrāddhas on Ekadaśī, Trayodaśī, on Maghā and Kṛttikā nakṣatras, if a man desires to have sons and wealth.

On the question as to what is the principal item in the śrāddha there are three views. Some, like Govindarāja,<sup>1081</sup> hold that feeding of brāhmaṇas is the principal thing and they rely on Manu III. 129 which says 'One may feed even a single learned brāhmaṇa in a rite for gods and manes and not many who do not know vedic mantras; by doing so he reaps abundant reward'. Here the reward or fruit is associated with feeding a learned brāhmaṇa. There is a maxim<sup>1082</sup> of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that 'whatever is mentioned in proximity with an action that has a reward or fruit but has no special reward of its own, is subsidiary (*aṅga*) to what is declared to have a reward.' Besides, there is no piṇḍadāna in certain śrāddhas such as āmaśrāddha, śrāddha on the Yugaḍi days.<sup>1083</sup>

1081. शुक्लं कलमामोतीत्यभिधानात् ब्राह्मणस्य भोजनमत्र प्रधानं पिण्डदानादि तदङ्गमित्यवसीयते । गोविन्दराज on मनु III. 129 (Mandlik's ed.). कुल्लूक on the same verse refers to this opinion.

1082. The *व्याय* is कलवत्संनिधावफलं तदङ्गम् mentioned by शबर on जै. IV. 4. 19 and by शङ्कर on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 14. Vide जै. IV. 4. 29-38.

1083. तथा च पुलस्त्यः । अयनादितये आर्जं विषुवद्दितये तथा । युगादिविषु च सर्वान् पिण्डानिर्वपणादृते ॥ इति । कर्तव्यमिति शेषः । रघुतिच. (आ.) p. 369 ; vide हेमाद्रि (आ.) pp. 334-336.

Others like Karka hold the view that piṇḍadāna is the principal item in śrāddha. They rely upon the fact that in the śrāddha at Gayā it is the offering of piṇḍas that is the most important matter and upon the fact that in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 52-53, and 85. 65-66) and in several Purāṇas such as the Varāha (13.50), Viṣṇu (III. 14.22-23), Brahma (220.31-32), Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 145.3-4) the pitrs are stated to have expressed a deep yearning for a son who would offer them piṇḍas at Gayā and water on sacred rivers &c. (vide note 911). Further support is sought for this view in the fact that in the śrāddha on the birth of a son and in śrāddha offered even by a good sūdra the feeding of brāhmaṇas is forbidden. A third view is that both the feeding of brāhmaṇas and the offering of piṇḍas are the principal matters in a śrāddha. The Gobhila-smṛiti, after stating<sup>1084</sup> the other two views and some of the reasons therefor, tells us that the author of it is himself in favour of this third view. In cases where the word śrāddha is employed and there is neither brāhmaṇa feeding nor piṇḍadāna as in Daiva śrāddha, the word śrāddha is applied in a secondary sense (*gauna*). Vide Hemādri (śrāddha) pp. 157-160. In the Dharmapradīpa it is said that among the followers of the Yajurveda (i. e. Vājasaneyins) the offering of piṇḍas is principal, among the followers of the R̥gveda the feeding of brāhmaṇas is principal, while among the followers of the Sāmaveda both are principal. In this way śrāddha partakes of two characters viz. it is a *yāga* (sacrifice) and also<sup>1085</sup> a gift (dāna). Haradatta, Hemādri, Kapardī and others appear to hold that all three (bhojana piṇḍadāna and agnaukarāṇa) are principal. Vide Saṃskāra-ratnānālā p. 1003.

The Matsyapurāṇa says in a famous passage 'ancestors from the fourth (i. e. the father, grand-father and great-grand-father of the great-grandfather of performer) are entitled only to the wipings of the articles of food (sticking to

1084. प्राधान्यं पिण्डदानस्य केचिदाहुर्मनीषिणः । ययावौ पिण्डमात्रं तु दीयमान-  
निर्दोषात् ॥ भोजनस्य प्रधानत्वं वदन्त्यस्यै महर्षयः । आहुतानां परीक्षायां महायज्ञे प्रदर्शनात् ।  
आमआहुविधानस्य विना पिण्डैः क्रियाविधिः । तद्गतस्याप्यनप्ययाविधानव्यवहारादि ॥  
विद्वन्मतस्तुपादाय ममाप्येतद्धृदि स्थितम् । प्राधान्यमुभयोर्यस्मात्समावेक्ष्य समुच्चयः ॥ गोमिल-  
स्त्विति III. 160-163.

1085. धर्मपदीपेति । यजुषां पिण्डदानं तु बहुचानां द्विजार्चनम् । आहुतान्वाभिधेयं  
स्यादुभयं सामवेदिनाम् ॥ तच्च पितृभ्यजेत पितृभ्यो दद्याद्विदुभयप्रयोगदर्शनाद्यागदानोभया-  
त्मकम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III. उत्तरार्धे p. 372.

the hand of the performer of *śrāddha*); the father, (the grand-father and great-grandfather) are entitled to the *piṇḍa*; the offerer of the *piṇḍa* is the 7th; thus *sapīṇḍa* relationship extends to seven generations<sup>1086</sup>. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* states that three ancestors beginning from the paternal grandfather of the paternal grandfather enjoy the wipings (of the hand of the performer when he offers *piṇḍas*).<sup>1087</sup> The *Brahma-purāṇa* (220. 84-86) has similar verses. *Manu* provided<sup>1088</sup> that the performer should place three *piṇḍas* on *darbhas* and then wipe off from his hand the particles of food and water sticking to it with the roots of the *darbhas* (on which the *piṇḍas* were placed) and that such wipings are meant for those who are called 'lepabhāgin' (the three paternal ancestors after the paternal great-grand-father). Similar provisions are made by the *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 73.22, *Varāhapurāṇa* 14.36, *Garuḍapurāṇa* (*Ācārakāṇḍa* 218.24), *Kūrma II* 22.52. *Medhātithi* on *Manu III*, 216 says that even if no food or water sticks to the hand still the performer rubs the hand against the roots of the *darbhas* on which the first *piṇḍa* was placed. A special rule was provided by *Devala* quoted in *Śrāddhakalpapatā* (p. 14) that if the father or mother became a *mleccha* (by forcible or voluntary conversion &c.) one should not observe any impurity for him or her and no *śrāddha* should be offered and when offering the three *piṇḍas* in place of the father the name of *Viṣṇu* should be uttered.

One question that exercised the minds of well-known writers was whether the daily *Vaiśvadeva* should be performed before starting the *śrāddha* ceremonies or after the latter were finished. We have to remember first that several works state that rites for pīṭra deserve pre-eminence over those for the

1086. लेपभाजश्चतुर्थाद्याः पित्राद्याः पिण्डभागिनः। पिण्डदः सप्तमस्तेषां सापिण्ड्यं साप्तपौरुषम्॥ मत्स्य 18.29. These very verses occur in *वल्गुपुराण* (सृष्टिखण्ड 10, 34-35), which reads सपिण्ड्याः सप्त पुरुषाः. They are quoted from *मत्स्यपुराण* by *अपरार्क* p. 507. मत्स्य 16.38 is तेषु तर्भेषु तं हस्तं निमुञ्ज्यालेपभागिनाम्।

1087. लेपसम्बन्धिनश्चान्ये पितामहापितामहात्। यश्चतुर्काक्षयस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तमः। हस्त्येषं हस्तिभिः प्रोक्तः सम्बन्धः साप्तपौरुषः। मार्कण्डेय 28. 4-5 q. by *दायभाग XI*. 41 (which connects these verses with the rules of impurity on death). The printed *दायभाग* reads पिण्डलेपमुजश्चान्ये.

1088. मृत्पत्रं पिण्डांस्तत्तांस्तु प्रयतो विधिपूर्वकम्। तेषु तर्भेषु तं हस्तं निमुञ्ज्यालेप-भागिनाम्॥ मनु III. 216. The latter half occurs in *मत्स्य* 16.38.

gods<sup>1089</sup>. Manu (III. 265) states<sup>1090</sup> that after the brāhmanas have been dismissed the performer of śrāddha shall offer the (daily) domestic *bali* offering and that this is the settled rule of dharma. Medhātithi explains that the word 'bali' is merely illustrative. The Matsyapurāṇa<sup>1091</sup> 17.61, the Varāha-purāṇa (14.43), Skanda VII. 1. 266. 101-102, Devala, Kāṇvaśāstri and others provide that after the rites for the fathers are finished Vaiśvadeva should be performed. When Vaiśvadeva is performed after the completion of śrāddha rites, it is to be offered from the food that remains after being utilized for the śrāddha dinner. But Hemādri (pp. 1058-1065) holds a long discussion and arrives at the following conclusions. In the case of an *āhitāgni* (p. 1064), Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha except in the case of the śrāddha on the 11th day after death. In the case of one who has not kept the sacred fires there are three optional times for Vaiśvadeva, viz. after *agnaukaraṇa* or after the *vikāra* (scattering of food on darbhas for those dying without the *samskāras* being performed for them), or after the brāhmanas are dismissed on the completion of the śrāddha (p. 1064). If Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha or in the midst of it, then the cooking of food must be done separately for Vaiśvadeva and for śrāddha. In the case of all, whether *sāgnika* or *anagnika*, Vaiśvadeva must be performed with the remainder of the food left after use in śrāddha, if the former is performed after the latter. There were sages like Pāṭhīnāsi<sup>1092</sup> that held that Vaiśvadeva should not be performed with the food cooked for śrāddha without first offering the food to the brāhmanas invited for śrāddha dinner i. e. Vaiśvadeva must be performed after śrāddha if the same food is to be used

1089. देवकार्याद् द्विजातीनां पितृकार्यं विशिष्यते । मनु III. 203, ब्रह्माण्ड (उपो-  
द्घातपाद 10. 104), मत्स्यपुराण 15. 40, वायु 73. 55.

1090. ततो गृहबलिं कुर्यादिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ॥ मनु III. 265. मेधातिथि remarks  
'ततो गृहबलिं निष्पक्षे आहुकर्मण्यनन्तरं वैश्वदेवहोमान्वाहिकातिथ्यादिभोजनं कर्तव्यम् ।  
बलिशब्दस्य प्रदर्शनार्थत्वात् ॥'.

1091. निवृत्य प्रणिपत्यैष पर्युक्ष्याग्निं समञ्जवत् । वैश्वदेवं प्रकुर्वीत तेत्यकं बलिमेव च ॥  
मत्स्य 17. 61; निवर्तेताम्यनुज्ञात आह्वारान्तमनुब्रजेत् । ततस्तु वैश्वदेवाकुर्यात् कुर्यान्नित्यक्रिया  
ततः ॥ वराह 14. 43; पितृपाकात् समुद्भूत्य वैश्वदेवं तु होमयेत् । देवल q. by हलायुध in  
his com. on कार्यायन's आहुत्यूच (folio 31a). The verse निवृत्य प्रणिपत्यैष  
occurs in पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिलेख 9. 190) also.

1092. पित्राणामनिवेद्य तस्मादवाहिवैश्वदेवादिकमपि न कार्यम् । तथा च वैदीनसिः ।  
पितृपाकात्समुद्भूत्य वैश्वदेवं करोति यः । आहुरं तद्भवेच्छ्राद्धं पित्राणां नोपतिष्ठते ॥ स्मृतिचं.  
(आ.) p. 410, बौद्धरायण (folio 75b).

for the former. The Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 459) states that as most smṛtis place the performance of Vaiśvadeva after śrāddha and as many writers of commentaries and digests such as Medhātithi and Smṛtiratnāvali do the same all should perform Vaiśvadeva after finishing śrāddha.

It is now necessary to illustrate how *pārvaṇa* śrāddha is performed in modern times. Here the greatest variety prevails. The details of the rite vary in the different parts of India. They vary also according as the performer belongs to a particular Veda or a particular recension of the Veda, they vary according to the particular eminent writer that is followed and further additions are made according as the performer is a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva. Such differences have to be passed over here, particularly because they are not material. We saw above that the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha was very simple in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and most of the sūtras. There was then no express mention of the worship of Viśvedevāḥ in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, or of the maternal ancestors or of the wives of any ancestors. Gradually these came to be added and by the time of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti there was special invocation of the Viśvedevāḥ. But these latter were probably not expressly divided into groups at the time of that work. During the smṛti period groups of Viśvedevāḥ came to be assigned to different kinds of śrāddhas (vide p. 457 note 1018). The Purāṇas prescribed several Paurāṇic mantras for being recited during the śrāddha rite, such as the verse 'āgacchantu' (note 984) and the verse 'devatābhyaḥ pitṛbhyaśca' (p. 458 note 1020). Then there arose the principle of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that all rites described in the different śākhās and sūtras constitute but one rite, and that one may take over from another śākhā or sūtra details described therein, which are not opposed to one's own śākhā or sūtra (vide pp. 453-55 notes 1011-1013). This principle tended to make the śrāddha rites all inclusive and the whole procedure became swollen to an enormous extent. How even the slightest variation causes difference in the details may be illustrated by an example. In Mithilā villages even among poor men eleven brāhmaṇas are invited for pārvaṇa-śrāddha, but it is often difficult to secure a very learned man (who is called *pātra* or *mahāpātra*) to officiate. In such a case where a *mahāpātra* or a *pātra* brāhmaṇa is not available the śrāddha is called *apātraka-pārvaṇaśrāddha* (for which really there is no *śāstric* authority) and is distinguished from the *sapātraka* pārvaṇa-śrāddha in several matters, two of which in the case of the

Vājasaneyins may be stated here. Though the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana, which is of special authority among Vājasaneyins, declares (āt the end of *kaṇḍikā* III) that the brāhmanas are to be dismissed at the end of the śrāddha with the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S. 9. 18) and the performer should circumambulate the brāhmanas with the mantra 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), it is not the practice among the śiṣṭas in Mithilā according to the editor of the Śrāddharatna to observe these directions in what is called 'apātraka-pārvaṇa-śrāddha' in these days. In Rudradhara's Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 138-146) the 'apātraka-pārvaṇa-śrāddha-prayoga' is set out at length.

In mediæval and modern times in the different provinces of India different manuals are followed by the followers of the several Vedas. For example, in Bengal the Sāmavedins, Yajurvedins and Rgvedins follow the procedure of pārvaṇa-śrāddha laid down in the manuals (or *paddhatis*) of Bhavadeva, Paśupati and Kālesi respectively and there are many persons who follow the rules laid down by Raghunandana in his Śrāddhatattva and Yajurvediśrāddha-tattva. In Mithilā, Śrīdatta wrote his Pīṭbhakti for Yajurvedins and the Śrāddha-kalpa for Sāmavedins and the Śrāddha-ratna of Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmipati (between 1500 to 1640 A. D.) which is printed at Darbhanga and claims to be the traditional manual for Maithilās (Maithilā-sāṃpradāyika-śrāddhapaddhati) in several places says that it follows the Sugatisopāna of Prati-hastaka for Chandogās and also for Vājasaneyins. In the Madras State Vaiṣṇava brāhmanas follow special treatises on *Pūrva* and *Apara kriyās* of Vaidika-Sārvabhauma or Hārīta Venkaṭācārya or Tolappār and Smārta brāhmanas follow the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha, which does not much differ in major matters from the works of Vaidikasārvabhauma. Often the only differences are in the saṅkalpa and at the end. It is impossible to exhibit in this work the contents of all these manuals and to compare and contrast them. Therefore I shall set out here a model pārvaṇaśrāddha rite as performed by Rgvedins in Western India and then a Śukla Yajurveda rite. The Pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha<sup>1093</sup> rite for Rgvedins in

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1093. The *darśaśrāddha* differs only very slightly from the above. The summary here is taken from the 'Rgvedibrahmakarma-samuccaya' published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press in Bombay in Poṭhi size, folios 98-108 (ed. of 1936, *śaka* 1856).

Western India may be set out as follows :—(From the references added in the text and notes it will be clear that this modern rite is all inclusive i. e. it follows the Āsv. Śr. often taking passages verbatim from it, the *smṛtis* and *purāṇas*). The performer wears white garments (lower and upper) and sits on a seat of *kūṭas* or of wool or deer skin and then sips water twice and wears a *pavitra* on the finger next to the small finger with Rg. IX. 83.1. He ties his top knot on the head and sacred thread with *kuśas*, and ties three *kuśa* blades with *tilas* on the left of the *dhōti* worn by him. Then he performs *prāṇāyāma* and declares the resolve (*saṅkalpa*)<sup>1094</sup> to perform (the *Sāṁvatsarika*) *śrāddha* after referring to the time and place and together with *agnaukarana*, *piṇḍadāna* &c. The invited *brāhmaṇas* reply 'do so'. Then the performer puts into a copper vessel water with the mantra 'imam me Gange' (Rg. X. 75. 5), sandalwood paste with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām,' yava grains with the mantra 'thou art yava, king of cereals, Varuṇa is thy patron, thou art endowed with sweetness, thou art the remover of all sins and art known by all sages as holy', betelnut (with Rg. X. 97.15), gold (or some coin) with the mantra 'Hiranyarūpaḥ' (Rg. II. 35.10), flowers and basil leaves. (Then he becomes *prācīnāvīti*)<sup>1095</sup> and puts *sesamum* grains in the water

1094. The *सङ्कल्प* will be श्रीमद्भगवतो महापुरुषस्य विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीये पार्वर्धे...भरतवर्षे दक्षिणापथे दण्डकारण्ये देसे शालिवाहनशके असुकनाम संचरन्ते गोदावर्या दक्षिणे तीरे (उत्तरे तीरे वा) ... असुकतिथौ असुकवासरे ... पुरुषा-द्वयसंज्ञकानां विधेर्वा देवानां अस्मत्पितृपितामहपितामहानामसुकशर्मणां असुकसंगोत्राणां बसुवृद्धादित्यस्वरूपाणां एतेषां श्रेयार्थं मोक्षार्थं मम पितृणां प्रतिसांवत्सरिकआहुतं सदैवं सपिण्डं सायीकरणं पार्षणेन विधिना अस्मेन हविषा सद्यः करिष्ये. The performer becomes *प्राचीनावीति* when repeating the words *अस्मत्पितृ...*स्वरूपाणां and reverts to *उपवीति* form when saying *एतेषां* etc. Among the *Mādhvas* the *सङ्कल्प* contains the words 'पित्रस्तर्पामिणो विप्रदेवास्तर्पामिणोऽनिरुद्ध-प्रद्युम्न-सङ्कर्षण वासुदेव-चतुर्मूर्त्यत्मक-आहुतस्वामि-श्रीमध्वजनार्दनस्य समाराधनं करिष्ये ।'

1095. The terms *प्राचीनावीति*, *यज्ञोपवीति* or *उपवीति*, *सव्यं* and *अपसव्यं* occur almost at every step in the *आहुतयोग*. They will be explained once for all here and instead of repeating lengthy translations the original Sanskrit words will be kept in the *prayoga* set out hereafter. Gobhila gr. I. 2.2-3, Khādīrgr I. 1. 4-6 and Manu II. 63 define *yajñopavītin* or *upavītin* as one who suspends the sacrificial chord round his neck and raises the right arm so as to wear the chord on his left shoulder and *prācīnāvītin* as one who raises the left arm and wears the chord on his right shoulder. *Savya* means left, Acc. to लघुशाब्दलायन I. 91 when the sacred chord hangs down from the left shoulder (and under the right arm) that is said to be '*savyam*' and when the chord hangs down from the right shoulder (and under the left arm) that is *अपसव्यम्*.



(in another vessel) with the mantra 'Tilosi' (quoted in note 966), Bhr̥ngarāja leaf with the mantra 'mā kākam' (Rg. VI. 48. 17), betelnut, gold (or coin). Then he repeats the Puruṣa-sūkta <sup>1096</sup> (Rg. X. 90), Rg. X. 128.1-9, IX. 58. 1-4, Rg. X. 126. 1-8, Rg. IV. 40.5, Rg. VII. 89. 5, the sacred Gāyatrī with *om* and the three Vyāhrtis, Rg. VII. 56. 12, Rg. VIII. 44. 21, 17, Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9. Then after repeating the well-known verse 'apavitraḥ pavitro vā' <sup>1097</sup> (whoever, whether pure or impure or being in any state whatever, remembers the name of Viṣṇu becomes pure externally as well as internally), he requests 'May everything such as the place and the materials be rendered pure'. The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so.' Then placing some coin on the ground, the performer having in his hand sesamum grains, water and kūśas goes round (pradakṣiṇā) the brāhmaṇas thrice, and repeats three verses (in classical sanskrit) in praise of the dust of the feet of brāhmaṇas and a Vedic passage from Tai. Ā. II. 15 <sup>1098</sup> 'All the devatās reside in a brāhmaṇa who knows the Veda; therefore every day one should perform obeisance to brāhmaṇas knowing the Veda. He should not utter anything derogatory or evil (either true or false) about them. (By doing so) he pleases all these devatās.' After making obeisance (to the brāhmaṇas) twice he should be prācināvitī, repeat the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ' (note 913 p. 407 above) and request the brāhmaṇas 'may you be pleased to say that I have complete *adhikāra* to perform the sāmvasarikaśrāddha of my pitṛs this day.' The brāhmaṇas should reply 'let there be this *adhikāra* for the performance of śrāddha.' Then being *upavītin* the performer requests 'may you declare that this time is the proper time and that the food cooked is fit for being offered.' The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so.' Then he asks the permission to give invitation to the brāhmaṇas. They give it. Then he touches the right knee of one brāhmaṇa and says 'you should find time to accept the invitation to act as representing the Viśve-devas named Purūrava and Ādrava in this pratisāmvasarika śrāddha of my pitṛs'. The brāhmaṇa replies 'yes, be it so.' Then the performer addresses the second Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇa in the

1096. Hardly any sūtra or any single digest prescribes the recital of so many mantras as is done here.

1097. This occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa (ācārakāṇḍa) chap. 216.1-2

1098. यावत्सर्वे देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो वेदविद्वन्भ्यो द्विषे द्विषे नमस्कुर्यात् । नाम्नीलं कीर्तयेद्देता एव देवताः क्षिणाति । तै. अ. II. 15 (at end).

same way (if two brāhmaṇas have been invited for the purpose) and then wearing the sacred thread in the *prācīnāvīta* way should touch the left knee of the brāhmaṇa (*pitṛya*) and say to him 'you should accept the invitation to represent my father, grandfather and great-grandfather in this *pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha*.' The brāhmaṇa should reply 'so be it.' He should request 'you should repair to my house.' The brāhmaṇa replies 'I shall do so.' Then he should make *maṇḍalas*<sup>1099</sup> for the *daiva* and *pitṛya* brāhmaṇas. Then *saṃyam*. The performer should offer seat, sandalwood paste, flowers and say 'may all the items (*upacāras*) of showing honour be complete by means of *yava* grains.' Then *apasāṃyam*. He offers *āsana* (seat), sandalwood paste and flowers and declares 'may all the *upacāras* be completed by means of *sesamum* grains.' Then *saṃyam*. He offers welcome to the *daiva* brāhmaṇas, to which they respond by saying 'susvāgatam' (it is a good welcome). Then he should say 'here is *pādyā* for you, O *Viśve devas* called *Purūrava* and *Ārdrava*! *Bhūr-bhuvah-svah* to the (*daiva*) brāhmaṇa'; the response is 'supādyam'. He should wash the feet of (the *daiva*) brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'śan no devīr' (Rg X. 9.4, vide n. 968). Then he wears the thread in the *apasāṃya* way and offers welcome to the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas representing the three male ancestors<sup>1100</sup> and offers to give *pādyā* to them and they respond with the words 'susvāgatam' and 'supādyam'. He also employs the verse 'śan no devīr' as in the case of *daiva* brāhmaṇas.

Then the performer casts away the *pavitra* worn so far, washes his hands and feet, performs *ācamana* and wears two *pavitras*. Then *saṃyam*. He says 'welcome to all.' They respond with 'susvāgatam'. Then holding the right hand (except the thumb) of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas he says 'Ye gods, occupy seats'; they respond by saying 'susamāsmāhe' (we have well occupied them). Then *apasāṃyam*. He addresses similar words to *pitṛya* brāhmaṇas who respond in a similar way. Then *saṃyam*. He seeks permission in the words 'I

1099. For *maṇḍalas* vide above pp. 456-457.

1100. The *paśya* would be offered in the words 'पितः, असुकरामन् असुकगोत्र वसु रूपं ब्रह्मणे सूर्यः स्वः, इहं ते पाद्यम्'. In the case of the *pitāmah* and *prpitāmah* the words *वसु रूपं* and *आदित्य रूपं* would respectively be substituted for *वसु रूपं*. We have to construe as *ब्रह्मणे ते पाद्यम्* (अस्तु) and *सूर्यः स्वः* as the mantra accompanying the *paśya*.

shall perform the Pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pitrs that has been begun'. The brāhmaṇas say 'do so'. Then the verse 'śam no devir' (Rg. X. 9. 4) is repeated and also the words 'thou art yava, separate from us those who hate us and who are our enemies'. Then *apasavyam*. The following texts are repeated viz. Rg. X. 9.4, Rg. X. 15.1 and with the mantra 'The asuras, rākṣasas, the piśācas, that dwell along the earth are struck down; may they go from this place elsewhere wherever their mind may be fixed', he scatters sesamum grains everywhere and repeats the mantra, Rg. X. 87.1 There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras and twelve Ādityas. Let there be protection given by Viṣṇu at the door where śrāddha is being performed and may this spot be Gayā. The brāhmaṇas reply 'Let it be a good spot.' Then *savyam*. He sprinkles drops of water with darbhas over the food that is cooked for the śrāddha dinner with the mantras viz. Rg. IX. 58, 1, IX. 67. 26-28 and with the three Vyāhrtis and the Gāyatri. Then he requests 'May there be purity of the cooking' and 'may the sprinkling of the cooked food be according to the rules prescribed,' to which the response is 'so be it.' Then the verse 'āgacchantu mahābhāgāḥ' (vide note 984) is recited and the brāhmaṇas reply 'we are careful (or attentive).' Then *apasavyam*. He announces 'contemplating upon this spot where śrāddha is being performed as Gayā and concentrating the mind on Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) and the pitrs in the form of Vasus and the like, the śrāddha (rite) proceeds'. The brāhmaṇas say 'do proceed.' Then *savyam*. He gives water on the hand of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas, places on the right side of the seat occupied by them two darbhas together with yavas with his upturned right hand held by the left hand and says with the Vyāhrtis (Bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ) 'this is the seat for the brāhmaṇa representing the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ādrava'. The brāhmaṇa replies 'svāsanam'. This is done also for the second *daiva* brāhmaṇa. He then says 'Please sit down here, though art Dharma' and seizing the brāhmaṇa's hand (except the thumb) he says 'accept the invitation for being *daiva* brāhmaṇa in the Pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha.' The response is 'so be it.' Then reaching the *arghya* water, he sprinkles the ground in front of the (*daiva*) brāhmaṇas with water, spreads two darbhas (in front of each *daiva* brāhmaṇa) with their tips towards the east, places down two vessels with their tops turned downwards, sprinkles water over them with the Gāyatri mantra, raises the vessels up (i. e. turns their tops upwards), again sprinkles water over them and places over them (the two

vessels) two kūroas <sup>1101</sup> with the tips turned to the east, pours into them water and invokes the water once with the mantra, 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4). Then he puts yava grains into the two *arghya* vessels for *daiva brāhmaṇas* with the mantra 'Yavosi dhānyarājo vā' (note 985) and also sandalwood paste, flowers, basil leaf and performs obeisance. He says 'May all the upacāras be completed by means of yavas; the two *arghya* vessels for *daiva brāhmaṇas* are fully ready'. The response is 'susampanne'. He says 'svāhā, these are *arghya* waters'. The response is 'let there be *arghya* waters'. Placing his left hand in which he holds *kuśas* and yava grains on the right knee of the *daiva brāhmaṇa* and holding in his (right) hand yava grains he says 'I shall invoke the *Viśve devas* called *Purūrava* and *Ārdrava* to be present in you'. They respond 'do invoke'. He invokes the *Viśve-devas* with the mantra 'viśve devāsa' (Rg. II. 47. 13) separately repeated as regards each *daiva brāhmaṇa*. He says, 'I invoke the *Viśve devas* with the mantra 'viśve devāḥ śrputemām' (Rg. VI. 52. 13). Having invoked *Viśve devas* he casts the remaining yava-grains on the ground near the feet of the *daiva brāhmaṇas*. Then he gives water to them (*daiva brāhmaṇas*) and he puts in their hands the *darbhas* placed over the *arghya* vessels; he says 'O *Viśve devas* called *Purūrava* and *Ārdrava*! this is *arghya* water for you; *svāhā*, adoration'. They respond 'let there be *arghya*'. Repeating the mantra 'yā divyā apāḥ' (vide Āśv. Gr. IV. 7. 13 above in n. 966) he says 'this *arghya* has been offered, it is no longer mine.' They respond 'let it be so offered'. The same process is followed as to the second *daiva brāhmaṇa*. Then he offers fragrant <sup>1102</sup> substances (sandalwood paste etc.), flowers, basil leaves, incense, lamp, and cash according to his ability as substitute for garment, *gopīcandana* for unguent, sacred chord and two *kuśa* blades for *pavitra* with the words 'O *Viśve devāḥ*, called *Purūrava* and *Ārdrava*! these are fragrant substances for you according

1101. कूर्च is a bundle of fifteen *darbhas* one cubit long having tops of four *āṅgulas* in length and having a knot two *āṅgulas* from the bottom part. पञ्चदशदर्भैर्मयितं चतुरङ्गुलार्धं द्व्यङ्गुलमग्निं हस्तमात्रं प्रोक्षणकूर्चम् । वैखानसस्मृत्य-  
सूत्र I. 8.

1102. Each of the things is offered with the same formula and as to each there is a response from the *brāhmaṇas* with 'su' prefixed to each article offered. It would be like this 'पुरूरवाद्वत्संज्ञका विश्वेदेवाः यथा भागशः अमी वो मग्धाः स्वाहा नमः । सुगग्धाः । पुरू...विश्वेदेवा यथा भागशः एष वो दीपः स्वाहा नमः हृदीपः' and so on.

to your portions; svāhā, adoration'. When offering a garment or cash therefor he recites 'yuvā suvāsāḥ' (Rg. III. 8.4). Then he says 'these items viz. *gandha*, leaves, flowers, incense, lamp ending with covering (garment) be all of them complete. Let there be good worship in the rite of worship; May that which is wanting or is excessive be according to prescribed rules'. The brāhmanas respond 'astu vidhivat' and the performer recites the verse 'I do obeisance to Acyuta by remembering whom or by uttering whose name whatever is wanting in *tapas* (observances) or sacrifices becomes at once perfect'.

Then he says to the pitrya brāhmanas 'with your permission I shall offer worship to the pitrs'. They reply 'do offer.' Then *apasavyam*. After bending his right knee, the performer says 'Bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ to Brahman, this is the seat for my father, grandfather and great-grandfather, named N. N., whose gotra is so and so and who are identical with Vasu, Rudra and Āditya'. So saying he offers double-folded darbhas with sesamum grains to the pitrya brāhmanas who reply 'svāsanam'. Then follows the same procedure as regards pitrya brāhmanas which has been already set out as to daiva brāhmanas. The only difference is that instead of two darbhas three darbhas are spread on the ground with their tips towards the south, three vessels are placed towards south-east with faces downwards and three double-folded darbhas are placed on each of the three vessels, instead of 'yavosi' the mantra is 'tilosi somadevatyaḥ' (vide note 966) and instead of 'svāhā namaḥ' the words 'svadhā namaḥ' are employed, and instead of *tulasi* leaf *bhṛngarāja* leaf is employed. In *āvāhana* the performer places his left hand holding kuśas and sesame on the left knee of the pitrya brāhmaṇa and the verse repeated is 'usantas tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 12) as to each pitrya brāhmaṇa and he should honour the pitrs by repeating one mantra 'ā yantu naḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). He offers *arghya*<sup>1103</sup> water with the right hand supported by the left to the father and the other two paternal ancestors. He brings together the *samsravas*<sup>1104</sup> in the first pitrya vessel and anoints his face with that water if he desires a son. The brāhmanas respond 'may you have a son'.

1103. The form will be: अपो इत्या पात्रोपरित्यक्तमन्त्रं विप्रहस्ते इत्या अस्मत्पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यम्। अस्त्वर्घ्यम्। अपसव्यम्। या इत्या आपः पृथिवीः। पित्रे इदमर्घ्यं कृतं न मनः। अस्तु कृतम्। सव्यम्। पितामहेदं तेऽर्घ्यम्। अस्त्वर्घ्यम्। अपसव्यम्। या इत्या०। पितामहाये-इदमर्घ्यं कृतं न मनः। and so on for यपितामहः.

1104. For संस्रव, vide note 1001.

He places the vessel containing *samsravas* with the top upside down on darbhas to the north of the daiva vessel, with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitṛs.' Then *gandha*, flowers with *tulasi* and *bhṛngarāja* leaves, incense, lamp, garment or cash therefor, *gopīcandana*, sacred chord, betelnut, *kūśas* for pavitra are offered to the pitṛs and he repeats the verse 'idam pitṛbhyah' (Rg. X. 15. 2). After repeating the verse 'yat smṛtyā' (vide above) there is 'savyam'. The performer says 'with your permission I shall prepare maṇḍalas and place the plates'. The response is 'do so'. On the spot where the plates for daiva brāhmanas are to be placed a four-cornered maṇḍala beginning from the south-west to north-east and made with the right hand towards it and on the spot for the plates for pitṛya brāhmanas the maṇḍala is circular beginning from north-east to south-west made with the left hand towards it. Then the plates for the diners are to be placed inside those maṇḍalas. Then taking holy ashes (*apasavyam*) he draws a line round the plates for pitṛya brāhmanas with the mantra 'piśāṅga-bhṛīṣṭim' (Rg. I. 133. 5). Then *savyam*. Then round the plates of the daiva brāhmanas he draws lines with the mantras 'rakṣaṇo' (Rg. IV. 3. 14) and 'brahma ca' (Rg. X. 4. 7) and two more verses (probably Paurāṇic) which pray that the mark made with ashes may guard all, just as Viṣṇu protects the worlds. Just as Viṣṇu renders ineffective the eyes of all men of evil sight, so one should make a maṇḍala with ashes and when this is done there is no blemish in sitting in the same row for dining. Then the purification of the hand (right) of the brāhmanas is done, beginning with the pitṛya brāhmaṇa first. Then the performer requests 'let me perform *agnaukarāṇa* with your permission in the hand<sup>1105</sup> of the (pitṛya) brāhmaṇa.' The reply is 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Taking some cooked food and anointing it with clarified butter and dividing it into parts, having touched the two parts placed towards the south he says 'this for Soma accompanied by the Pitṛs, this for Agni, the carrier of *kavya*' and having spread the left hand underneath the right hand, having cut off portions from the middle and the part to the east according to the rules for *avadānas* <sup>1106</sup>

1105. If there are three brāhmanas to represent the three paternal ancestors, then he should say 'in the hands of the brāhmanas'. The *Nirṇayasindhu* (III. Uttarārdha p. 440) says that a widower performs *agnaukarāṇa* in the hand of the daiva brāhmaṇa.

1106. As laid down in *Āśv. gr* I. 7. 10-12 the अवदानधर्मः are उपस्तरणं द्विजिह्वादानं हविषदानयोश्च प्रत्यभिचारणम्.

and having poured clarified butter on the food in the vessel and on the food cut off for oblations, he should offer the oblations with the words 'To Soma accompanied by pitrs, *svadhā* and adoration; this for Soma with the pitrs and it is not (now) mine' and 'to Agni the bearer of *Kavya*, *svadhā* and adoration; this is for Agni *Kavyavāhana* and not mine.' This is the mode everywhere. He touches water with the left hand and repeats the following (which is called 'samsthā-japa' and occurs in *Āśv. Śr. I. 11.15*) 'Om oṃ me...te namaḥ'. Obolsance to Agni. *Śausti*. Then he prays 'O *Kavyavāhana*! bestow on me faith, memory, glory, intelligence, learning, intellect, wealth, strength, long life, brilliance, health.' He says 'offering has been made on the hand'. The response is 'suhutam'. Then he pours ghee on the vessel containing the food and repeats 'mūrdhānam divaḥ' (*Rg. VI. 7. 1*). Then the brāhmanas should cast the food on their hands in the vessel over which ghee has been poured and then mutter *Trisuparna*,<sup>1107</sup> the hymns to *anna* (*Rg. I. 187. 1-11* and several others) and other hymns. Then certain paurāṇic verses should be repeated, viz. 'Devatā-bhyaḥ' (note 1020), the verse 'one should always recite at a śrāddha these holy places viz *Kurukṣetra*, *Gayā*, *Gangā*, *Prabhāsa* and *Puṣkara*', the two verses<sup>1108</sup> 'saptavyādā' (note 994a) and three more verses, one speaking of adoration to pitrs and the other two praying to *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* for favours. Then *sanjyam*. Then he sprinkles water (*prokṣaṇa*) on the food with the *Gāyatrī* mantra. Then bending his right knee he silently spills water. Then holding the plate with the right hand above and the left hand below he utters the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel<sup>1108a</sup>, the heaven is the lid. I sacrifice thee in the brāhmana's mouth. I sacrifice thee in the *Prāṇa* (breath) and *Apāna* (breath) of learned brāhmapas. Thou art imperishable. Do not perish for these (Fathers) here and in the next world.' Then he repeats 'ato devā' (*Rg. I. 22. 16*) and 'O *Viṣṇu*, guard the sacrificial food'. With the hand

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1107. For *Trisuparna*, vide p. 364 note 862a. The *अनुष्टुप्* are *Rg. I. 187. 1-11*, *IV. 31.1-3* and several others which the brāhmanas are in the habit of reciting in these days.

1108. The meaning of the two verses (in note 994a) viz. *सप्तव्यादः* has been stated above on p. 445.

1108 a. For 'Pṛthivī te pātram' vide note 992.

turned downwards he thrusts in the food (served in the plate) the root of the thumb of the brāhmaṇa turned downwards and should revolve it (in the food) from right to left. Then touching the plate with his left hand the performer should say 'The Viśve devās called Purūrava and Ādrava are the deity, this food is the sacrificial offering, this brāhmaṇa serves as *āhavanīya* fire, this place is Gayā, this brāhmaṇa diner is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, the golden vessel is the shade of the Akṣayyavata (at Gayā). This food together with the flavouring dishes which is already served (in the plate) and which may be served therein (later), is the sacrificial food offered to the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ādrava till this brāhmaṇa is satisfied. Adoration. It is not mine. *Om Tat Sat*. May the food offered at the fourteen spots such as Viṣṇupada at Gayā be inexhaustible!'. So saying he should cast on the ground towards the left side of the plate water mixed with darbhas and yavas. He says 'May Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) of Gayā be pleased'. The brāhmaṇas respond 'May he be pleased'. Then he repeats 'Ye devāso' (Rg. I. 139.11). Then he says 'with the permission of the daiva brāhmaṇas I shall present food to the Father and others'. They reply 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Then silently sprinkling water round the plate, and touching the plate (of the pitrya brāhmaṇa) with the left hand above and the right hand below it, he repeats the formula 'prthivi te pātram...loka' (vide p. 444 note 992) and the verse 'idam Viṣṇur' (Rg. I. 22. 17) and say 'O Viṣṇu! guard the *kavya* food,' he should thrust the root of the thumb of the (pitrya) brāhmaṇa in the food (served in the plate) and revolve it from right to left. Then touching the plate (of the pitrya brāhmaṇa) with the left hand he should say 'the father, grand-father and great-grand-father are *devatā*, this food is of the nature of *kavya*, the brāhmaṇa is in place of the *āhavanīya* fire, this place is Gayā, this dining brāhmaṇa is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, this silver plate is the shade of the Akṣayyavata (at Gayā), svadha to my father, grandfather and great-grandfather named so and so, of gotra so and so, that are Vasu, Rudra and Āditya respectively, this food with the side dishes that is already served in the plate and that may be served (later) is *kavya* up till this brāhmaṇa is satiated. Adoration! It is not mine. *Tat sat*. May the food given at the 14 spots such as Rudrapada at Gayā be inexhaustible. May Gadādhara of Gayā be pleased.' The brāhmaṇa replies 'May he be pleased.' He then repeats the verse 'ye ceha pitaro' (Rg. X. 15. 13) and says 'May the food



intended for the *pitṛs* please them'. Then *śavyam*.<sup>1109</sup> Then *naivedya* is offered with the verse 'brahmārpanam' (Gīta 4. 24) and with three more verses in which Hari is said to be giver and the enjoyer and the food as having both natures viz. those of *pitṛs* and *devas* and ultimately he winds up by saying 'tat sat brahmārpanamastu'. Then *apasavyam*. Then two verses are repeated in which adoration is offered to the feet of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and other gods, in which even remembrance of Gayā-kṣetra is highly eulogised. Adoration to Kāśī Viśveśvara! adoration to Viṣṇu and Gadādhara at Gayā! Then *śavyam*. Then he says 'I shall repeat in your hearing the *madhumatī* verses beginning with 'madhu vāta' (Rg. I. 90. 6-8). Then he repeats the word 'madhu' thrice. The brāhmanas respond 'sumadhu, all food is sweet.' Then *apasavyam*. Then a verse in praise of Viṣṇu (eko Viṣṇur &c.) 'there is one great Being viz. Viṣṇu &c.' is recited and the performer says 'May Janārdana Viṣṇu who has assumed the form of my father, grandfather and great-grandfather be pleased by this feeding of brāhmanas at the pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs'. The response is 'may he be so pleased'. *Tat sat brahmārpanamastu*. Then having given water to the brāhmanas for *apōṣana* <sup>1109a</sup> (then *śavyam*) he says 'partake of (the food) at your pleasure' and 'though art the first layer of nectar'. Then he repeats the mantra <sup>1110</sup> 'fixing myself in faith and in Prāṇa I offer nectar; being beneficent enter me without burning me. Svāhā to Prāṇa'. This is repeated as to Apāna, Vyāna, Udāna, Samāna with the substitution of each of these four remaining life-breaths. Then he winds up 'my soul is in Brahma for the sake of immortality' and then 'svāhā to Brahma'. Then the hands are purified (by washing them with water). After muttering the Gāyatrī verse ten times or three times, he repeats the hymn to Śrāddhā (Rg.

1109. The printed text is विदुष्यः सङ्कल्पितः शीयन्ताम्. This makes hardly any sense. I take that what is intended is विदुन् सङ्कल्पितमन्नं शीयन्तु or पितरः सङ्कल्पितेन (अजेन) शीयन्ताम्.

1109a. 'Apoṣana' literally means 'taking or drinking water'. It is a technical term applied to the sipping of water before beginning a meal with the words 'amṛtopastaranamasi' and after the eating is finished with the words 'amṛtāpidbhānamasi'. Vide Tai. Ā. X. 32, Āp. M. P. II.10.3-4, Āśv. gr. I.24.12, Yāj. I.31 and 106.

1110. The mantras are अद्वायां प्राणे निविष्टोऽद्युतं जुहोमि शिषो माविस्वायदाहाय । प्राणाय स्वाहा । अद्वायामपाने निविष्टोः and so on. प्राणे निविष्टोऽद्युतं जुहोमि अद्वायि न आत्माद्युतत्वाय—is आप. स. पा. II. 20.26. The whole passage from प्राणे निविष्टो to अद्युतत्वाय occurs in तै. आ. X. 34.

X. 151. 1-5). Then the performer requests 'you should ask for what is wanted; seating yourself you should with minds at ease eat at your pleasure. You should take from the foods and vegetables that are cooked and are ready whatever pleases you and should discard what you do not like. You should eat at ease'. They respond 'we partake (of the food)'. He says 'I shall recite the hymns called Rākṣoghna <sup>1111</sup> as far as I can.' They respond 'repeat'. Then towards the end of the dinner a little boiled rice with curds (should be served) and nectar-like Ganges water. He says 'everything is perfect. Ask for whatever you like out of the sacrificial food that is cooked'. They respond 'we have had enough'. He says 'I shall recite the Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90.6-8) in your hearing'. They respond 'recite them'. Then *apasavyam*. He recites Rg. I. 82.2 <sup>1111a</sup> and should say 'The śrāddha called so and so is completed'. They should respond '*susampannam*'. Then *savyam*. He asks 'Ye Viśvedevāḥ! are you satisfied?' They reply 'we are satisfied'. Then *apasavyam*. He asks 'Ye (brāhmaṇas) representing my father, grandfather and great-grandfather! are you satisfied?'. They reply 'We are satisfied'. He asks 'what is to be done with the food that remains?'. They reply 'it may be eaten in the company of your friends (and relatives)'. Then *savyam*.

Then the performer declares that he would perform in the Prati-sāmvatsarika-śrāddha *pindapradāna* (the offering of lumps of rice) together with water and sesamum grains. They reply 'do so'. 'Let food be given to those who take as their share what remains outside the plates of the brāhmaṇa diners'. The performer says <sup>1112</sup> 'May all the (deceased) men and women slaves that were born in the performer's household obtain satisfaction by the food given by me on the ground'. (Then he offers water to the brāhmaṇas with the words) 'thou art the nectarial lid' (or covering). He says 'May the water given to those who hanker for it, who dwell in Padma and Arbuda and

1111. The hymn beginning with कृष्णव पाजः (Rg. IV. 4. 1-15) is called राक्षोघ्न. The first five verses of it are पाज. सं. 13. 9-13. All fifteen verses occur in ते. सं. 14. 1-6. So also are Rg. X. 87 (beginning with रक्षोघ्नं वाजिनमाजिषमि), Rg. VII. 104 (beginning with इन्द्रासोमा तपते रक्ष उज्जते), Rg. X. 118, Rg. X. 162.

1111 a. अक्षमीमद्वन्त द्यव पिषा अपुषत...हरीः This is सं. I. 82.2. पाज. सं. III. 51, ते. सं. I. 8. 5, 2.

1112. Compare मनु III. 246, which is the same as विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.23, मत्स्य 17.57, पद्मपुराण (सुत्रिकण्ड 9. 186).

Raurava (hells) full of pus reach them inexhaustibly'. Then *apasavyam*. He repeats the mantra <sup>1113</sup> 'The asuras and rākṣasas that sit on the altar are struck and driven away' (Vāj. S. II. 29). Sprinkling the ground with water and strewing thereon darbhas cut with one stroke that have their tips turned towards the south-east he says <sup>1114</sup> 'May the Fathers wash themselves, may the grandfathers wash themselves, may the great-grandfathers wash themselves'. In the same way he should sprinkle on the kuśa grass water mixed with sesamum grains for the mothers and the rest. Then he says 'This (food) is for thee, my father named so and so, of such and such gotra, who is (to be contemplated) as Vasu and for those who come here after thee; this is the pinda for thee <sup>1115</sup>, svāhā! This pinda occupying the position of a pinda offered at Gayā is presented to my father named so and so and of such and such gotra and who is in the place of Vasu, it is (now) not mine'. Similar formulas are repeated for the pinda offered to the grandfather (who is styled 'Rudrarūpa' instead of 'Vasurūpa') and to the great-grandfather (who is styled 'Ādityarūpa'). Then he utters 'Tat sat.' 'May whatever is offered in Gayā at the fourteen spots such as Viṣṇupada be inexhaustible'. Then he wipes off on the roots of <sup>1116</sup> the darbhas on which the pindas are placed the particles (of rice, ghee and water) sticking to his hand for the gratification of those that are entitled to the wipings. Having uttered <sup>1117</sup> once over the pindas the mantra 'O fathers; regale yourselves here, come as bulls each to his share', he should turn towards the north with the left side of his body,

1113. He draws with the roots of darbhas as many lines (as the number of pindas offered, 3 or 6) repeating this mantra at each line (Vāj. S. II. 29).

1114. This is taken from आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 14-15 'मेतन्नेनानुग्रहस्य प्राचीनादीन् लेखां त्रिदशकेनोपनयेत् क्षुब्धन्तां पितरः ... प्रपितामहा इति । तस्यां पिण्डान् निवृणीयात् पराञ्चनिपाणिः पित्रे पितामहाय प्रपितामहायैतत्सेऽसौ ये च स्वामन्त्राभ्यति ।'. Compare आप. न. पा. II. 20. 4-7 माज्यन्तां मम पितरो etc. q. in note 1060 above; vide n 1053 for पराञ्चनिपाणिः.

1115. With the food that remains after अग्नीकरण mixed with honey, sesamum grains and ghee pindas are made by the performer or are got made by his wife and are offered by the पितृतीर्थ. Vide note 962.

1116. For लेपभाजः vide n. 1086 above.

1117. Vide n. 960a for अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं... यध्वम् and अमीमद्वन्त पितरो... पीबन्त. The words in the text are taken from आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6.16-21 on पिण्ड-पितृयज्ञ 'निवृत्ताननुमन्त्रयेतात्र पितरो माद... यध्वमिति । सत्यावद्वुद्वन्तवर्ष यथाशक्त्यमाण-जासित्वाभियर्षावृत्त्यामीम... पीबन्तेति । चरोः प्राणमक्षं भक्षयेत्'.

and having held his breath according to his ability he should return to the original position and utter the words 'the Fathers regaled themselves and came like bulls, each to his share' and having smelt the remains of the boiled rice from which pīṇḍas are made from the left side (to the right) he should cast the pīṇḍas (on the darbhas) and should partake of the boiled rice by taking in as much steam and flavour out of it as he can by smelling it. He should say 'my father! N. N. by name, so and so by gotra, apply unctuous substance'; with these words he should anoint the pīṇḍas by means of darbhas with ghee or sesamum oil. And he should apply collyrium to the pīṇḍas with the words 'O father! N. N. by name and so and so by gotra apply collyrium'. He should put on the pīṇḍas unctuous substance, collyrium and garment,<sup>1118</sup> the last being the fringe of a garment or a tuft of wool with the words 'O fathers! this is the garment for you, do not take up any other (garment) than this'. Then *sanyam*. He then says 'I shall offer worship to the pīṇḍas for the prosperity of my family'. He then offers to the pīṭrs present in the pīṇḍas *pūjya*, *arghya*, water or *ācamana*, bath, *gandha*, flowers, *bhr̥ngarāja* leaf, incense, *amṛt* and *naivedya* of *apūpa* (cakes) and *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), *tāmbūla* and *dakṣiṇā*, using the word 'svadhā' after each of them. Then he should worship<sup>1119</sup> them with the mantra 'Fathers! obeisance to you for the sake of food, for strength, for *śusma*, for the non-terrible (*aghora*), for *jīva*, for *rasa*; svadhā to you, O pīṭrs, obeisance to you; these are yours, O pīṭrs! these are ours; we are your living (descendants), may we be alive here!'. He then recites the verses<sup>1120</sup> Rg. X. 57. 3-5. Having thus worshipped them he then (*apasanyam*) with the palm of the hand turned upwards moves the pīṇḍas with the mantra<sup>1121</sup> 'paretana' which means 'O fathers who love soma

1118. Vide आश्व. औ. सू. II. 7.6 'वासो दद्याद् दशमूर्धास्तुका वा पञ्चाङ्गद्वयताया ई स्वं लोम दतद्: पितरो वासो मा नोसोम्यत् पितरो दुग्धमिति'. The text translated based on this; when the performer is over 50 years of age he may place the pīṇḍa the hair from his chest.

1119. नमो वः पितर इवे नमो वः पितर ऊर्जे ... सन्तः स्याम—This passage is *en verbatim* from आश्व. औ. सू. II. 7. 7.

1120. नमो न्या दुग्धमह इति तिसृभिः । आश्व. औ. सू. II. 7. 8. आय. औ. सू. I. 5 calls them *मन्त्रवर्ती* verses, as the word *मन्* occurs in each of the three.

1121. परेतन—compare ते. सं. I. 8. 5. 2 'परेत पितरः सोम्या गम्भीरैः पथिभिः'. The 2nd half is different. The आश्व. औ. सू. II. 7. 8 says that he should pour a stream of water with this mantra on the pīṇḍas which represent the Fathers for the three being.

drink! Go away by the sombre ancient paths, after bestowing on us wealth and endow us here with auspicious prosperity and all valiant sons'. He should repeat thrice the prayer 'O fathers! bestow on us a valiant son' <sup>1121</sup>.

Then *sanyam*. On the ground near the plates of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas he scatters food together with yavas and water with the verse 'I shall offer food scattered (*vikīra*) near the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas to those gods to whom no soma drink is offered and who are bereft of a share in sacrifices; this scattered food is offered to Viśvedevas who do not partake of the soma drink; it is not (now) mine'. Then *apasavyam*. He says 'I shall offer food scattered near *pitrya* brāhmaṇas on the ground covered with darbhas to those who died without the *samskāras* being performed for them and to those women of my family who left the family (for bad deeds); this scattered food is presented to those boys and girls that came out of the womb; it is not mine'. So saying he strews food with water and sesamum seeds and then says after reciting Rg. X. 15.14 'this *piṇḍa* made from the remainder of the food and occupying the position that a *piṇḍa* given at Gayā occupies, has been offered to those persons who were born in my family and died and who were cremated or were not cremated; this is not mine'. So saying he offers near the *pitrya* brāhmaṇas a ball of rice and water mixed with sesamum grains.

Then he washes his hands and feet, sips water twice and puts on his finger a *pavitra* with the mantra 'pavitravantah' (Rg. IX. 73. 3). He then requests that the water in the hands of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas be auspicious (or beneficial). The brāhmaṇas reply 'may the waters be auspicious.' In the same way there are requests for goodwill, for protection due to yavas, for long life, welfare, peace, prosperity, contentment and responses by the *daiva* brāhmaṇas giving blessings as to these. Then *apasavyam*. Then the same request for auspiciousness of waters, goodwill, protection by sesamum grains &c. and blessings about them by *pitrya* brāhmaṇas. Then the performer requests 'may my family increase (or prosper) and may the procedure of worshipping the *piṇḍas* be good,' to which the *pitrya* brāhmaṇas respond 'may

1122. **कीरं मे वृत्त पितरः**—If the wife desires a son then with this mantra the middle *piṇḍa* is given over to her and she eats it with the mantra **आयुस्त पितरो वर्धन्तु**. Vide note 780 for that mantra. The **आम्ब. श्री. सू. II. 7. 12-13** says 'कीरं मे वृत्त पितर इति पिण्डानां मन्त्रमम् । परत्री यन्मन्त्रेवायत्त ... तदिति ।'.

it be so.' Then raising the *pranīṭā* <sup>1122a</sup> vessel the performer requests 'May you say that the water and food and the like offered in the Pratisāmvatsarikaśrāddha to pitṛ, pitāmaha and prapitāmaha, so and so by name and gotra, be inexhaustible.' The *pitṛya* brāhmanas reply 'so be it.' Then *śanyam*. The same request is made to the *daiva* brāhmanas and the reply is the same. Then gold is given to the *daiva* brāhmanas and silver to *pitṛya* brāhmanas and the performer says 'may the *dakṣiṇās* (fees) given to the brāhmanas that ate the śrāddha dinner protect (me).' They reply 'may they do so.' Then he says 'I shall request you to utter the word *svadhā*!' They reply 'do so.' Then *apasavyam*. Then he says 'May (the brāhmanas representing) father, grandfather and great-grandfather utter the word *svadhā*.' They reply 'let there be *svadhā*.' Then he should place over the *piṇḍas* sesamum grains and water. Then he says 'May you declare that *svadhā* be accomplished.' They reply 'may *svadhā* be accomplished.' Then *śanyam*. Then he says 'may you say that the gods led by Agni be pleased.' They reply 'may the *Viśvedevāḥ* be pleased.' Then *apasavyam*. Then he requests 'May you declare that the *pitṛs* led by the *Vasus* be pleased'. They reply 'may the *pitṛs* be pleased.' *Śanyam*. He says 'May you declare that there is accomplishment of the *saukalpa*' (made at the beginning of the rite). They reply 'May there be accomplishment of the *saukalpa*'. He asks 'were the vegetables and cooked food liked by the *pitṛs*'. They reply 'they were most excellent'. Then the performer decks himself by applying sandal paste to his forehead. After doing obeisance to the *piṇḍas* he requests for blessings for his family (which are the same as those set out above from the *Padma-purāṇa* on p.452 above) and one more blessing 'May persons beg of us but may we not beg of any one' (vide n. 998). The brāhmanas reply in the same words only employing the words 'you' or 'your' for 'us' or 'our'.

He says 'I shall remove the *piṇḍas*'. They reply 'do remove'. Then he repeats the verses 'Tad Viṣṇoḥ' (Rg. I. 22.20), 'Tad vipṛāso' (Rg. I. 22.21) and two more verses and then a Paurāṇic verse enumerating the seven holy cities of Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantikā and Dvārakā. He says 'May there be peace, prosperity and contentment on the spot where the *piṇḍas* are'. They reply 'these (peace &c.) dwell in their own places'. He says 'I shall

1122 a. For *प्रतिप्राण* vide H. of Db. vol. II. pp. 208, 1022-23.

remove the plates 'in which the brāhmanas had their dinner.' Then he lays aside the *kūrca*. He then recites the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38. 8). Then *śavyam*. Then he says 'O pitṛa, get up together with the devas' and repeats the verses 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), 'śvāduṣamsadaḥ' (Rg. VI. 75. 9), 'brāhmanāsaḥ pitarāḥ' (Rg. VI. 75. 10), 'ihaiva stam' (Rg. X. 85. 42). Then he recites 'may the grand-fathers being pleased grant to men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa*, happiness and kingdom' (Yāj. I. 270, but reads 'prayacchantu' for 'prayacchanti'). Then he prays 'May these blessings turn out to be true, may my family prosper, may this Pratisāmvatsarika-śrāddha have the same fruits as that of a śrāddha performed at Gaya! May the pitṛs secure inexhaustible gratification.' Then he proceeds 'Today my birth has had its reward by bowing to your feet &c.' (vide n. 999 for the two verses repeated here). The brāhmanas reply 'we forget the trouble and excuse you.' Then he says 'Today this *tithi* is like a day sacred to the sun; the brāhmanas invited are like Vyāsa, Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva; may you declare that whatever is lacking as regards seats, dinner, mantras, procedure, materials and fees in this pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs performed by me today become all perfect at the words of brāhmanas'. They reply 'May all be perfect'. Then he recites the two verses 'Vasiṣṭhāsaḥ pitṛvad' and 'devān vasiṣṭho' (Rg. X. 66. 14-15) and then at the end he repeats the verse containing a salutation (the word 'namah') viz. 'idam pitṛbhyo namo astvadya' (Rg. X. 15. 2). Therefore at the end (of a śrāddha rite) one does obeisance to the pitṛs (in the words 'namo vaḥ pitaro &c.'). Therefore they say "should one repeat the pitṛyā verses with āhāva mantra specially recited with each verse or without repeating the āhāva mantra separately with each verse; for it is better not to finish Pitṛyajña quickly. He who separately recites the āhāva with each verse makes the *pitṛyajña* that is imperfect, complete and therefore one must recite specially employing the āhāva with each verse."<sup>1123</sup> The conclusion is

1123. The words in the प्रयोग (p. 108a) are 'इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्योति नमस्कारवतीमन्ततः शंसति तस्मादन्ततः पितृभ्यो नमस्कृत्यते। तदाहुर्गर्गोदार्थं पित्र्याः शंसेत् अग्न्याहवार्थं इति। व्याह्वयमेव शंसेत्संस्थितं वै पितृपञ्चस्य साध्यसंस्थितं वा एव पितृपञ्चं संस्थापयति यो व्याह्वयं शंसति तस्माद् व्याह्वयमेव शंसत्यम्'। The passage इदं पितृभ्यो नमो... up to शंसत्यम् is taken verbatim from the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण 13th chapter 13th khaṇḍa (end). The khaṇḍa (13) starts with the question whether the

(Continued on the next page)

one should repeat each verse with āhava separately uttered. The performer should follow the brāhmaṇas up to the boundary (of the village). He says 'whatever blemish there may be in *japa*, *tapas* or *śrāddha* rite—may all that become free from blemish by the favour of brāhmaṇas. I do adoration to that Acyuta (Viṣṇu) by remembering whom &c. O best of brāhmaṇas! may this *śrāddha*, even if devoid of mantras, or of some rite or of faith, become perfect by your favour'. Then he concludes 'May Janārdana Vāsudeva who assumes the forms of father, grand-father and great-grand-father be pleased by this sacrifice, viz. the pratisāmvatsarika-*śrāddha* of the pitrs. This is a sacrifice to the manes. *Tat sat*. May it be dedicated to Brahma.' Then he repeats the verse 'Vasat te' (Rg. VII. 99. 7) and then says 'adoration to Viṣṇu (Viṣṇave namaḥ) thrice and sips water twice. The fruit of offering pinda is stated by Bṛhaspati and Vṛddha-Parāśara as follows: If the pitrs are in the world of gods they are gratified by the food offered in fire, if they are in the world of pitrs they are gratified by the dinner to brāhmaṇas and if in hell they are gratified by the balls offered on the ground.<sup>1123a</sup>

Comparing the above rather elaborate and exhaustive procedure with the procedure of pratisāmvatsarika-*śrāddha* as

(Continued from the last page)

verse 'devānām patnīr' (Rg. V. 46. 6) or the rk verse referring to Rākā should be recited first in the आग्रिमाकृतज्ञान वृत्तीयस्तवन. The conclusion reached is that the verse referring to देवपत्नीस should be recited first by the होतृ. In the same context a question is raised whether the Yāmī verse (Rg. X. 14.4 'Imam yama prastaram') or the Pitryā verses (Rg. X. 15.1-3) should be recited first. The conclusion is that the यामी verse should be first recited, then the Kāvya verse (Rg. X. 14. 3 'Mātali kavyair') and then the pitryā verses, out of which Rg. X. 15. 2 (इहं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्तुवा) is recited last in which the word नमः occurs. आहवा means the mantra शोरेसावोरेन्. The figure 3 is a sign of the हुत accent. The sign of हुत shows deliberation. आहुः—we have to understand ब्रह्मवादिनः as the subject. Then comes the question whether the आहवा should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses or not. The conclusion is that the आहवा should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses. Apparently it is rather difficult to say why this passage of the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण should occur in this मन्त्रेण. The only reason appears to be that the ऐ. ब्रा. passage has something to say about पितृस and hence as this is a मन्त्रेण for पितृस it is introduced here.

1123 a. पिण्डदानकृतमाह बृहस्पतिः । अग्नौ हुतेन देवस्थाः पितृरथा द्विजतर्पणैः । नरक-  
स्थायं वृत्त्यग्निं पिण्डैर्वैपैस्त्रिभिर्भुवि ॥ ब्रह्मपराभरोपे । ये वेष्टोक्तं पितृलोकमापुः प्राप्तास्तथैव  
नरकं नरा ये । अग्नौ हुतेन द्विजभोजनेन वृत्त्यन्तु पिण्डैर्भुवि ते प्रवर्त्ते ॥ q. in पृथ्वीचन्द्र  
folio 110 b.



practised in Madras in these days only a few points of differences in detail emerge. In the Madras procedure the numerous mantras as set out above (p. 448) do not occur nor does the Tai. A. passage occur therein, but the verses in praise of the dust of brāhmaṇa's feet do occur. Most of the mantras both Vedic and Paurāṇic are the same. The blessings (śīr-vādas) in the Madras manual are more elaborate and include even the performer's cattle in the blessing of health and long life. In the Madras manual several mantras are set out as 'annasūkta' mantras in the procedure itself. The Madras paddhati adds at the end the well known verse 'kāyena vācā manasendriyairvā'.

The procedure for Yajurvedins of the Mādhyandina Śākha in Bengal as set out by Raghunandana in his Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva is entirely based on the 2nd and 3rd kaṇḍikas of the Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana. The Pārvaṇaśrāddha-prayoga in Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇasarvasva closely follows Kātyāyana and I am assured by a careful student of Dharmasāstra that the procedure of pārvaṇaśrāddha followed by Mādhyandinas at Bhatpara in Western Bengal is in strict conformity with the procedure laid down by Raghunandana. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana is translated here with some explanations and additions made by Halāyudha and Raghunandana and the whole text, being not very extensive, is given in the note below<sup>1124</sup>.

1124. वैश्वरूपं आहं पिण्डपितृयज्ञस्यनुपचारः पित्र्ये। हिमुणास्तु दर्भाः पवित्रपाणिर्व्या-  
 दासीनः सर्वत्र। मन्त्रेण पङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यं पृच्छति सर्वान्वा। आसनेषु दर्भान्नास्तीत्यं विश्वान् देवाना-  
 वाहयिष्य इति पृच्छत्यावाहयेत्यनुज्ञातो विभे देवास आगतेत्यनयावाह्यावकीर्यं विश्वेदेवाः  
 क्षुप्तंतेममिति जपित्वा पित्रुणावाहयिष्य इति पृच्छत्यावाहयेत्यनुज्ञात उदात्तरत्वेत्यनयावाह्याव-  
 कीर्यं आपन्तु न इति जपित्वा यज्ञियवृक्षाच्चमसेषु पवित्रास्ताहितेभ्येकैकस्मिन्नाप आसिञ्जति ई नो  
 वेपारिति। एकैकस्मिन्नेव तिलानावपति तिलोस्ति क्षोमदेवयो मासेष्वे देवानिमितः। परममग्निः  
 पृक्तः स्वधया पित्रुल्लोकान् पीणाहि नः स्वाहेति। सौर्यणाजतीदुष्परकङ्कमणिमयानां पात्राणाम-  
 श्यतमेषु यानि वा विद्यन्ते यत्र पुष्टेयु वैकैकरूपैकैकेन वृद्धाति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु वा दिव्या आपः  
 पयसा सम्भृष्टुर्षा अन्तरिक्षा उत पार्थैर्यथा। हिरण्यवर्णा यज्ञियास्ता न आपः शिवाः  
 ई रथोनाः क्षुधा भवन्त्विति। आसनेष्वे तेऽर्थे इति। प्रथमे पात्रे संव्रावास्तमनोनीप पितृषः  
 स्थानमसीति स्मृजं पात्रं निदधति। अत्र मधुपुण्डरीकावाससां च प्रदानम्। उद्धृत्य घृताक-  
 मर्षं पृच्छत्यग्नीं कारिष्य इति। कुरुष्वेत्यनुज्ञातः पिण्डपितृयज्ञस्यदुत्सा हुतशेषं दत्त्वा पात्रमात्मन्य-  
 जपति पृथिवी मे पात्रं पौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्य सुखे अमृते अमृतं अमृतो ह्यहोनि स्वाहेति। वैष्णववर्णा  
 यजुषा वाकुष्ठमन्त्रेऽनयावापयता इति तिलाग्र्यकीर्यं उष्णं दिशमर्षं वृधाम्भक्तया वा। अमृतम्  
 जपेद् व्याहृतिपूर्वां नाथर्षां सप्रणवां सकृत्त्रिर्वां राक्षोऽग्नीः पितृयमग्न्यान् पुनश्चक्रमकमप्रतिरेयमयानि  
 च पवित्राणि। वृषाःत्र्यक्षात्वाऽर्षं प्रकीर्यं सकृत्सकृदप्यो दत्त्वा पूर्ववदावर्षीं जपित्वा मधुमतींमधु  
 मतिविति च। दत्ताः स्थेति पृच्छति। वृषाः स्मृत्यनुज्ञातः क्षोमक्षममनुज्ञात्वं सर्वमक्षमेकतोद्धृत्यो-

(Continued on the next page)

"The pārvana-śrāddha is preceded by the rite for Viśvedevas. The procedure follows that of Piṇḍapitryajña<sup>1124a</sup>. In the rites for the pitṛs double-folded darbhas are to be used (while in Vaiśvadevika rite straight darbhas are used). Whenever any thing is to be gifted, the performer (in all daiva as well as pitṛya rites) wears a *pavitra* and makes the gift sitting. (When questions are to be asked) the performer puts the question to the most eminent in the row of diners (to the best daiva brāhmaṇa in daiva rites and to the best pitṛya brāhmaṇa in pitṛya rites) or he may put the question to all (and the reply is given by one or by all). Spreading darbhas on the seats (he makes the brāhmaṇas occupy them), he puts the question 'shall I invoke the Viśvedevas (to the daiva brāhmaṇa)'. Being permitted (by the daiva brāhmaṇas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes the Viśvedevas with the mantra<sup>1125</sup> 'Viśve devāsa āgata' (Vāj. S. 7. 34 'Ye All Gods, come, listen to this my call and sit down on this darbha grass'). Then he scatters yavas (in front of the brāhmaṇas), mutters a mantra 'Viśvedevāḥ śruputemam' (Vāj. S. 33. 53, 'Ye All Gods, hear this call of mine'). After this *japa* he asks (the pitṛya brāhmaṇas) 'I shall invoke the pitṛs'. When permitted (by the pitṛya brāhmaṇas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes them with the mantra 'uśantas tvā' (Vāj. S. 19. 70, 'O Agni! we longing for our fathers place you down' &c.). Then he scatters (sesamum

(Continued from the last page)

विष्टसमीपे दर्भेषु बीजैर्मिच्छान्नवनेज्य दद्यादावाग्लोदित्येके । आवाग्लोदकं पुष्पाप्यक्षता-  
क्षत्योदकं च दद्यात् । अथोराः पितरः सन्तु सन्तित्युक्ते गोत्रं नो वर्धता वर्धतामित्युक्ते-दातारो  
नोभिषर्धता देवाः सन्ततिरेव च । अद्वा च नो मा वयमद्वा देवं च नोस्तिस्त्वाक्षिषः मतिरुद्ध  
स्वधावाचनीयारसपवित्रान् कुशानास्तीर्य स्वधा वाचयिष्ये इति पुच्छति । वाचयतामिर्यनुज्ञातः  
पितृभ्यः पितामहेभ्यः प्रपितामहेभ्यो मातामहेभ्यः प्रमातामहेभ्यो ब्रह्मप्रमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वधोव्यता-  
मिति । अस्तु स्वधेत्युच्यमाने स्वधावाचनीयेष्वप्यो निषिञ्जत्यूर्जमिति । उत्तानं पात्रं कृत्वा यथा-  
शक्ति दक्षिणां दद्याद् आह्वानेभ्यो विभ्रे देवाः प्रोयन्तामिति क्षेत्रे वाचयित्वा वाजे वाजेऽवतेति  
विष्टुज्या मा वाजस्वेत्यनुब्रज्य प्रदक्षिणीकृत्योपविसेत् ।

1124 a. पिण्डपि ... चारः—so the result is: अपराहः कालः, आहकृतः प्राचीना-  
धीतिता, दक्षिणाभिष्टुक्षता, वामजाग्रुनिपातः, विष्टुतीर्थ, अमादक्षिण्यं, दक्षिणापवर्गता, दर्भणां  
दक्षिणाग्रता चेत्यादयः पैतृकाः धर्माः. From this it follows that in वैश्वदेविकमाह्वानो-  
पचार there are यज्ञोपवीतिता, कर्तृवचकुक्षता, दक्षिणजाग्रुनिपातः, क्षेत्रतीर्थ, प्रादक्षिण्यं,  
उद्धपवर्गता, वामग्रता चेत्यादयो वैश्विकधर्माः. There are of course a few exceptions  
to the first part, such as दक्षिणादान, स्तोत्रजप and विमविस्मर्जन.

1125. It may be noted that almost all mantras quoted by Kātyāyana are very apt and appropriate for the purposes for which they are to be repeated. For reasons of space the full texts and translation of the mantras could not be given here.

grains in front of the pitrya brāhmanas) and mutters the mantra 'a yantu naḥ pitarāḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58, 'May the soma-loving pitrs come to us' &c.). Then he pours water in each of the cups made of a sacrificial tree (such as palāśa, udumbara &c.), in which a pavitra is dipped with the mantra 'śan no devīr' (Vāj. S. 36. 12, 'May the divine waters be for our happiness' &c.). (He puts yavas in the vessel for daiva rite). He puts in each of the cups sesamum grains with the mantra 'Thou art Tila <sup>1126</sup> &c.'. He offers on the hands of each of the brāhmanas (first daiva and then pitrya) that wear a pavitra water in a vessel made of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or precious stone or in whatever vessels may be available or in vessels made of bunches of leaves with the mantra 'yā divyā <sup>1127</sup> āpaḥ &c.'. The water is offered in the words 'O father' N. N. by name, this is *arghya* for you' (and then to other ancestors). Having mixed together in the first vessel (meant for the father) the drops of water remaining in the other vessels <sup>1128</sup> for other ancestors, he puts down on the ground the first vessel face downwards with the words 'thou art a place for the pitrs'. Then (at this stage) *ganḍha* <sup>1129</sup> (sandalwood paste), flowers, incense, lamp and garment are offered (to the brāhmanas representing the ancestors).

Having taken out in another vessel some food from out of the food already cooked for śrāddha and having anointed it with ghee he (the performer) asks 'I shall perform *agnau-karaṇa*'. Being permitted by the brāhmanas in the words 'do so', he offers into (grhya) fire oblations <sup>1130</sup> as in *Pipda-*

1126. तिलोति. This mantra occurs in आश्व. सू. सू. quoted in note 966 above. हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that यवस are to be scattered with the mantra 'यवोऽस्ति यवयास्मद् द्वयो यवयारासीः' (वाज. सं. 5.26) and sesamum grains are to be scattered with the mantra अवहता अमुरा रकांसि वेदिवदः (वाज. सं. 2.29). Vide वा. I, 230.

1127. For the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या etc.' vide note 966 above.

1128. There are six ancestors, three paternal and three maternal and therefore six vessels; drops of water from five vessels are poured into the first vessel. रघुनन्दन adds that the first vessel is covered with the vessel for great-grandfather and is then put down with top downwards. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व explains 'तत्र य पितरस्तिष्ठन्तीति हृदस्पतिः। आहूतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः आहूदेयताः'.

1129. रघुनन्दन adds 'गन्धादीनां हृद्गन्धिर्दोषान्मलितानामेष तन्त्रेण पित्रादिक-मुद्दिश्य उःसर्गः'.

1130. Both हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that the two मन्त्रस in अग्नीकरण are 'ओं अग्नये कण्वयाहुमाय स्वाहा, ओं सोमाय वितुमते स्वाहा'.

pitrayajña, having served (into all the plates for all the brāhmanas invited) the food that remains after being offered in fire, he touches with his hands (above and below each plate) and repeats the mantra 'The earth is thy vessel &c.' (notes 992, 1108a). (He keeps some food aside for making pinḍas later on). Then (having served the food in the plates) he plunges the thumb of the brāhmanas in the food with a ṛk (Rg. I. 22. 17, 'idam Viṣṇur vicakrame') addressed to Viṣṇu or with a Yajus so addressed ('Viṣṇo kavyamidam rakṣasva'). Then he scatters about (yavas before daiva brāhmanas silently and) sesamum grains with the mantra 'apahatā asurā rakṣāṃsi vedisadaḥ' (Vaj. S. 2. 29). Then he should serve hot food very much liked (by diners or by the departed) or he may serve such food as he can afford. While the brāhmanas are engaged in eating (the dinner) he should perform *japa* of the following<sup>1131</sup>, viz. the sacred Gāyatri once or thrice preceded by *om* and the vyāhṛtis, the verses called Rakṣoghni (note 1111), mantras addressed to the pitṛs (Rg. X. 15. 1-13 beginning with 'udiratām-avara ut parāśah'), Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1-16), Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1-13) beginning with 'āsuḥ śiśanaḥ') and other holy texts. Then finding that the brāhmanas are satiated with food, he should scatter some food in front of the dining brāhmanas, he should give to each brāhmana water once (for *apōtana* at the end of dinner). Then he should mutter as before the Gāyatri, the (three) Madhumati verses (Rg. I. 90. 6-8) and the word 'madhu' (thrice). Then he asks 'are you satiated'. Being permitted by them in the words 'we are satiated', he makes them give their consent as to the rest of the food, collects together all food in one vessel (in order to make pinḍas from it); he offers (two sets of three pinḍas, three for paternal ancestors and three for maternal ancestors) on darbhas near the spot where<sup>1132</sup> the brāhmanas dined and left uneaten food in plates and pours water over the pinḍas for ablution<sup>1133</sup>. Some authors say that pinḍas are to

1131. It may be noted that in Bengal the numerous verses that are prescribed here for *japa* are apparently not muttered in modern times.

1132. उचिष्ठसमीपे-ब्रह्मचर notes 'ब्राह्मणानामन्तोऽं मकिरेदिति कर्काचार्याः । पङ्क्तिर्मूर्धन्यरोत्तरदिग्भावे अरन्निभावे विकिरं दद्यादिति हेमाद्रिः'.

1133. एकतोद्वय is grammatically irregular; It should be एकत उद्वय. The पिण्डs are offered to paternal ancestors with their wives (सप्तस्रीक) and to maternal ancestors with their wives. The formula would be; अनुकरोष्व  
(Continued on the next page)

be offered after the brāhmaṇas perform *ācamana* at the end of the dinner. After they perform *ācamana* he gives to the brāhmaṇas water, flowers, *akṣatas* and *akṣayyodaka* <sup>1134</sup>. Then he prays for the following blessings. He prays 'may the pitrs be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us'. The brāhmaṇas reply 'may they be so'. He prays 'May our family prosper'. They reply 'may it be so'. He prays 'May donors increase in our family'. They reply 'let it be so'. He prays 'May Vedas and our progeny prosper'. The reply is 'May they do so'. He says 'May faith not depart from me'; they say 'May it not depart'. He says 'May we possess many things that we can donate'. They reply 'so be it'. After receiving these blessings he spreads kuśas called *svadhāvācaniya* <sup>1134a</sup> together with pavitras (on the ground near the pīṇdas or, on the pīṇdas themselves according to Devayājñika and others); he asks (all the brāhmaṇas or the most eminent one) 'shall I request you to utter the word *svadhā*'. Being permitted by them in the words 'May *svadhā* be recited' he prays 'May there be *svadhā* to the pitrs, to the grandfathers, to the great-grand-fathers, to the maternal grandfather, maternal great-grandfather and maternal great-great-grandfather'. When the brāhmaṇas reply 'May there be *svadhā*' he sprinkles water over the *svadhāvācaniya* darbhas with the mantra 'ūrjam vahantīr' (Vāj. S. II. 34). Then he turns the vessel top upwards (which had been placed with top downwards) and he should give to the brāhmaṇas *dakṣiṇā* according to his ability. He should make the daiva brāhmaṇas repeat 'May all the gods be pleased'. He should then dismiss the brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S. 9. 18), he should follow the brāhmaṇas (up to the village boundary) with the mantra 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), circumambulate them and then enter his own house.

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अस्मात्पितरमुकसमन् सपत्नीकं बहुकूप एतत्सेऽन्नं स्वधा । इदममुकगोत्रावास्मात्पित्रेऽमुकसमन्ने सपत्नीकाय बहुकूपाय न नमः । The same formula with appropriate changes is to be employed for पितामह, मातामह, etc. Some writers proposed that nine pīṇdas may be offered, three to पितृवर्ग, three to मातृवर्ग and three to मातामहवर्ग. हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1445 and 1447) provides that a line for मातृवर्ग should be drawn to the west of the one for पितृवर्ग and another line to the west of the one for मातृवर्ग for मातामहवर्ग and विष्णु should be offered in that order.

1134. On अक्षयोदक, ब्रह्मधर explains 'अक्षयोदकसम्यगेन दत्ताक्षयामदेरानम्य-मार्थमसम्बन्धि जलमभिधीयते । तत्र पितृमातृगणस्य एवेति कर्कः । सर्वेभ्यो दद्यादिति स्मृत्यर्थतरे ।'

1134 a. सपत्निनाम् कुसमास्तीर्य-कर्क and ब्रह्मधर explain 'सपत्निनाम्सामानि-त्यर्थः ।'

It is to be noted that in the Bengal Manual of Pārvaṇaśrāddha based on the Brāhmaṇasarvasva of Halāyudha and also on Raghunandana's Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva the following details are added after the piṇḍas are placed on the darbhas and before the dismissal of the brāhmaṇas. He turns towards the north and says 'O pīṭṛs, regale yourselves here and come like bulls each to his portion.' Then he turns round to his former position and says 'the pīṭṛs regaled themselves and came like bulls each to his own share.' Then he loosens <sup>1135</sup> the side of his *dhōṭī* which has been tucked up and then folds up his hands (i.e. offers six namaskāras) with the mantra <sup>1136</sup> 'Namo vaḥ pīṭaro rasāya' (Vāj. S. II. 32). He smells <sup>1137</sup> the piṇḍas and gives the middle one to his wife, if she desires a son, with the mantra 'adhatta' (Vāj. S. II. 33).

From considerations of space the procedure of pārvaṇaśrāddha among Hiranyakeśins in modern times is passed over here. Moreover, it closely resembles the procedure in Āśv. Gr. set out above, the principal difference being that some of the mantras are different. The Saṃskāratnamālā of Gopinātha deals with this from p. 985 onwards. But one noticeable feature of this last work is that of making hair-splitting distinctions. On p. 985 it refers to two śrāddhas (other than piṇḍa-pīṭṛ-yajña) to be performed on amāvāsyā, viz. *māsi-śrāddha* and *māsika-śrāddha*, the first being described by the Dharmasūtra of Hiranyakeśin and the second by the Grhyasūtra. Gopinātha further says that māsikaśrāddha is the model of the other śrāddhas described in the Grhyasūtra and māsiśrāddha is the model of śrāddhas described in the Dharmasāstras, such as Mahālayaśrāddha or Sāmvatsarika-śrāddha, that Darśaśrāddha itself is māsi-śrāddha (p. 988) and that māsika-śrāddha may be performed on each *darśa* or on any one darśa day in a year and that māsi-śrāddha follows immediately after Piṇḍapīṭṛyajña as

1135. About जीवीपितृभ्यो नमो वदति, vide शतपथ q. in n. 960a. हज्जयाज्ञवल्क्य says 'दास्येने कविसेने तु तिलैः सह कुशमयम् ।'

1136. नमो वः पितरो रसाय-vide note 963 above. रघुनन्दन (चतुर्वेदविद्यासूत्रम्) remarks that in नमो वः पितरो रसाय...सम्बन्धे he offers obeisance to the pīṭṛs (identifying them with the six seasons, that in 'namo vaḥ pīṭarāḥ' (Vāj. S. 2.32) he offers namaskāra to the pīṭṛs as identified with Agni Kavyavāhana and then prays to the pīṭṛs to bestow on them a house in the words 'namo vo grhān naḥ pīṭaro datta' Vāj. S. 2. 32).

1137. Vide Manu III. 218 अवाजिमेव तान् पिच्छान् and note 960 towards the end.

laid down by Manu (III 122) and *māsikaśrāddha* may be performed after *māsiśrāddha*. In modern times no one performs *māsiśrāddha* or *māsikaśrāddha* strictly in accordance with the ancient rules. *Śrāddha* is supposed to be performed by feeding a *brāhmaṇa* and giving him a *dakṣiṇā* of a few *annas*. The *Śrāddhatattva* (Jiv., part 1 p. 254) provides, after quoting Matsya and Bhaviṣya, that, if a person is unable to perform a *pārvaṇaśrāddha* every month, he should perform one at least thrice a year when the sun is in the zodiacal signs of Kanyā, Kumbha and Vṛṣabha and that if he is unable to perform even thrice then he should perform at least once when the sun is in the sign of Kanyā.

The two meanings of *sapinda* given by the Mit. and the *Dayabhāga* have already been explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 452-458 and pp. 472-477. The *Dayabhāga* propounded the theory that whoever conferred greater spiritual benefit on the deceased by the performance of *śrāddhas* and the offering of *pinḍas* was entitled to be preferred as an heir to the deceased's wealth. The Mit. said that heirship depended on blood relationship and the nearest in blood to the deceased was the preferential heir. But even under the Mit. whoever took the wealth of the deceased was bound to pay his debts (Yāj. II 51) and to offer *śrāddha* and *pinḍa* to him. This subject and the several propositions deduced from the texts have been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 734-745.

One thing to be remembered is that in determining the preferential right regard is to be had to the capacity of a person and the efficacy of the *pinḍas* when offered. After a person takes the wealth of the deceased, there is no legal machinery to enforce his duty to offer *pinḍas*<sup>1138</sup>. It was argued in *Nalinaksha v. Rajani Kanto* 35 C. W. N. 726 that, if an heir does not offer *pinḍas* or refuses to offer them to his ancestor, he was not entitled under Hindu Law to succeed to him. This argument was repelled by the judges with the remark that there was no authority for such a proposition and that the right to inheritance is based under the *Dayabhāga* not on offering *pinḍa* but on the capacity to offer it (p. 729). Vide *Gooroo Gobinda Saha v. Anand Lal* 5 Beng. L. R. 15 (F. B.) and *Digamber v. Motilal* 9 Cal. 563 (F. B.) for the statement that the principle of spiritual benefit is the sole foundation of the theory of in-

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1138. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 740 and note 1431.

heritance propounded in the *Dāyabhāga*. But in certain later cases such as *Akshaya-chandra v. Hari Das* 35 Cal. 721 it was rightly pointed out that spiritual benefit is not always the guiding principle under the Bengal school of law, that the principle of spiritual efficacy as the guiding principle fails in all classes of female relations such as the wife, the daughter and the mother whose rights are really based on special texts and that the reason for inheritance by a re-united coparcener was not spiritual benefit but was based on a *quasi* contract and affection.

The question about how *śrāddha* was to be performed if one or more of the three paternal ancestors were alive engaged the thoughts of writers from very ancient times. The *Āśv.* <sup>1139</sup> Śr. S. (II 6. 16-23) first sets out the views of *Gāṇagāri*, *Taulvali* and *Gautama* and then refutes them. *Gāṇagāri* held that out of the three paternal ancestors *piṇḍas* should be offered to those that were dead and those that were alive should be honoured in person, since the *śrāddha* rite is meant for pleasing the ancestors; *Taulvali* opined that *piṇḍas* should be offered to all the three ancestors, whether living or dead, since in the rite of *śrāddha* they are only a secondary matter (a detail). *Gautama* thought that *piṇḍas* should be offered to dead ancestors, upto three from the father if the latter was living, from the grand-father if he was alive and from the great-grandfather if all the three be living. *Āśv.* replies; one cannot offer *piṇḍas* to three ancestors <sup>1140</sup> beyond the father, grand-father or great-grandfather, since one has no *adhikāra* to do so; one cannot offer *piṇḍas* to an ancestor after whom there is an ancestor (within three degrees) living. One may offer *homa* into fire to those that are alive. (If all three ancestors are alive) all the three *piṇḍas* must be cast into fire or he may not begin the rite at all. The *Kātyāyana śr.* <sup>1141</sup> *sūtra* provides

1139. तस्मै तस्मै च एषां प्रेताः स्मरन्ति वाजपयिः प्रत्यक्षपितृपुत्रानर्हयेत् तदर्थत्वात् । सर्वेष्वेव निष्पृणीयादिति तौल्बलिः क्रियायुजत्वात् । अपि जीवान् एव अत्र त्रिभ्यः प्रेतेभ्य एव निष्पृणीयादिति गौतमः क्रिया कार्यकारिता । उपायविशेषो जीवसुतानाम् । न परंपरोऽनधिकारात् । न प्रत्यक्षम् । न जीवेभ्यो निष्पृणीयात् । न जीवान्मर्हतेभ्यः । अनुवाकविशेषः । सर्वहुतं सर्वजीविनः । आन्व. श्रौ. II. 6. 16-23.

1140. One can offer *piṇḍas* only to three ancestors beginning with the father according to Vedic passages quoted in notes 958, 960a above and *Manu* IX. 186. So there is no ancient authority to offer *piṇḍa* to 4th or 5th or 6th ascendant.

1141. प्रेतेभ्यो ब्रह्मति । जीवत्पितृकोपि । जीवान्मर्हतेषु । जीवपितृकस्य होमान्तमनारम्भो वा । न व्यक्तेः आपृकस्यो न जीवान्मर्हतिब्रह्मतीति । कारया. श्रौ. सू. IV. 1. 23-27. Vide also *Brāhmayana* श्रौ. सू. IV. 4. 12-15 for similar rules.



that pīṇḍas are offered only to deceased ancestors; therefore if a person's father be alive or if there is a deceased ancestor between whom and the performer there is an ancestor that is alive, then one whose father is alive can only perform *homa* (into fire, but no pīṇḍadāna) or he should not undertake at all (the rite of pīṇḍa-pitryajña or pārvanaśrāddha); that *Jātukarṇya* prescribes that no pīṇḍadāna is possible when a living ancestor (father) intervenes between the performer and a deceased ancestor, since a śruti text says 'one does not offer pīṇḍas to ancestors that are beyond a living ancestor.' *Manu* (III. 220-222) deals with this question as follows: If the performer's father be alive he should offer pīṇḍas to three ancestors beginning from the paternal grand-father or he may request the father to dinner as he would do to a stranger brāhmaṇa and offer pīṇḍas to the deceased grand-father and great-grand-father. If the father be dead and the grandfather be alive, he may offer a pīṇḍa only to the father and the great-grandfather (i. e. only two pīṇḍas) or the grand-father who is alive may be invited to dinner as if he were the stranger brāhmaṇa invited to represent a deceased grand-father or if permitted by the grandfather who is alive he may offer pīṇḍas to father, great-grandfather and great-grandfather. The *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* (chap. 75) has several rules of a similar character. Some of the *Purāṇas* such as *Skanda* VI 225.24-25, *Agni* 117.58-59 deal with this matter. *Gobhila-smṛti* (II. 93 ff) has a long passage on this question, one verse of which is quoted below.<sup>1142</sup> Many of the commentaries and digests hold divergent views on this subject, viz. the *Mit.* on *Yaj.* I. 254, *Kalpataru* (śr. pp. 240 ff), *Śr. K. K.* pp. 552-556 and *Nirpayasindhu* (III. pp. 499-503). It is impossible to reconcile all the views. The *Kalpataru* (on śr. p. 240) states that there are three alternative courses for him whose father is alive; (1) he should pass over the father that is alive and offer pīṇḍas to those three ancestors to whom his father offers pīṇḍas; (*Manu*. III, 220, *Viṣṇu Dh.* S. 75.1); (2) he should simply offer *homa* into fire as stated in *Āśv. Śr. S.* quoted above; (3) he should not engage in the rite of pīṇḍapitryajña or pārvanaśrāddha at all (*Gobhila-smṛti* II. 93). The *Nirpayasindhu* says that there are numerous alternatives mentioned by different writers, that they are forbidden in the *Kali* age and

1142. सपितुः पितृकुलवेत्तु अधिकारो न विद्यते । न जीवन्ममतिक्रम्य किंचिद् दद्यादिति श्रुतिः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 93, q. by आ. क्रि. को. p. 552. Compare कारवा. ओ. ह. १. in note 1141.

that one view is that a man whose father is alive cannot engage in a pārvaṇaśrāddha and that the real conclusion is that śrāddha may be offered to those to whom the father (of the performer) who is living offers pindas. It is clear that one whose father is living should have nothing to do with pindadāna for deceased ancestors. Manu (in latter half of III. 220) allowed an alternative viz. one should feed one's father at a dinner (and honour him with the details of worship such as *gandha*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*) and offer pindas to the deceased grandfather and great-grandfather. When any one or two out of the three paternal ancestors are alive and śrāddha is permitted to a descendant several alternatives become possible by permutation and combination, which are passed over here from considerations of space and utility. But the various views held by different writers as described above show clearly what a firm grip the theory of the supreme benefits to be derived from śrāddhas had on the minds not only of common people but of learned men, who, in spite of the fact that the father was alive and was there to offer pindas to his three ancestors, allowed even the son (whose father was living) to offer pindas to the same three ancestors. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. extends the procedure about 'jīvatpitrka' to one's mother's paternal ancestors (changing the mantra where necessary).<sup>1142a</sup> Similar rules apply where the performer's mother is alive (Agnipurāṇa 117.60 'evam mātṛādikasyāpi tathā mātāmahādike').

It is provided by Gobhilaśmṛti (III. 157) that a śruti injunction should be made effective by means of *anukalpa* (of some substituted procedure) if the primary procedure cannot be carried out.<sup>1143</sup> If a person cannot secure several brāhmaṇas but can secure only one, he should perform Pārvaṇa-śrāddha in which six pindas are to be offered with a single brāhmaṇa, provided he is *pañkti-pāvana*<sup>1144</sup> (sanctifier of a row of diners) and in such a case, *naivedya* should be offered in place of the dinner

1142 a. मातामहानामप्येवं आर्द्धं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । मन्त्रोद्देशेन यथाग्यायं शेषाणां मन्त्रवर्जितम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 75.8. मन्त्रोद्देशेन—This is to be understood as follows: “*सुन्धस्तां गितरः*” इत्यादौ सुन्धस्तां मातामहा इत्यादिपदसेपेन । शेषाणां पितृव्यमातुलादीनां मन्त्रवर्जितं आवाहनादिमन्त्रवर्जितं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः ।” पृष्ठदीप्ति. folio 222 a.

1143. चरितार्थां स्मृतिः कार्या परमादप्यनुकल्पतः । अतो देवं यथाशक्ति आर्द्धकाले समागते ॥ कात्यायन p. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1522). The first half occurs in गोभिल-स्मृति III. 157, but the 2nd half is different.

1144. भोजयेदप्यप्येकं ब्राह्मणं पक्वपावनम् । देवे कृत्वा तु नैवेद्यं पश्चाद्दद्यात् तु तत्क्षिपेत् ॥ शङ्ख 14.10: हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1524) reads पश्चात्तस्य तु निर्धेयम्.

to the *daiva* brāhmaṇas and the food should be thrown into fire; so says Śaṅkha 14.10. If even a single brāhmaṇa cannot be had for a pārvapaśrāddha, then one should prepare with kuśas the effigy of brāhmaṇa students (*baṭu*) and the performer should himself ask the questions and give the answers required in pārvapaśrāddha.<sup>1145</sup>

When one cannot secure a brāhmaṇa nor materials, or when one is on a journey, or on the birth of a son, or when one's wife is in her monthly illness, one may perform āmaśrāddha (śrāddha with uncooked grains).<sup>1146</sup> This is stated by the Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 206. 52. Kātyāyana and Saurapurāṇa 19.32 have similar verses 'a twice-born person should perform āmaśrāddha when he is on a journey or is in distress, or if he has no fire for cooking and those who are weak may always perform it.' The Madanapārijāta (p. 483) states that one who has the *adhikāra* for pārvapaśrāddha can alone offer āmaśrāddha. Hārta says that when there is an obstacle in performing a śrāddha, āmaśrāddha is prescribed except in the case of māsika and sāmvaṭsarika śrāddhas.<sup>1147</sup> Āmaśrāddha is always prescribed for śūdras. It was further provided that the grains offered in śrāddha should be utilized by the brāhmaṇas for eating the cooked food for themselves and were to be applied for no other purpose (Hemādri, Śr. p. 1527). Vyāsa provides<sup>1148</sup> that the quantity of grains should be at least two or three or four times as much as the grains required for offering cooked food. Some words employed in the various items such as *āvāhana*<sup>1149</sup>

1145. निधाय वा दर्भचूनासनेषु समाहितः। वैशाखेयसंयुक्तं विधानं प्रतिपादयेत् ॥ देवल q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1526), आ. क्रि. को. p. 89 (ascribes to सत्यव्रत and reads निधाय वा दर्भचयम्).

1146. द्रव्याभावे द्विजाभावे यवासे पुत्रजन्मनि। आमआहुं प्रकुर्वीत यस्य भार्या रज-स्वला ॥ स्कन्ध VII. 1. 206. 52, quoted as व्यास's in स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 492); आपद्य-न्यौ तीर्थे च यवासे पुत्रजन्मनि। आमआहुं प्रकुर्वीत भार्यारक्षसि संक्रमे ॥ कात्या. q. by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 462, मद्र. पा. p. 480; कल्पतरु p. 234 explains 'अनग्निश्चात्र पाक-समर्थाग्निरहितः। न पुनरग्निरिनाहितग्निः।'.

1147. आहुतिग्रे द्विजातीनाममआहुं प्रकीर्तितम्। अमाशस्यादि नियतं मास-संवत्सराद्वि ॥ हारीत q. by अपराक p. 468, स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 492), आ. क्रि. को. p. 26 (लघुहारीत).

1148. आमं ददाद्धि कौन्तेय तद्वान् द्विगुणं भवेत्। त्रिगुणं चतुर्गुणं वापि न त्वेकगुणम-र्पयेत् ॥ व्यास q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1528).

1149. आवाहने रथाकारे मन्त्रा जप्या विसर्जने। अग्न्यकर्मण्यद्वयः स्मुरामआहुं विधिः स्मृतः ॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1529), स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 492) ascribes to मरीचि and explains "रथाकारे 'नमो वः पितर इवे' इत्यादिमन्त्रे ह्य इतिपदस्थाने आम-द्रव्यायेत्युक्तः ॥".

svadhākāra and dismissal of the brāhmaṇas had to be changed e. g. in *avāhana* the verse employed is 'usantastvā' (Vāj. S. 19.70) which ends with the words 'haviṣe attave' (which means 'in order to eat the *havis*' ) the words 'haviṣe svikartave' would have to be substituted.

Āmaśrāddha is to be performed in the first part of the day, *ekoddiṣṭa* in the noon, the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* in the afternoon and *vrddhiśrāddha* in the first part of the day (divided into five).<sup>1149a</sup>

If even uncooked food grains cannot be offered the performer should perform *hemaśrāddha* (*śrāddha* with money). When the sun passes from one sign of the zodiac into another, in default of food and brāhmaṇas, on a journey, on the birth of a son, in an eclipse, in the case of women and śūdras *hemaśrāddha* is allowed or when one's wife is in her monthly illness. In *āmaśrāddha* twice the quantity of grains required in offering cooked food and in *hemaśrāddha* four times (the price of the grains required for cooked food) has to be offered. If no money can be had the digests prescribe several modes which have already been set out above ( vide p. 425, n. 955 ).

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1149 a. अमश्राद्धं तु पूर्वाह्णे एकोदिष्टं तु मध्यतः । पार्वणं चापराह्णे तु पातवृद्धि-  
निमित्तकम् ॥ इति and इतिताप q. in अपराह्णे p. 468, पृथ्वीच. folio 124a.

## CHAPTER X

### EKODDIṢṬA AND OTHER ŚRĀDDHAS

Having dealt at great length with Pārvaṇaśrāddha which is the model of all śrāddhas it is now time to speak of Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha that is a modification of Pārvaṇaśrāddha.<sup>1150</sup> The word Ekoddiṣṭa means 'that in which only one deceased person'<sup>1151</sup> is intended (to be invoked or benefited). The Pārvaṇaśrāddha is intended for three paternal ancestors and is thus distinguished from Ekoddiṣṭa. In Śān. gr. IV. 2, Baud. gr. III. 12.6, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kāṇḍikā 4), and Yāj. I. 251-252, the points of difference between the two are clearly set out.<sup>1152</sup> In this śrāddha only one *arghya* is offered, there is only one *pavitra* and only one *pinḍa* is offered, there is no *ūvāhana* (as there is in Pārvaṇa), no *agnau-kṛāṇa*, there are no brāhmaṇas invited to represent the Viśve-devas; the question about being satiated by the dinner is to be asked in the word 'svaditam' (did it taste well) and the brāhmaṇas reply with 'susvaditam' (it had excellent taste); instead of saying 'may it be inexhaustible,' the formula here used is 'May it approach' (or wait upon the deceased person); when the brāhmaṇas are sent away at the end of the dinner the word used is 'be satisfied (or delighted)' and they reply 'we are delighted.' The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (III. 13. 23-26) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 8-11) closely follow the Śrāddhasūtra and Yāj. According to Śān. gr. (IV. 2. 7),<sup>1153</sup>

1150. अथेत्यनेनेकोद्विहस्य पार्वणानस्तर्पाभिधानं तयोः प्रकृतिविकृतित्वं सूचयति । आङ्गसूत्र प. 244.

1151. एक उद्विष्टो यस्मिन् आद्वे तवेकोद्विष्टमिति कर्मनामधेयम् । मिता. on ya. I. 251 ; elsewhere it says 'तत्र त्रिपुरषोद्विष्टो न यत् कियते तत्पार्वणम्, एकपुरुषोद्विष्टो न क्रियमाणनेकोद्विष्टम्' । मिता. on ya. I. 217. हलायुध (folio 32 b) on आङ्गसूत्र says 'एकोत्र संपदानत्वेनोद्विष्ट इति' ।

1152. अपैकोद्विष्टेषु नाग्नौकरणं नाभिआवर्णं न पूर्वं निमन्त्रणं न देवं न धूपं न दीपं न स्वधा न नमस्कारो नावापणम् । शौ. शु. सू. III. 12. 6.†

1153. अथैकोद्विष्टम् । एकोऽर्थे एकं पञ्चमेकः पिण्डो नावाहनं नाग्नौकरणं नात्र विश्वे-देवाः स्वदितमिति वृत्तिमश्रुः सुस्वदितमिति तरे बहुवचनित्तत्वात्पिण्डपदानेऽभिरुच्यमानमिति विसर्गोऽभिरुच्यमानः इति इतीतरे । आङ्गसूत्र 4 (कात्यायनीय). Almost the same words occur in कौपीनकियुद्ध 4. 2 (Benares S. Series). The यजुर्वेदे आङ्गसूत्र (Jiv. II. p. 495) explains 'एकं एकद्वयस्य पञ्चम्' ।

Manu III 257, Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 11), Yāj. I 256 and others, for one year after the death of a twice-born person till the sapindiḥkaraṇa śrāddha is performed this is the way in which śrāddha is to be performed for the *preta* every month. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra 21. 2 provides that suitable changes (ūha) should be made in the mantras employed (e. g. instead of 'ātra pitaro mādayadhvam' the mantra should be 'ātra pitarmādayasva' (O father! <sup>1154</sup>regale thyself here). In Ekoddīṣṭa such a formula as 'ye ca tvām-anu' (those that come after thee) cannot be employed and the word 'pitr' is not to be employed (till sapindiḥkaraṇa is performed), but the word 'preta' (Aparārka p. 525 quoting Śaunaka-gr̥hyaparīṣiṣṭa). <sup>1155</sup>

As seen above (p. 262, note 591a) Ekoddīṣṭa śrāddhas are of three kinds, nava, navamiśra and purāṇa. Navaśrāddhas are those that are performed till the 10th or 11th day after death, navamiśras (or miśras) are those that are performed after the 11th day till one year (or six months, according to some) after death. Aparārka quotes a verse from Vyāghra <sup>1156</sup> that Ekoddīṣṭa-śrāddha is performed on the 11th day, on the 4th day, at the end of each month for a year after death and every year on the day of death and a verse of Kātyāyana that (ekoddīṣṭa) śrāddha should be performed for one who had kept sacred fires on the 11th day after the day of cremation and that the Dhruva śrāddhas should always be performed on the day of death. Aparārka explains 'Dhruvāṇi' as meaning those that are performed after three fortnights from death. About the navaśrāddha there is again a divergence of views. One meaning has already been given above on p. 262 note 593. The Skandapurāṇa VI (Nāgarakhanda) 205. 1-4 and Garuḍapurāṇa (pretakhanda 5. 67-69) state that navaśrāddhas are nine viz. the three performed where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way and where the burnt bones were collected and six more performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th days after death.

1154. एकवस्मन्त्रानुहेतैकोद्विहे । विष्णुध. सू. 21. 2. On this the दीपकलिका explains "अत्र पितरो मादयध्वमिति बहुवचनान्तेषु अत्र पितर्मादयस्व इति एकवचनेनोहः कार्यः".

1155. ये च स्वामनु इत्यादि मन्त्रो न युज्यते । पितृसम्यक् न कुर्वीत नमो वः पितर इत्यादि मन्त्रं न पठेत् । कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 246. -

1156. तत्र त्र्याम्नः । एकादशे चतुर्थे च मासि मासि च वत्सरम् । प्रतिसंवत्सरं चैव मेकोद्विहं वृताहनि ॥ कात्यायनः । आश्विनमग्निमतः कार्यं दाहादेकादशेऽहनि । प्रुवाणि तु प्रकुर्वीत प्रदीताहनि सर्वदा ॥ अपरार्क p. 521. This last is योमितस्त्विति III. 66 which reads मःयावद्विकं प्रकुर्वीत .

Numerous works lay down that there are sixteen śrāddhas which must be performed for a deceased person and that if these are not performed then his spirit is not freed from the condition of being a *preta* and a *piśūca*.<sup>1157</sup> There is a great deal of divergence of views about what these sixteen śrāddhas are, some works including sapindīkaraṇa among the 16, others excluding it therefrom. Gobhilasūrti III. 67 enumerates<sup>1158</sup> the 16 as follows: The twelve monthly śrāddhas (performed every month on the *tithi* of death), the first (i. e. the śrāddha on the 11th day), two śrāddhas on (a day prior to the expiry of) every six months from the *tithi* of death and sapindīkaraṇa are the sixteen śrāddhas. The Garuḍapurāṇa<sup>1159</sup> refers to three groups of sixteen, one of which enumerates the 16 śrāddhas as those performed on the 12th day (after death), after three fortnights, after six months, after every month and at the end of the year, while the Padmapurāṇa<sup>1160</sup> enumerates them as follows: the sixteen śrāddhas are those performed on the 4th day after death, at the end of three fortnights, after six months, after a year and twelve śrāddhas performed each month (on the *tithi* of death). The Kalpataru p. 25 and Brahmapurāṇa q. by Aparārka (p. 523) state that the 16 śrāddhas are those performed on 4th, 5th, 9th and 11th days after death and the twelve monthly śrāddhas (on the *tithi* of death<sup>1161</sup>). Laugākṣi and

1157. यस्मैतानि न दीयन्ते भेतआद्धानि षोडश। पिशाचत्वं भ्रूवं तस्य दुःखैः आह-  
शरीरैः॥ यम q. by आ. क्रि. को. p. 362. The same verse occurs in गरुडपुराण  
(भेतखण्ड 5. 50-51), लिखितस्मृति 16 (reads यस्मैतानि न कुर्वन्ति एकोद्विधानि), लघुशास्त्र  
13 (with variations), पद्म (सुद्विखण्ड 47. 272 reads न सन्तीह यथाशक्त्या च आह्वयः)।  
The verse is quoted by the मिता. on पा. I. 254 (reading न हन्तानि and भेतत्वं  
सुस्थिरं तस्य). भेतलोके तु वसतिर्दूणा वर्षं प्रकीर्तता। क्षुण्ण्ये प्रत्यहं तत्र भवेत्ता भ्रुमन्मृद्वन॥  
मार्कण्डेयः q. by मिता. on पा. I. 253.

1158. द्वादश प्रतिमास्यानि आद्यवाण्मासिके तथा। सपिण्डीकरणं चैव एतद् आह-  
षोडशम्॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 67. The word आद्य has been explained by पा. I. 256  
as सुतेहनि प्रकृत्यं प्रतिमासं तु वत्सरम्। प्रतिवत्सरं चैव माघमेकादशेऽहनि॥ on which  
the मिता. says 'आद्यं सर्वकोटिद्वयकृतिभूतमेकोद्विधमेकादशेऽहनि'। गरुड (पितृ 5.51) says:  
एकादशे द्वादशे वा दिने आद्यं प्रकीर्तितम्। But अपरार्क p. 543 explains आद्य differently  
'आद्यशब्देन नवआद्धान्युच्यन्ते'। वाण्मासिके is explained by गोभिलस्मृति III. 68 as  
एकाहेन तु वण्मासा यदा स्थुरपि वा त्रिभिः। न्यूनाः संवत्सराश्चैव स्यातां वाण्मासिके तथा॥ q.  
by अपरार्क p. 522, आ. क्रि. को. p. 338 and explained as 'एकेमाह्वा त्रिभिर्वा अहोर्भिर्यदा  
वण्मासा न्यूनाः स्युः संवत्सरश्च तावत्संख्यया न्यूनास्ति तदा वाण्मासिके आद्ये कार्ये इत्यर्थः'.

1159. द्वादशाहे त्रिपक्षे च वण्मासे मासिकेऽग्निद्वे। तुतीयां षोडशीमेतां वदन्ति मत्तमेवत॥  
गरुड (पितृखण्ड 5.49-50); the other two groups are at chap. 35. 33-36 and in 37.

1160. चतुर्थाहे त्रिपक्षे च वण्मासे चाग्निद्वे तथा। द्वादश प्रतिमास्यानि आद्धान्ये-  
तानि षोडश। पद्म, सुद्विखण्ड 5. 271.

1161. अष्टपुराणे। दूणां तु त्यक्तदेशानां आद्याः षोडश सर्वदा। चतुर्थे पक्षमे चैव नवमे-  
कादशे तथा। ततो द्वादशभिर्मसैः आद्या द्वादशसंख्यया। q. by अपरार्क p. 523.

others say that after performing the 16 śrāddhas according to the procedure for Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas sapinḍana should be performed.<sup>1162</sup> The Madanapārijāta (p. 615), the Nirṇaya-sindhu (III. p. 599) and others say that in this conflict of views one should follow the usage of one's country, Vedic Śākha or family. There were two views about the śrāddha on the 11th day. It should be remembered that Yāj. III. 22 laid down impurity on death for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varṇas. One view espoused by Śāṅkha and Paitṥīnasi was that in spite of the days of impurity not being over śrāddha must be performed on the 11th day (and for the moment the performer becomes pure for that purpose). The other view was that of the Matsyapurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 21.1 that the first śrāddha (ekoddiṣṭa) was to be performed on the expiry of āsauca.

In the case of ascetics dying it is provided by Uśanas<sup>1163</sup> that by the fact of their taking to the order of *sannyāsa* (of the ekadaṇḍi kind in the Kaliyuga) they have not to undergo the condition of being *preta*, no Ekoddiṣṭa nor Sapinḍikaraṇa should be performed for them by their son or other relative but only pārvanaśrāddha on the 11th day and every year thereafter. Śātātapa provides<sup>1164</sup> that no Ekoddiṣṭa, no water, no pinḍa and no cremation rites should be offered to an ascetic nor mourning should be observed, but pārvana-śrāddha should be performed. Pracetas quoted by Mit. on Yāj. I. 256 states that no ekoddiṣṭa is to be performed for an ascetic nor sapinḍikaraṇa, but only pārvana on the day of death every year in Bhādrapada dark half. The Śivapurāṇa (Kailāsa-saṃhitā) chapters 22 and 23 deal with the rites to be performed on an ascetic's death on the 11th and 12th days.

In the Navaśrāddhas no incense, no lamps are employed. All mantras having the words 'pitr' and 'svadhā namaḥ' are

1162. आहुतानि षोडशापाद्य विदधीत सपिण्डनम्। श्लोकाणि q. by मिता. on या. I. 255, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 599, भट्टोजि on ऋतुविंशतिमतसंग्रह p. 168; ascribed to बाबु-पुराण by अपरार्क p. 532; सपिण्डीकरणाद्वर्षात् कुर्याद्वाह्यानि षोडश। एकोद्विंशतिधनेन कुर्यात्सर्वाणि तानि तु q. by अपरार्क p. 522.

1163. एकोद्विंशं न कुर्यात् यस्मिन् नैव सर्वदा। अह्न्येकादशे प्राप्ते पार्वणे तु विधीयते॥ सपिण्डीकरणं तेषां न कर्तव्यं सुतादिभिः। त्रिदण्डग्रहणादेव प्रेतत्वं नैव जायते॥ उशनस्य q. by मिता. on या. I. 255, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 458, आ. कि. को. pp. 444-445.

1164. एकोद्विंशं जलं पिण्डमासीत् प्रेतसत्किंचित्। न कुर्याद्धार्षिकादग्नयश्च ब्रह्मभूता हि ते स्तूताः॥ शातातप्य q. by मङ्ग. या. p. 627, आ. कि. को. p. 445, अपरार्क p. 538 (reads पार्वणादग्नयश्च ब्रह्मभूताश्च भिक्षवे).



omitted and so is the word 'anu' omitted and there is no *japa* and no recital of mantras in the hearing of the brāhmaṇas. As stated in the *Brahmapurāṇa*, the śrāddhas performed in the house at the end of impurity on the 12th day, at the end of a month etc. are called *ekoddīṣṭa*. It follows that the rites called *navasrāddhas* offered during the days of impurity are performed at the place of death or in the cemetery or at a place where water and *piṇḍa* are offered (and not in the house); vide Sm. C. (āśauca p. 176). In the *navamītra* śrāddha mantras are employed according to some. In former times and now also all the 16 śrāddhas are performed on the 11th day. Hardly any one waits for one year to perform *Sapindikarāṇa*. In former times it was laid down (e. g. by the Mit.) that in times of difficulty, *Sapindikarāṇa* should be performed even before a year elapses after performing the sixteen śrāddhas. But now this exception has become the rule.

**Sapindikarāṇa** or **Sapindana** is the reception of a deceased person into the community of *pitrs* to whom *piṇḍas* are offered. Several times were prescribed by ancient works for this. Acc. to the *Kaṣṭhaki* gr. IV. 2 this śrāddha could be performed after the death of the deceased at the end of a year or at the end of three fortnights or on the happening of a lucky event (like the birth of a son or a marriage). The *Bhāradvāja*<sup>1165</sup> gr. (III. 17) allowed it at the end of a year (after death) or in the 11th or 6th or 4th month or on the 12th day. The *Baud. Pitrmedhasūtra* II. 12.1 mentions five times for *sapindikarāṇa* viz. one year, 11th, 6th or 4th month or 12th day. The *Garudapurāṇa* (Pretakhaṇḍa 6. 53-54) states the time of *Sapindikarāṇa* to be one year, six months, three fortnights, the 12th day or on a lucky occasion. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (III. 13. 26ff) makes similar provisions about *sapindikarāṇa* (which is an *ekoddīṣṭa* śrāddha). *Aparārka* (p. 540) after a long discussion holds that there are three times for a performer who is an *āhitāgni* viz. 12th day, some day between the end of *āśauca* and the first *amāvāsyā* (after death) or the first *amāvāsyā* after *āśauca* ends and prescribes four times for one who has not kept sacred fires, viz. a year, six months, three fortnights or when a lucky event occurs. The *Madanapārijāta* quotes a verse of *Vyāsa* that the 12th day is

1165. संवत्सरे सपिण्डीकरणमेकादशे मासि षष्ठे चतुर्थे द्वादशेहनि । भारद्वाजसूत्र III. 17.1 : आनम्यपातकुलधर्मोर्णा पुलां चैवायुधः कृयात् । अस्थिरत्वाच्छरीरस्य द्वादशाहो मकारयते ॥ व्यास q. by मद्र. पा. p. 631, आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 350 (ascribes to व्यास), पृथ्वीच. folio 237 a (ascribes to व्यास), मद्रोक्ति p. 176 of चतुर्विंशतिः, आश्वलायन p. 301.

commended (for the sapindana śrāddha) because family usages are innumerable, because man's life is short and because the body is evanescent. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (21.20) provides that for śūdras 12th day after death is the only day for Sapindi-karana (but without Vedic mantras). Gobhila laid down that after Sapindi-karana was performed, there was to be no performance of śrāddhas every month, but Gautama (or Śaunaka, according to Aparārka p. 543) held the view that they may be performed according to the procedure of skoddiṣṭa śrāddhas. Bhaṭṭoji says <sup>1166</sup> that when sapindi-karana is performed before the end of the year, then all the sixteen śrāddhas must be performed before Sapindi-karana, yet the monthly śrāddhas should again be performed at their proper times for one year. Yāj. I. 255 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 23 prescribe that even if Sapindi-karana is performed for a deceased person within less than a year from death still for one year food and a jar of water should be given to a brāhmaṇa for the whole year (for the benefit of the deceased). Uśanas provides that even if the heirs of a deceased person are divided in wealth, still the *navaiśrāddhas*, the sixteen śrāddhas, and sapindi-karana must be performed by one alone <sup>1167</sup> (e. g. the eldest son), but Pracetas provides that when a year has (elapsed) śrāddha may be performed separately by each heir <sup>1168</sup>.

The procedure of Sapindana or Sapindi-karana is described in numerous works such as the Śān. gr. V. 9, Kauṣṭaki gr. IV. 2, Baud. Pitrmedhasūtra III. 12.12, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana (kāṇḍikā 5), Yāj. I. 253-254, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13.27 ff., Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 12-23, Padma (Śrīstikhanda 10. 22-33), Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 28. 12-18, Garuḍa-purāṇa I. 220, Viṣṇu-dharmottara II. 77, Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 57-58, Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 614). It is briefly set out here. <sup>1169</sup> As said by Baud.

1166. यदा संवत्सरपूर्ते प्रागेव सपिण्डीकरणं कियते तदा यद्यपि षोडश आहुतानि ततः प्रागेव कृतानि-आहुतानि षोडशाह्वरा न कुर्यात् सपिण्डनम्—इति बृहस्पतिशेके, तथापि स्वकाले पुनरपि मासिकादीन्यावर्तनीयानि। अहोनि on अतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह p. 171.

1167. नवआहुं सपिण्डत्वं आहुतान्यपि च षोडश। एकैवैव हि कार्याणि सांभिक-धनेष्वपि॥ उशानस्य q. by अपरार्क p. 524, मित्त. on या. I. 255 (without name). This verse is मरुहपुराण, प्रेत. 34. 128-129.

1168. अर्वाक् संवत्सरात्सर्वे कुर्युः आहुं समेत्य वै। संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु कुर्युः आहुं पृथक् पृथक्॥ पथेतस्य q. by अपरार्क p. 524.

1169. The संकल्प in सपिण्डन will be somewhat as follows: अमुकगोत्रस्या-ह्वकशर्मणः प्रेतस्य प्रेतस्वनिवृत्त्या पितृलोकप्राप्त्यर्थममुकगोत्रैः अमुकशर्मभिर्विदुष्वदित्य-स्वस्वैः प्रेतपितृपितामहमपितामहेः सह सपिण्डीकरणं सुतादाह द्वाहशोऽह्नि पार्श्वेकोटिदह-विधिना करिष्ये।

Pitṛmedhasūtra III. 12.12, in this śrāddha there is invitation to the brāhmaṇas the previous day, there is agnaukarana, there is the recital of Vedic texts when the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating, Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas are honoured, the Viśvedevas are Kāma and Kāla (vide n. 1018), there is the presentation of incense and lamp, there is *svadhā* and also *namaskāra*. Four vessels for *arghya* should be got ready and filled with sandal-wood paste, water and sesamum grains, one being for the deceased (the *preta*) and three for his paternal ancestors; two *daiva* brāhmaṇas should be invited, one to represent the *preta* and three to represent the three paternal ancestors of the *preta*; if a man is unable to invite so many brāhmaṇas, he should invite three, one for Viśvedevas, one for the *preta* and one for the three paternal ancestors. He should request 'I shall unite the vessel for the *preta* with the vessels for his three paternal ancestors.' When permitted in the words 'do unite', he should cast the kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* into the vessels for his three paternal ancestors, should keep a little water mixed with kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* and distribute the rest of the water from the *preta* vessel into the three vessels for his ancestors with the two mantras<sup>1169a</sup> 'ye samāna' (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46). *Arghya* is offered to the brāhmaṇa representing the *preta* with the water that remains in the *preta* vessel, *arghya* is offered to the three *pitṛya* brāhmaṇas from the three *pitṛya* vessels. Four *pinḍas* should be prepared, one for the *preta* and three for his ancestors and then the performer requests 'I shall unite the *pretapinḍa* with the *pinḍas* for the three ancestors of his'; when permitted in the words 'do unite', the performer divides the *pretapinḍa* into three parts and puts each third into each of the three *pinḍas* with the same two mantras (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46). The Garudapurāṇa (I. 220.6) strikes a discordant note in that it states that the *pretapinḍa* is to be divided in two parts, each of which is to be placed inside the *pinḍas* for *pitāmaha* and *prapitāmaha* only.

1169 a. The two mantras are: ये समानाः समनसः पितरो यमराज्ये । तेषां लोकः स्वधा नमो यज्ञो देवेषु कल्पताम् ॥ ये समानाः समनसो जीवा जीवेषु मामकाः । तेषां श्रीमयि कल्पतामस्मिँल्लोके शतं समाः ॥ वाज. सं. 19. 45-46, काठकसंहिता 38. 23-24. भारद्वाज-युक्ता III. 17 sets out the following formula for तिलप्रदान 'ये समाना ये सजाता इति द्वायामसौ पितृभिः पितामहोभिः प्रपितामहोभिः सहैतत्ते तिलोर्बकं तस्मै ते स्वधा नम इति तिलो-वकप्रदानम् ॥'. In place of असौ one has to use the vocative 'अस्मत्पितरह्युक्तयोश्चा-ह्युक्तमसौ प्रेत'. पितामहोभिः and प्रपितामहोभिः are Vedic Instrumentals (plural).

Sapindikarāṇa partakes of the character of both ekoddīṣṭa and pārvana, the first applying to the *preta* and the 2nd to the three ancestors of the *preta*, so that in it two kinds of śrāddhas are combined. When the sapindikarāṇa rite is completed by the giving of dakṣiṇā to the brāhmaṇas, then the *preta* ceases to be so and himself becomes a *pitr*. The status of being a *preta* involves the experiencing of great torments due to hunger and thirst and becoming a *pitr* means being brought in contact with the śrāddha *devatās* called Vasu, Rudra and Āditya.<sup>1170</sup> The word *preta* has two meanings, (1) a person who is dead and (2) one who being dead has not the sapindikarāṇa performed for him. The result of sapindana is that the <sup>1171</sup> great-grandfather of the deceased whose sapindana is performed drops out from the list of *pitrs* entitled to piṇḍa and becomes one called 'lepabhāk' (entitled to only wipings of the hand) and the former *preta* becomes one of the *pitrs* and entitled to participate in the piṇḍas offered at a pārvanaśrāddha thereafter. As stated in the Garuḍapurāṇa I 220. 2 the sapindikarāṇa-śrāddha is to be performed like the pārvana in the afternoon.

It may be noted that in some works the mantras recited at the time of pouring the water from the *preta* vessel into the *pitr* vessels are different. For example, the Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 14 says<sup>1172</sup> the mantras are 'Samsrjatu tvā prthivī' (May the earth unite thee) and 'samāni va ākutīḥ' (Rg. X. 191. 4), while the

1170. प्रेतत्वं च क्षुत्तृष्णोपजनितारत्यन्तदुःखानुभवावस्था । यथाह मार्कण्डेयः । प्रेतलोके तु वसतिर्दुर्गा कथं प्रकीर्तिता । क्षुत्तृष्णे मर्याहं तत्र भवेता भूगुणम्वन ॥ इति । पितृत्वप्राप्तिश्च वस्वादिभ्रातृदेवतासम्बन्धः । मिता. on या. I. 254, या. I. 255-256 presuppose this idea.

1171. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं पितुर्यः प्रपितामहः । सुतलेपसृजो याति प्रभुसपितृपिण्डकः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 1 ; ततः प्रभृति वै प्रेतः पितृसामान्यमाप्नुयात् । विस्मृते पितृलोकं च ततः भ्रातृं प्रवर्तते ॥ हारीत q. by कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 256, हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1640), आ. कि. की. p. 262 which last explains 'पितृसामान्यं पितृभिः सह पार्वणभ्रातृभोक्तृत्वमिरेष्यः । तेन पञ्चदश-भ्रातृणां प्रेतत्वपरीहारः कलं सपिण्डमस्य तु प्रेतत्वपरीहारः पितृलोकप्राप्तिः पितृभिः सह पार्वणभोक्तृत्वं च कलत्रयमिति ।', Vide also स्मृतिच. on आशीच (Mysore University ed.) p. 158 quoting प्रचेतस् and विष्णु.

1172. संवत्सरान्ते प्रेताय तत्पित्रे तत्पितामहाय तत्पितामहाय च ब्राह्मणान् देवपूर्वान् भोजयेत् । अत्राग्नीकरणमागहनं पाद्यं च कुर्यात् । संवत्स्रं त्वा पृथिवी समानी च इति प्रेतपाद्यपात्रं पितृपाद्यपात्रत्रये योजयेत् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 21. 12-14. q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1640). The mantra is संवत्स्रं त्वा पृथिवी वायुरग्निः प्रजापतिः । संवत्स्रं पूर्वैभिः पितृभिः सह ॥ The काठकण्वक 667 prescribes that when parts of pretapiṇḍa are mixed up with पितृपिण्डम्, this mantra and two more viz. 'samānā va ākutīni' and 'sam vo manāmsi' (काठकण्वक 10. 38-39) are recited.

Grhya-pariśiṣṭa <sup>1173</sup> of Āśv. employs the three Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90.6-8) and the three fine verses at the end of the Rgveda beginning with 'saṅgacchadhvam' (Rg. X. 191. 2-4, 'May you unite' &c.).

Yāj. (I. 254) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 17-18) provide that Ekoddiṣṭa and Sapiṇḍikarāṇa śrāddhas are performed for women also (but not pārvana nor ābhyudayika). About the Sapiṇḍikarāṇa of the mother there are somewhat conflicting dicta. If a woman dies sonless and her husband is alive, her sapiṇḍana is effected with her mother-in-law (Gobhila-smṛti II. 102). If a woman dies leaving no son and the husband also is dead, then no sapiṇḍana can be performed for her. If she died either on the funeral pyre of her husband <sup>1174</sup> or afterwards (as a *Sati*) then her son should perform her sapiṇḍana with her husband (i. e. the son's father) and there is no separate sapiṇḍana for her. If she was married in the *āsura* form or she was made a *putrikā*, then the son should perform his mother's sapiṇḍana with his maternal grandfather; while a son born of a woman married in the *Brāhma* and three other proper forms may perform her sapiṇḍana with her husband or the paternal grandmother or the maternal grandfather. In the case of these three alternatives if there is a certain family usage that should be followed; otherwise there is an option. If a woman has a step-son, the latter should perform her sapiṇḍana with his father, as Manu IX. 183 (= Vas. 17. 11) indicates. Vide the Mit. on Yāj. I. 253-254 and Sm. C. (on āsauca p. 169) for discussion of these points and for various alternatives. <sup>1175</sup>

The Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 388) says that there is no sapiṇḍana for one whose upanayana was not performed when

1173. मेषादिष्वं विधा विभज्य पितृपिण्डेषु विष्वाधृषति मधु वाता इति तिसृभिः सङ्गच्छन्मिति द्वायामनुमन्य शेषं पार्षणवत्कुर्यात् । आश्व. सू. परि. 3.11.

1174. सपिण्डीकरणं तासां पुत्राभावे न विद्यते । मृतिसंस्कारं कार्यमेकोद्विष्टं नरैः स्त्रियाः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 28.18 on which बह्वचर (आश्विनिक p. 113) says : अत्र पुत्राभावाद् इत्युपलक्षणं पतिपुत्राभाव इति ब्रह्मचरम् ।

1175. स्वेन भर्ता समं आहुं माता युक्ते सुधामयम् । पितामही च स्वेनैव स्वेनैव मपितामही ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 449, कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 259 (reads स्वधामय and तथैव मपितामही) and आ. क्रि. को. p. 428; मातुः सपिण्डीकरणं पितामह्या सहोविषत् । गोमिलस्मृति II. 102 आ. क्रि. को. p. 428; पितुः पितामहे बह्वत् पूर्णं संवत्सरे हुतेः । मातुर्मतामहे तद्वदेवा कार्या अपिण्डता ॥ उक्तवत् q. by मिता. on वा. I. 253-254. The नवह (मेत 34.121) says 'पितामह्या समं मातुः पितुः सह पितामहेः । सपिण्डीकरणं कार्यमिति तावत् सर्वं मम ॥.' Therefore the मिता. says 'मातुः सपिण्डीकरणेपि विद्वद्भ्यां वाक्यानि दृश्यन्ते ॥'.

he died, but if he was more than five years old then the 16 śrāddhas are performed for him (though not sapindana) and piṇḍa is offered on bare ground. It may be noted that no auspicious rite like marriage in which ābhyudayika śrāddha is necessary can be performed until the sapindana of a deceased person of the family has been effected (except in the case of such absolutely-necessary ceremonies as śmantonnayana).

Manu (V. 89-90) prescribes that no water and other rites like sapindikarāṇa are offered and performed for those who had left off their faith, who were born of condemned mixed marriages, who entered ascetic orders, who had committed suicide (by hanging, poison &c.), who had embraced heretical doctrines, for women that wilfully seek illicit connection with men, that did harm to their foetus or husband (were guilty of abortion and murder of husband) and that were addicted to drinking *surā*. Yāj. III. 6 contains similar provisions. It has to be noted that every kind of suicide is not condemned by the ancient smṛtis. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 939, 958-9 for cases where suicide was not condemned. Except in those cases Yama (q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 6) provides that in the case of the persons mentioned in Manu and Yāj. there is to be no āśauca observed, no water offered, no tears shed, no cremation and no last rites. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 6) quotes Vṛddha Yājñavalkya and Chāgaleya that in the case of those who are guilty of condemned suicide the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali should be resorted to after a year and then śrāddha may be offered to them. Then the Mit. describes at length the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali. Vide note 838 b p. 370 above for the Skandapurāṇa, Nāgarakhanda 219, 19-21 on the view that śrāddha may be performed on the 14th of the dark half for persons who committed suicide or who met a violent death.

The *Abhyudayika-śrāddha* is to be now described. Āśv. gr. IV. 7 mentions in one place only four śrāddhas viz. Pārvaṇa, Kāmya, Ābhyudayika and Ekoddista (note 966 above). Many of the sūtras such as Āśv. gr. II. 5. 13-15, Śāṇ. gr. IV. 4, Gobhila gr. IV. 3. 35-37, Kauṣītaki gr. IV. 4, Baud. gr. III. 12. 2-5, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍikā 6) briefly describe this śrāddha. According to most of these sūtras this śrāddha is performed when there is a lucky event such as the birth of a son, or his *caula*, *upanayana* or marriage or there is the commencement of a charitable (*pūṛta*) act (such as the dedication of a well or a tank or a park to the public). Āśv.

gr. and Gobhila gr. are very brief. They say that in this śrāddha performed on auspicious occasions or on the undertaking of meritorious acts an even number of brāhmaṇas is to be fed, that the rite is to be performed from left to right and that yavas (barley) are to be used instead of sesamum grains. As this śrāddha is only a modification (vikṛti) of pūrvaṇa (as said by Aparārka p. 514) all rules of the latter will be applicable to the former except where special directions are given. The Āśv. gr. pariśiṣṭa II 19, Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 56), Pitrdayitā pp. 62-71 give a compact but tolerably full description of this śrāddha.

In this śrāddha which is to be performed in the morning (except on the birth of a son when it is to be done at once) the Viśve-devas are called Satya and Vasu, it is performed in the forenoon, the brāhmaṇas to be invited must be even in number, the darbhas are to be straight (and not doublefolded) and are not to be with their roots; the performer wears his sacred thread in the usual form (and not in the *prācināvīla* form), all actions are to be done from left to right (pradakṣiṇam and not prasavyam); the word svadhā is not to be used; yava grains are to be employed instead of sesamum grains; he invites them with the words 'find time to attend Nāndīśrāddha'. The brāhmaṇas say 'be it so'. He says 'May you two come (to my house)'; they reply 'we two shall come'. The performer faces the east or north (but never the south); the mantra about yavas is 'yavosi' (vide note 966)<sup>1176</sup> he requests 'I shall invoke the pitrs called Nāndimukha'.<sup>1177</sup> When permitted by the brāhmaṇas in the words 'do invoke' he says 'may the Nāndimukhapitrs be pleased'; he offers arghya only once with the words 'O Nāndimukha pitrs! this is the arghya for you'. Sandalwood paste, incense, lamp are to be given twice; the *homa* is made on the hand of the brāhmaṇa, the two mantras being 'to Agni, the bearer of *karya*! svāhā' and 'to Soma accompanied by the pitrs! svāhā.' While the

1176. The मन्त्र here repeated is 'यवोसि...यतः पुष्ट्या (in place of स्वधा यतः)'. नाग्दीमुखां विभु...नः स्वाहा नमः (instead of स्वधा नमः)'.<sup>1</sup>

1177. The सङ्कल्प will be somewhat as follows: ओम्, अथासुक्कगो-  
त्राणां मातृपितामहीमपितामहीनामसुकासुकासुक्कदेवीनां नाग्दीमुखाणां तथासुक्कगोत्राणां विभु-  
पितामहपितामहानामसुकासुकासुक्कसर्माणां नाग्दीमुखानां तथासुक्कगोत्राणां मातामहममाता-  
महद्वन्द्वममातामहानामसुकासुकासुक्कसर्माणां नाग्दीमुखानामसुक्कगोत्रस्य कर्त्तव्यासुक्ककर्मनिमित्त-  
कमासुक्कविक्रमादमहं करिष्ये। आसुक्कविक्रम of सङ्कल्प p. 149. For देवीनां it is usual  
to put दाता.

brāhmaṇas are eating the dinner, the Raksoghna mantras and mantras addressed to Indra and propitiatory mantras may be recited but not the mantras addressed to pitṛs (viz. Rg. X. 15. 1-13); when he sees that the brāhmaṇas are satiated, he recites the five verses (Rg. IX. 11. 1-5) beginning with 'upāsmāi gāyātā naraḥ' (O men! sing for this soma) instead of the Madhumatī verses (viz. Rg. I. 90. 6-8) and at the end he makes the brāhmaṇas hear the mantra 'the pitṛs have partaken (of the food), they have regaled themselves'. The performer should ask 'I shall request the nāṇḍimukha pitṛs to utter benedictions' at the stage where (in Pārvaṇa) 'aksayyodaka' is asked for, to which the brāhmaṇas respond with the words 'do request.' The performer employs the word 'sampannam' (was it perfect) in asking about the gratification of the brāhmaṇas, who reply with the word 'susampannam' (it was quite perfect). On the brāhmaṇas sipping water after their dinner, he cowdungs the places where the dinner was taken, strews darbha grass thereon with their tips turned towards the east and offers thereon two pinḍas for (each of the ancestors) made with the food that remains after the brāhmaṇas have eaten mixed with curds, jujube fruit and *prṣadājya* <sup>1178</sup> (mixture of curds and clarified butter). The pinḍas are offered to the mātṛs, to the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors (viz. mother's father, mother's paternal grandfather and her paternal great-grandfather). Some do not offer pinḍas in this śrāddha (as stated by Āśv. gr. parīṣiṣṭa II. 19). The Pitrdayitā and Śrāddha-tattva (Jiv. p. 297) say that no mātṛśrāddha is to be performed in Abhyudayikaśrāddha by the followers of the Sāmaveda. It is possible that the śrāddha for the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother was inspired by the Anvaṣṭakya śrāddha, as the sūtras from Āśv. gr. quoted below will indicate. <sup>1178a</sup>

The words Nāṇḍiśrāddha and Vṛddhiśrāddha are synonymous. When Yaj I. 250 says <sup>1179</sup> that the Nāṇḍimukha pitṛs should be worshipped with pinḍas when there is *vṛddhi* (a lucky or auspicious event), he indicates that Nāṇḍiśrāddha and Vṛddhi-

1178. वृषदाज्य is defined in आश्व. सू. IV. 1. 17 as 'वृधन्वत्र सर्पिरानयनयेत-  
पित्रये वृषदाज्यम्'.

1178 a. अपरेद्युरन्वहकयम्।...पिण्डपितृयज्ञे कल्पेन। कृत्वा मधुमन्धर्वं पितृभ्यो  
वधात्। क्षीर्यन्ध दुरा वाचाममित्यधिकम्। आश्व. सू. II. 5. 1, 3-5.

1179. एवं महाक्षिणावृत्तो वृद्धौ नावृत्तिस्तान् पितॄन्। यजेत वापिकर्कशूनिभ्यार  
पिण्डान्ययेः क्रियाः॥ वा. I. 250.



śrāddha mean the same thing. As noted by the Mit. on Yaj. I. 250 quoting Śatātapa this śrāddha is made of three parts, viz. mātṛ-śrāddha, pitr-śrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha.<sup>1180</sup> On the other hand the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa I. 185. 15 states that there are two śrāddhas in this viz. Mātṛ-śrāddha and Nādimukha-pitr-śrāddha. Ābhyudayaika-śrāddha and Vṛddhiśrāddha are treated as synonyms in some works such as the Padmapurāṇa,<sup>1181</sup> though it may be said that Ābhyudayaika śrāddha is wider in import than Vṛddhiśrāddha, since it is also applicable to śrāddha performed on the commencement of a *pūrta* act.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13. 2-7, Mārkaṇḍeya 28. 4-7, Padmapurāṇa (śrṣṭi 9. 194-199), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa I. 185. 5-13, the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 142. 13-18 describe briefly the procedure of Nādiśrāddha and also the occasions on which it is to be performed. The occasions specified are<sup>1182</sup>: on the marriages of sons and daughters, on entering a new house, on naming a child, at the time of Cūḍākarma, at Śimantonnayana, on the birth of a son, a householder should honour the group of pitṛs called Nādimukha. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 28. 6 notes that some desire that this śrāddha should not have Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas, but the Padmapurāṇa (śrṣṭikhanda 9.195) says that in this Vṛddhiśrāddha the mothers are to be first honoured, then the fathers, then the mātāmahas and then the Viśve-devas. Hemādri (śr. p. 107) quotes two verses from the Brahmapurāṇa to the effect that the father, paternal grandfather and paternal great-grandfather are called *atrumukha* pitṛs, while the three paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather are called Nādimukha pitṛs.<sup>1183</sup> The Kalpataru (on śrāddha p. 270) explains these verses as meaning no more than this that in case the three paternal ancestors of a man are living and there is a lucky event, then the devatās for Nādiśrāddha in his case would be the three

1180. यथापि पित्र्ययेनेति सामान्येनोक्तं तथापि आर्द्धत्रयं क्रमश्च स्मृत्यन्तराद्व्य-  
गम्यत्वः । यथाह ऋतातपः । मातुः आर्द्धं तु पूर्वं स्यात्पितृणां तद्व्यपत्तरम् । ततो मातामहानां  
च द्विती आर्द्धत्रयं स्मृतम् ॥ मिता. on या. I. 250, कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 271.

1181. तृतीयमायुष्यवयिकं द्विदि आर्द्धं तद्व्यपत्तेः । एव (सुष्ठिलच्छ 9. 194).

1182. कन्यापुत्रविवाहेषु प्रवेक्षे नववेदमणि । नामकर्माणि बालानां चूडाकर्मादिके तथा ।  
सीमन्तोत्सवेषु चैव पुत्रादिस्तुतर्क्षणे । नाग्नीकुलं पित्र्यमणं पूजयेत् प्रयतां यज्ञी । पितृपूजा-  
विधिः शोको हृद्यावेव समासतः । विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 5-7, quoted by अपरार्क p. 515  
(except the last half).

1183. पिता पितामहाश्चैव तथैव प्रयितामहः । त्रयो ब्रह्ममुखा इति पितरः संयकीर्तितः ॥  
तेभ्यः पूर्वं त्रयो ये तु ते तु नाग्नीकुला इति ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 107),  
कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 270, मद्. या. p. 633. नाग्नी means सप्तुदि acc. to ब्रह्मपुराण q. by  
कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 268.

paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather. The Bhavīsyapurāṇa notes that according to family usage some did not offer pīḍas in Vṛddhiśrāddha <sup>1183a</sup>.

The word 'mātaraḥ' has two meanings. Gobhilaśmṛti <sup>1184</sup> prescribes that at the beginning of all rites the Mātṛs together with Gaṇeśa have to be worshipped and it names fourteen mātṛs such as Gaurī, Padmā, Śaśī (I 11-12). <sup>1185</sup> In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (88.11-20 and 38) they are said to be seven viz. Brahmanī and others. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 217-218 for the Mātṛs and their worship. <sup>1186</sup> Aparārka (p. 517) quotes verses to the effect that in Vṛddhiśrāddha one must offer worship to the seven mātṛs (Brahmanī and others), then to one's mother, paternal grandmother, and paternal great-grandmother, then to the Nāṇḍimukha pitṛs and then to the mātāmahas together with their wives. The Śrāddhaprakāśa (of Viramītrodaya) quotes Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha to the effect that in the Mātṛśrāddha (as part of Vṛddhiśrāddha) if a sufficient number of brāhmaṇas be not available then for the groups of mātṛs and of mātāmahis four women (for each group) whose husbands are living and who have a son or sons should be invited to dinner <sup>1186a</sup> and honoured.

The *Pratisāṃvatsarika* or *Pratyūbdika* śrāddha has already been described above at great length. It is to be performed every year on the day of death (Gobhilaśmṛti III 66). It is

1183a. पिण्डनिवेपणं कुर्यात् वा कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । इन्द्रिभादे महाबाहो कुलधर्मानवेदय तु ॥ भविष्यपुराणः । On this the पृथ्वीका folio 167a remarks 'अतश्चाग्नौ करणाक्षीनामपि निवेधः । तथा । अग्नीकरणमर्थं आवाहनं आवनेजनम् । पिण्डभादे प्रकुर्वीत पिण्डहोत्रे निवेतते ॥'.

1184. कर्नादिषु तु सर्वेषु मातरः समणाधिपाः । पूजनीयाः प्रवत्नेन पूजिताः पूजयन्ति ताः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 13, q. by कल्पलह (भा. p. 272).

1185. ब्रह्मण्यपाद्यास्तथा सप्त दुर्गाक्षेत्रगणाधिपान् । इन्द्रिभादे पूजयित्वा तु पश्चाद्वाग्दीप्तवान् पितॄन् ॥ मातृपूजार्थं पितृन्युप ततो मातामहानपि । मातामहीस्ततः केचिद्युग्मा भोज्या द्विजातयः ॥ q. by अपरार्क p. 517.

1186. The worship of the mother Goddess or of mother Goddesses is one of the oldest and most widespread forms of religion. The mother Goddess appears in the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Syria, in prehistoric Europe and west Africa. Rude female figures, which represent idols of the mother Goddesses, have been discovered in the earliest deposits of prehistoric cultures. Vide 'Mother Goddesses' by Mr. S. K. Dikshit (Poona).

1186a. मातृवर्गे मातामहीवर्गे वा ब्राह्मणालाभे पतिपुत्राभितलाभतत्प्रभृतयः सुवासिन्यो भोजनीया इत्युक्तं इन्द्रप्रसिद्धेन । मातृभादे तु विमानालाभे पूजयेदपि । पतिपुत्राभितलाभ्या शेषितोऽहो सुवासिताः ॥ आङ्गमकार p. 298.

laid down that in the case of one's parents this śrāddha partakes of the character of *pūrvaṇa*.<sup>1186</sup> The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa and Skanda state that the Sāṃvatsarika śrāddha is the most eminent among śrāddhas and that if a son does not perform the yearly śrāddha of his parents on the day of death he goes to the horrible Hell called Tāmisra and then is born as a pig in a town.<sup>1187</sup> In connection with this, if the tithi or month of death or both are not known then Bṛhaspati, the Skandapurāṇa, Padma and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa lay down certain rules, viz.<sup>1188</sup> (1) if the tithi is known but the month is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on that tithi in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa or Māgha; (2) if the month is known but the tithi is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on the amāvāsyā of the month; (3) if both the tithi and the month are not known, then one should take the tithi and the month when the deceased started from home; (4) if even the day and month of starting be not known, then the tithi and month in which a person hears of the death of a relative should be taken. It is to be noted that the month in pitṛya rites is lunar and the words 'dina, aha, vāṣara' in connection with pitṛya rites mean 'tithi' (Aparārka p. 545). There is no *pratyābdika* śrāddha in an intercalary month. (Skanda VII. 1. 206. 59).

A few words may now be said about some other śrāddhas.

A well-known śrāddha is the Mahālayaśrāddha. Some of the Purāṇas deal with this. The Padmapurāṇa (Śrṣṭi khaṇḍa) says 'In the fifth fortnight (*pakṣa*) beginning from the Full Moon day of Āśāḍha, one should perform a śrāddha, whether the Sun is by that time in the zodiacal sign of Kanyā (Virgo) or not. The sixteen days when the Sun is in Kanyā are equal to the solemn sacrifices which are completed with the gift of the

1186 b. एतच्च सुताहर्षार्पणं मातापित्रोरेव । तथा च हेमाद्रिभूतकात्यायनवचनं 'सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं पित्रोरेव हि पार्वणम् । पितृव्यभ्रातृमातृणामेकोदिष्टं सर्वेव तु ॥ मातृपत्यं सपत्नीमातृपरम् ।' आद्भुतस्य p. 304.

1187. सर्वेषामेव आद्भुताणां श्रेष्ठं सांवत्सरं स्मृतम् । कियते यत्स्वयं श्रेष्ठं सुतेऽहनि बुधेः सह "...स याति नरकं पोरं तमिच्छं नाम नामतः । ततो भवति दुष्टात्मा नगरे युक्तरः स्वग ॥ भविष्य. I. 183. 20 and 25. The first occurs also in स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205. 43.

1188. सुताहर्षय यदा मासो न ज्ञायेत कथंचन । मायशिशोऽथवा माघे आर्द्रं तदिवसे स्मृतम् ॥ यदा तु वासराज्ञानं मासज्ञानमथैव च । अमायामेव तन्मासं आर्द्रं सांवत्सरं भवेत् ॥ यत्र (पातालखण्ड 101. 73-74). Vide भविष्यपुराण I. 183. 28-29, स्कन्द VII. 1. 205. 52 for similar rules. बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 545 has similar verses and adds 'दिनमासौ न विज्ञातो भरणस्य यदा पुनः । ग्रहानां दिनमासौ तु ग्राह्यौ पूर्वोक्तया विज्ञा ॥'.

best of dakṣiṇās. If it is not possible to perform the śrāddha in the dark half (when the Sun is in Kanyā), one may perform it when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance). When the Sun enters the sign of Scorpio (without a śrāddha being performed), the Fathers go away losing all hope and after pronouncing a terrible curse (on their descendants) they return to their abode.' <sup>1189</sup> The fifth fortnight from the Full Moon day of Āśāḍha is the dark half of Bhādrapada. The dark half is the preserve of pītṛs. In Bhādrapada the Sun is in the middle of its apparent motion in dakṣiṇāyana. Therefore the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially chosen as the best period for śrāddha to the pītṛs i. e. for the Mahālaya. The śrāddha performed in Bhādrapada dark half is called Mahālaya-śrāddha, since that fortnight is the abode (ālaya) as it were of the maha (i. e. festival day) for pītṛs. The real idea is that the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially to be welcomed for a śrāddha when the Sun is in Kanyā during that fortnight and that even if the Sun is not in Kanyā the dark half of Bhādrapada is still a good time for a śrāddha to the pītṛs. The Skandapurāṇa <sup>1190</sup> also says 'In the fifth fortnight from the Full Moon of Āśāḍha, when the Sun occupies the sign of Kanyā, the pītṛs of him who offers a śrāddha on the tithi of the death (of one's father) certainly derive gratification for one year thereafter.' The Kalpataru quotes the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa to the effect that if a man has not performed śrāddha in

1189. आषाढीमवधिं कृत्वा यस्तु पक्षस्तु पञ्चमः । तत्र आर्द्रं मकुर्वीत कन्यां गच्छतु वा न वा ॥ कन्यागते सवितरि पाप्महानि तु बोद्धवः । कृतमिस्तानि तुलपानि समाप्तवर्दक्षिणैः ॥ ...अभावात् कृष्णपक्षादौ तुलायां कर्तुमर्हति ॥ अतो वृश्चिकमायाते निराशाः पितरो गताः । पुनः स्वभवनं यान्ति शायं दृष्ट्वा सुदारुणम् ॥ एष (सुहृत्सङ्घ 47. 225-228). The first verse आषाढीः occurs in अग्निपुराण 175.33 and is ascribed to जातुकर्प by आ. क्रि. को. p. 283 and अपरार्क p. 423, which reads the third पाद as आर्द्रकालः स विज्ञेयः. The verse कन्यागते is ascribed to the ब्रह्मपुराण by आ. क्रि. को. p. 285 (which reads तुलपानि देवो नारायणोऽन्वीतु) and to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण by अपरार्क p. 424 (which reads last पाद as तत्र दत्तं महाफलम्) and to श्लोकगीतम् by आ. क्रि. ल. p. 99. पाप्महानि तु बोद्धवः—These words are explained in two ways: 'कदाचित् पक्ष-विजृम्भो बोद्धव्यनिनात्मकोऽपि नभस्स्थायपरः पक्षः आर्द्रकर्मणि कालो न तु पञ्चदशदिनात्मको वेति दर्शयितुमुक्तम् । यद्वा अमावस्याया अनन्तरभूतायाः प्रतिपत्तिरपि अपि संग्रहणार्थं 'तिथि-बोधशकः' इत्युक्तम् । प्रतिपदोपि क्षीणचन्द्रस्ये सापरपक्षतुल्यत्वात् । स्मृतिच. (भा. p. 365). There is also a third way viz. including the preceding full moon day along with the 15 days of the dark half. प्रजापतिस्मृति verse 161 is very similar to the verse कन्यागते and कल्पतरु (आ. p. 16) quotes it from ब्रह्माण्ड.

1190. आषाढ्याः पञ्चमे पक्षे कन्यासंस्थे दिवाकरे । सुताहनि पुनर्यो वै आर्द्रं दास्यति मानवः ॥ तस्य संस्मरं याचन्सुताः स्युः पितरो ब्रुवन् । स्कन्द. VI. 216. 96-97, q. by आर्द्र-कल्पलता p. 98.

Mahālaya (i. e. in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in the sign of Kanyā) he should offer it on the 15th day (of the dark half of Āśvina) on which, it is well-known, lamps are lighted.<sup>1191</sup> The Śrāddha-sāra (p. 113) and the Smṛtimukta-phala (on śrāddha p. 745) quote Vṛddha-manu to the effect that the latter half of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in Kanyā is called Mahālaya and also Gajacchāyā. Various views are held on the question of the exact day on which the Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, viz. it may be performed on any day from the first *tithi* of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the amāvāsyā or from the fifth of the dark half to the amāvāsyā of Bhādrapada or from the 8th or 10th of the dark half to amāvāsyā or from the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the 5th of the next fortnight or on any day on which the Sun is in Kanyā or on any day till the Sun enters Scorpio.<sup>1192</sup> Prajāpati states that there are numerous śrāddhas described by the Purāṇas, all of them yield rewards but the Mahālaya (śrāddha) is the most eminent among them.<sup>1193</sup>

The Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, as stated by the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, in accordance with the procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha.<sup>1194</sup> The Smṛtyarthasāra states that if it is not possible to perform all śrāddhas (except sapīṇḍīkarāṇa) according to the detailed procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha they should be performed by the procedure called 'Sankalpavidhi', which consists in performing the details laid down for Pārvaṇa as far as possible except the details of *ūvāhana*, *arghya*, *homa* and *piṇḍadāna*.<sup>1195</sup> The Madanapārijāta (pp. 609–610) also states that when a man has to perform a 'sankalpa-śrāddha' he need not go through the details of *arghyadāna*, *vikīra* and there is no *ūvāhana*, no *agnaukarāṇa* and no *piṇḍadāna* even, but he has simply to feed a brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas.

1191. येवं दीपान्विता राजन् कयाता पञ्चदशी शुचिः। तस्यां दद्यात् श्वेतं पित्राणां तु महालयः ॥ भविष्यपुराण q. by कल्पतर्क (on आ. p. 17) and आ. कि. की. p. 291, स्मृतिस्तु. (आ. p. 747 ascribes to दुमन्तु).

1192. तत्रैवं कृत्स्नः पञ्चमः पक्षः पञ्चम्यादिदर्शान्तमहस्यादिदर्शान्त-वृक्षम्यादिदर्शान्त-पञ्चमीदर्शयोः मध्ये अनिषिद्धमेकं वा दिनं महालयश्चादिकालः। स्मृतिस्तु. (आ. p. 747).

1193. आह्वान्यनेकशः सन्ति पुराणोक्तानि वै कथं। कलमदाने सर्वाणि तेषामग्नयो महालयः ॥ प्रजापति verse 37.

1194. कस्याग्रे सवितरि दिनानि दृश पञ्च च। पार्वणेनैव विधिना तत्र आहुं विधीयते ॥ मार्कण्डेय. q. by स्मृतिस्तु. (आ. p. 745).

1195. सपिण्डीकरणवत् सर्वआहुषु विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनासम्यगे सङ्कल्पविधिनैव कार्यम्। सङ्कल्पविधानं नामाग्राहनाभ्यर्चोमपिण्डवर्जं पार्वणिकं यथासम्भवं भवति। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 60.

In the Mahālayaśrāddha the Viśvedevas are Dhuri and Locana. This śrāddha is performed for the benefit not only of the paternal and maternal ancestors with their wives, but also for other relatives and persons that are dead (together with their wives, sons and husbands if these be dead) viz. one's step-mother, one's wife, son, daughter, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, brother, paternal aunt and maternal aunt, sister, paternal uncle's son, son-in-law, sister's son, father-in-law, mother-in-law, ācārya, upādhyāya, *guru*, friend, pupil and any other relative.<sup>1196</sup> Some perform only for the paternal ancestors with their wives and the maternal ancestors with their wives. The day on which the moon is in Bharanī nakṣatra in the dark half of Bhādrapada is called Mahābharanī and śrāddha performed on that day is said to be equal to Gayāśrāddha (Matayapurāṇa q. by Śr. K. L. p. 99). The Mahālaya-śrāddha is to be performed on the 12th tithi of Bhādrapada dark half in the case of a sannyāsin and on no other tithi and his yearly śrāddha is to be performed by his son according to pārvana method as in the case of householders. The dvādaśī is sacred to Viṣṇu and *yatis* always repeat the words 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' and therefore the 12th is the special tithi for the mahālaya-śrāddha of *yatis*. The Mahālayaśrāddha is not to be performed in an intercalary month (*malamāsa*).

Two more śrāddhas that are performed even to this day may be mentioned here. One is called 'Mātāmahaśrāddha' or 'Dauhitra-pratipad-śrāddha'. A daughter's son whose parents are alive can alone perform a śrāddha for his maternal grand-father (together with the maternal grand-mother if she also be dead) on the first tithi of the bright half of Āśvina<sup>1197</sup>. A daughter's son can perform it even if his maternal grand-father has a son or sons living. It may be performed with or without pindadāna (generally without it) and it may be performed even if the daughter's son has not been invested with the sacred thread. The Śrāddhasāra notes that the mātāmahaśrāddha is based only on the usage of *śiṣṭas* (p. 24).

Another is the 'Avidhavānavamīśrāddha', which is performed for one's mother or other women of the family who died while the husbands were alive. It is performed on the 9th of

1196. Vide धर्मसिन्धु II. p. 79 for the सङ्कल्प in महालयश्राद्ध.

1197. गर्भस्थोऽपि च द्विद्विजो अन्धशुक्रपतिपादिने । कुर्यान्मातामहश्राद्धं पितरौ यदि जीवतः ॥ प्रजापतिसृष्टि verse 170.

the dark half of Bhādrapada. It ceases to be performed when the husband dies after the woman's death. The Nirpayasindhu notices several views about this and says that one should follow the usage of one's country<sup>1198</sup>. According to the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa in this śrāddha not only a brāhmaṇa but also a woman whose husband is alive is to be fed and presents of a girdle, a garland and bangles are to be made to her.

It will have been seen from the translation of Āśv. gr., Yāj. and the Padmapurāṇa that dakṣiṇā, according to one's ability, has to be given in each śrāddha towards the end of the rite. The Skandapurāṇa (VI. 218. 12-14) provides that whatever is wanting in mantras or the proper time or in procedure becomes perfect by dakṣiṇā. Śrāddha without dakṣiṇā is like rain on an arid place or like dancing in the dark or like singing before a deaf person, that he who desires the permanent gratification of himself and his Manes should not offer a śrāddha without dakṣiṇā. The Rāmāyaṇa shows how on the 12th day after the death of king Daśaratha gifts of jewels, of hundreds of cows, wealth, food in abundance and vehicles, of male and female slaves, of spacious houses were made to the brāhmaṇas.<sup>1199</sup> The Āśramaśikāparva (14. 3-4) recounts the valuable gifts to brāhmaṇas in honour of Bhisma, Droṇa, Duryodhana and other fallen warriors, adding that persons of all varṇas were treated to profuse food and drink. The Vāyupurāṇa (chapter 80) propounds in great detail the rewards of various kinds of gifts made in śrāddhas. From considerations of space those descriptions are passed over here and only a brief eulogy of the gift of cooked food is given in the note below.<sup>1200</sup> The Śāntiparva (chap. 42. 7)

1198. अत्र भर्तृमरणोत्तरं पुर्वयुतभाजं न कार्यमिति केचिदाहुः पठन्ति च आहुं नवव्यां कुर्यात्तयुते भर्तरे लुप्यते इति तद्वैतकिर्मूलत्वात्पूर्वप्रतारणमात्रम् । आहुर्वैपकलिकायां बाह्य-पितृमातृकुलोत्पन्ना याः काश्चिद्युताः स्त्रियः । आहुर्दार्हा मातरो ज्ञेयाः आहुं तत्र प्रदीयते ॥ इति । अत्र देशाच्चाहुं व्यवस्था । निर्णयसिन्धु II p 154.

1199. ताते दशहेऽतिगते कुरुक्षेत्रे दृष्टात्मजः । द्वादशेऽहनि संघाते आहुर्कर्माप्य कारयत् ॥ बाह्येभ्यो वदौ रत्नं धनमञ्चं च पुष्कलम् । वास्तिकं बहुशुक्रं च गाश्चापि ज्ञातशस्तदा । दासीदासं च यानं च वेश्मानि सुमहानि च । बाह्येभ्यो वदौ पुत्रौ राज्ञस्तस्योर्ध्वदेहिकम् । रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड 77. 1-3 (M. L. J. edition, 1933). ततोऽनन्तरमेवात्र सर्ववर्णा-म्महामते । अन्नपानरसोपेण स्नायामास पाथिरः ॥ अभ्यवशासिकपर्व 14. 12.

1200. अन्नदो लभते तिस्रः कन्याकोटीस्तथैव च । अन्नदानात्परं दानं विद्यते नेह किञ्चन । अन्नाद् भूतानि जायन्ते जीवन्ति च न संशयः ॥ जीवदानात्परं दानं न किञ्चिदिह विद्यते । अन्नजीवति त्रेलोक्यमन्तर्यैव हि तत्फलम् । अन्नं लोकाः यतिष्ठन्ति लोकदानस्य तत्फलम् । अन्नं प्रजापतिः साक्षात्तेन सर्वमिदं ततम् ॥ वायुपुराण 80. 54-57.

states that while Yudhiṣṭhira performed the after-death ceremonies of the fallen heroes he erected *sabhās*, *prapūs*, water reservoirs and the like intending them for each separately. Devala states: 'when the brāhmaṇas have sipped water after dinner, dakṣiṇā is to be given' and Bṛhaspati prescribes 'Dakṣiṇā should be given to all the brāhmaṇas according to the learning of them by means of (gifts of) cows, land, gold, clothes. He should do this in such a way that they feel satisfied; one who is well-off should do this specially.'<sup>1201</sup> The Āśvamedhika-parva (62. 2-5) states that Vāsudeva offered śrāddha to his sister's son Abhimanyu and donated to sixty thousand brāhmaṇas, gold, cows, bed-steads, clothes and fed them. A special rule was provided by Bṛhaspati that the clothes, ornaments, bed-stead and the like, the horse and the like that were used by the father during his lifetime should be presented to the brāhmaṇa invited for śrāddha after honouring him with sandalwood paste and flowers.<sup>1201a</sup> The Anuśāsana-parva (chapt. 96) states the origin of the practice of giving an umbrella and sandals on the completion of a śrāddha.

Something must be said about the gift of the bed-stead (*śayyā*) used by the deceased on the 11th or 12th day after death. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhanda 34. 69-89), Padma (sṛṣṭikhanda 10. 12), the Matsyapurāṇa highly eulogise the gift of śayyā to a brāhmaṇa and his wife. The Matsyapurāṇa states that on the 2nd day after the end of impurity on death the performer (of śrāddha) should donate a bed-stead possessing special characteristics; on it the golden image of the deceased should be placed and also fruits and clothes. After honouring a brāhmaṇa couple with many ornaments this should be done; then a bull should be let loose (for the benefit of the deceased) and the gift of a dark brown cow should also be made.<sup>1202</sup> The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhanda 34. 73-82) gives a more elaborate description which appears to be almost identical with the

1201. बृहस्पतिरपि । प्रदद्याद्दक्षिणां तेषां सर्वेषामनुसृतः । गोभूहिरेण्यवासोभिस्तुर्धुर्लक्ष्यता यथा । तथा भवति कर्तव्यं समर्थेन विवेकतः ।' q. by वृहदीश. folio 112b; यद्यद्विद्वत्तं लोके यश्चास्य दायितं गृहे । तत्तद्गुणवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता ॥ मार्कण्डेय 32.91, बामनपुराण 14. 106.

1201 a. वञ्जालङ्कारशय्यादि पितृयद्वाहनादिकम् । गन्धमाल्यैः समन्वय्य आद्रभोजनैस्तर्पयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by व्य. म. p. 129, आ. क. ल. p. 213.

1202. श्वतकान्ताद् द्वितीयेऽङ्गि शय्यां दद्याद्विलक्षणां । काञ्चनं पुरुषं तद्वत्फलवत्समाश्रिताम् । सम्पूज्य हिजवाभरणं नानाभरणध्वजैः । बृहदसर्गं च कुर्वीत देवा च कपिला शुभा ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 18. 12-14 q. by आ. क. ल. p. 213, आद्रस्तन p. 199.



verses of the Bhaviṣya quoted by Hemādri. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri ( and from Hemādri by the Nirṇaya-sindhu p. 596 ) states the mantra to be recited viz. 'just as the bed-stead of Kṛṣṇa is never devoid of Lakṣmī, the daughter of the ocean, similarly my bed may not be empty in each birth that I may have to undergo.'<sup>1203</sup> Acceptance of the gift of a śayyā was looked down upon in former times and even now it is only the poor brāhmanas ( that are not generally learned ) that accept this gift. The Padmapurāṇa condemns the acceptance of the gift of śayyā in no measured terms. It says 'when a brāhmaṇa accepts the gift of a bed-stead, he should have to undergo the ceremony of upanayana again. In the Veda as well as in the Purāṇa ( the gift of ) a bed-stead is everywhere condemned and all those who accept the gift go to hell.'<sup>1204</sup>

Certain other matters connected with śrāddhas may be briefly touched upon. In very ancient times twelve kinds of sons were recognized out of whom the kṣetrajā,<sup>1205</sup> the putrikā-putra and dattaka were most important. All these were the sons of two fathers. The question mooted was : to whom were they to offer piṇḍas ? The Madanapārijāta ( pp. 607-608 ) quotes a passage from the Hārita-dharmasūtra<sup>1206</sup> and explains it. Hārita says : 'seed does not grow without a field. Since it is seen that both are necessary the child born is the child of both. Out of the two ( fathers ) the procreator is to be first invoked

1203. मन्त्रस्तु—यथा न कुण्डलायनं शुभं सागरजातया । शय्या ममाप्यशूण्यास्तु तथा जन्मानि जन्मनि ॥ यस्मादशूयं ज्ञयनं केशवस्य शिवस्य च । शय्या...जन्मनि ॥ नि सि. III. p. 597. The मदहपुराण ( वेदखण्ड 34.81 ) has the verse यथा न etc

1204. दृष्टीतायां तु शय्यायां पुनः संस्कारमर्हति । वेदे चैव पुराणे च शय्या सर्वत्र मर्हिता ॥ मर्हितारस्तु जायन्ते सर्वे नरकगामिनः ॥ यस्म ( दृष्टिखण्ड 10. 17-18 ).

1205. The kṣetrajā son was procreated on the wife or widow of a sonless man by a *sagotra* ( a brother or other agnate ) or even an *asagotra* according to the rules of *niyoga*, the procreator being called *bijin* and the husband on whose wife or widow the son was begotten was called *kṣetrin*. The putrikāputra is of two kinds, (1) a sonless man gives his daughter in marriage to another with the stipulation that the son born of the marriage will be the son of the girl's father ( Vas. 17. 17, Manu IX. 127 ); (2) A daughter herself may be made a son ( Vas. 17. 16 ). A dattaka is a son whom his father or mother gives to another as a son confirming the gift with water ( Manu IX. 168 ). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 647-650 for detailed explanations about these and other secondary sons.

1206. तत्र हारीतः । माक्षेत्रं बीजं रोहति । उभयवर्जनाद्भयोरपत्यमिति । तेषामुत्पादयितुः प्रथमः प्रवरो भवति । द्वौ द्वौ पिण्डौ निवेदयत् । अथनैकपिण्डे द्वावप्युकीर्तयत् । द्वितीये पुत्रस्तृतीये पौत्रो लेपिनश्च त्रीनप्याचक्ष्णाण आ सप्तमादित्येके । मद्. पा. pp. 607-608 and कल्पतरु ( on भा. pp. 241-242 ).

(and then the kṣetṛin). He (the son) may offer two pīṇḍas to each grade of the ancestors or he may offer a single pīṇḍa (to the father and ) may repeat the names of both (fathers) as to that single pīṇḍa. The son (of the son of two fathers) may repeat two names as to the 2nd pīṇḍa (i. e. the pīṇḍa for paternal grand-father); the grand-son (of the son of two fathers) may do the same as to the third pīṇḍa (viz. the pīṇḍa for paternal great-grandfather).’ Manu IV. 140 and Gobhila-smṛti II. 105. say about the putrikāputra<sup>1207</sup> that he presents the first pīṇḍa to his mother (as she was appointed as a son), the 2nd to her father and the third to his father’s father. This appears to be one order in which pīṇḍas are to be offered by the putrikāputra, while Manu IX. 132 sets out another method since it says that a putrikāputra inherits the entire wealth of his own father if he is sonless and he gives two pīṇḍas (i. e. performs two śrāddhas) for his own father and for his maternal grandfather. The Śān. Śr. S. provides<sup>1208</sup> that if there be two fathers, the son should recite the names of both (bījin and kṣetṛin) with reference to the same pīṇḍa. Even Yāj. says ‘The son procreated according to the rules of *niyoga* by a sonless man on the wife of another inherits the wealth of both and offers pīṇḍa to both.’<sup>1209</sup> The Mit. adds that if a person appointed to procreate a son on another’s wife has a son, then the son so begotten becomes the son of the kṣetṛin alone and not of the bījin. As the kṣetrāja and putrikāputra have become obsolete for several centuries the subject has only an academic interest now. But the *dattaka* is still in vogue and a few words must be said here about the persons to whom the *dattaka* offers pīṇḍas. The Kalpataru quotes from the Pravarādhyāya a passage on this point which is as

1207. मातुः प्रथमतः पिण्डं निर्वपेत् पुत्रिकापुत्रः। द्वितीयं तु पितृस्तस्यास्तृतीयं तु पितुः पितुः॥ गोभिलस्मृतिः II. 105. कुल्लुक appears to be wrong in explaining पितुः पितुः in मनु IX. 140 as ‘तृतीयं मातुः पितामहाय दद्यात्’। मनु IX. 132 is ‘द्वौहित्रो द्यावितं रिचयमपुत्रस्य पितृर्हरेत्। स एव दद्याद् द्वौ पिण्डौ पित्रे मातामहाय च॥’. Here द्वौहित्र means पुत्रिकापुत्र.

1208. असावेतत्ते ये च त्वाभ्यामग्निं पिण्डाद् यथावनेजितं निधायोभावेकस्मिन् पिण्डे पितृभेदे। शाङ्खायनजी. सू. IV. 3. 10-11 q. by. कल्पलव p. 241 (on अ.). The आप. जी. 1. 9. 7 says ‘यदि द्विपिता स्यादेकैकस्मिन् पिण्डे द्वौ द्वापुलकयेत्’।

1209. अपुत्रेण परलोके निधायोत्पादितः सुतः। उभयोरप्यसौ रिचयी पिण्डदाता च धर्मतः॥ वा. II. 127; यदा तु मित्रकः पुत्रवाद् केवलं क्षेत्रिणः पुत्रार्थं प्रयतते तदा तदुत्पन्नः क्षेत्रिण एव पुत्रो भवतीति न बीजिनः। स च न मित्रेण बीजिनो रिचयहारी पिण्डदो वेति। मिता.

follows: <sup>1210</sup> 'If these (i. e. those who are *bijin*) have no issue born of their own wives, (the sons begotten by *nijoga* or given in adoption) should inherit their wealth and offer *pinḍas* to them up to three ancestors; if both (the *bijin* and *ksetrin* or the giver and taker in adoption) have no other son, then they (sons begotten or adopted) should offer *pinḍa* to both; in one and the same *śrāddha* they should repeat (the names of) the two - ancestors respectively (of the acceptor and that of the begetter) after having separately intended the same *pinḍa* for both up to the third ancestor.' The Baud. Dh. S. <sup>1211</sup> quotes a verse as follows 'The son of two fathers shall give the *pinḍa* (to his two fathers and pronounce) two names with each *pinḍa*; three *pinḍas* will thus serve for six persons (ancestors).' It would be seen from the passage quoted above from *Hārīta* that some authorities allowed two separate *pinḍas* for each degree of ancestors when there were two in the same degree. *Manu* IX. 142 lays down 'the son given should not take the *gotra* and wealth of his natural father; the *pinḍa* follows the *gotra* and wealth; the *śrāddha* (obsequies) of him who gives (his son in adoption) cease or fail (so far as that son is concerned).' This verse has been so interpreted by some decisions of the High Courts and of the Privy Council as to mean that the son adopted becomes totally severed from the family of his birth. This subject has been discussed at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 690-697 and it is established there that the severance of the son given in adoption is only partial, that the *gotra* of the natural family persists even after adoption into another family for purposes of marriage and *āśauca* and that the *Nirṇayasindhu*, <sup>1212</sup> the *Dharma-sindhu* and the *Dattaka-candrikā* declare that the son given away in adoption into another family can perform the *śrāddha* of his natural father;

1210. अथ यद्येषां स्वभार्यास्त्वयस्य न स्याद्विषयं हरेदुः पिण्डं चैव्यस्त्रिपुरस्य दधरथ यद्युभयोर्न स्यादुभयभार्या दधरथकस्मिन्त्राद्धे दृष्यद्विद्वैकपिण्डे द्वावसुकीर्तयेत् यतिग्रहीतारं चोत्पादयितारं वा पुर्नियारयत्वात् । q. by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 241) with variations. The same passage is cited as from *कार्यायन* by the एव. म. p. 115 (my edition), and from *कार्यायन* and *लोकाक्षि* (quoted in *प्रवरमञ्जरी*) by नि. सि. III. p. 389.

1211. अथाप्युवाहयति । द्विपितुः पिण्डद्वयं स्यात् पिण्डे पिण्डे च नामनी । अथश्च पिण्डाः वण्णां स्युरेवं कुर्वन्क मुक्यति ॥ इति । नौ. ध. सू. II 2. 22-23.

1212. दत्तकस्तु जनकरव पुत्राद्यभावे दद्यात् तत्सखे । गोत्ररिक्त्ये जनयितुर्न भजेद् वस्त्रिनः सुतः । गोत्ररिक्त्याद्यः पिण्डो न्यपेति दत्तः स्वधा ॥ इति मन्त्रकेः । इदं जनकरव पुत्र-सम्पत्तिवत् । नि. सि. III. p. 389 ; दत्तकस्तु जनकपितुः पुत्राद्यभावे जनकपितुः ज्ञातं कुर्वेद् वनं च गृहीयात् । वर्त्मसिन्धु III. (उत्तरार्ध) p. 371.

if the latter has no son at the time of his death and can also take his wealth.

*Vṛṣotsarga* (the letting loose of a bull). This topic has been dealt with by several sūtra works such as the Śān. gr. III. 11, the Kauṣītaki gr. III. 11 (in Benaras S. S. and III. 6 in Madras University Series), Kāthaka gr. 59, 1 ff., Pāraskara gr. III. 9, Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, chap. 86. 1-20. In numerous works some verses called *gāthās* sung by the pitṛs are set out one of which expresses the yearning of the pitṛs as follows: <sup>1213</sup> 'one should desire to have many sons; since if even one (of the sons) goes to Gayā (and offers śrāddha after his father's death) or if he performs a solemn horse sacrifice or lets loose a dark-coloured bull (the man having such a son will secure final release)'. The description in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra being tolerably full is set out here; <sup>1214</sup> "(This ceremony) takes place on the full moon day in Kārtika or Āśvina. In this rite he must first examine the bull. The bull must be the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living, he must have all auspicious

1213. एवमेषा बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गयां ब्रजेत् । यजेत वाग्भवेन नीलं वा वृष-  
स्त्वजेत् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 67, बृहस्पतिस्मृति verse 21, लघुश्रुत 10, मत्स्यपुराण 22 6,  
अथर्वपुराण 220. 32-33, वायुपुराण 83. 11-12, पञ्च (सुहृत्सूत्र 11.68), ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घात-  
पाद 19.11), विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146.58 and I. 144.3. The meaning is 'बहुनां पुत्राणां  
मध्ये एकेनापि गयां ब्रज्यमाणे पितृयुक्तिर्भवति,' as stated in स्कन्दपुराण, नागरसूत्र,  
chap. 216. 114-117. The first half occurs in अनुशासनपर्व 88. 14 and the whole  
verse in मत्स्य 207. 40 (which says it is an ancient gāthā and reads the third  
pāda as 'गौरं वायुवृहदेकया'). Compare कूर्म II. 20. 30-31.

1214. अथ वृषोत्सर्गः । कार्तिकमासाश्वयुज्या वा । तत्राद्यावेव वृषं परीक्षेत । जीवहस्तायाः  
पञ्चद्विग्याः पुत्रम् । सर्वलक्षणापेतम् । नीलम् । लोहितं वा । मुखपुच्छपादसृङ्गकुक्षम् । पूधस्या-  
च्छादकम् । ततो गयां मध्ये सुसामिन्द्रमग्निं परिस्तीर्य पीष्णं च पयसा अपयित्वा वृषा गा  
अन्वेत न हृह रतिरिति च हुत्वा वृषमयस्कारस्त्वङ्मुयेत् । एकास्मिन् पार्श्वे च केनापरास्मिन् पार्श्वे  
सूलेन । अङ्कितं च विरण्यवर्णा इति चतसृभिः शं नो वेगीरिति च स्नापयेत् । स्नातमलङ्कृतं  
स्नातलङ्कृतमिध्वतसुभिर्वत्सतरीभिः सार्धमानीय वज्रान् पुत्रवृक्षं कूर्माण्डीश्च जपेत् । पिता  
वत्सानामिति वृषभस्य दक्षिणे कर्णे वटेत् । हंसं च । वृषो हि भगवान्धर्मश्चतुष्पादः प्रकीर्तितः ।  
वृणोति तमहं अमराया स मे रक्षतु सर्वतः ॥ एतं युवानं पतिं वो वृषामि तेन श्रीवृक्षीश्चरत प्रियेण ।  
मा हासमहि प्रजया मा तनूभिर्मा रथाम द्विषते सोम राजन् । वृषं वत्सतरीयुक्तमैकान्यां कारये-  
द्विसि । होतुर्वक्षपुणं वृषासुवर्णं कारयमेव च ॥ अयस्कारस्य दातव्यं वेतनं मनसेप्सितम् ।  
भोजनं बहुसर्पिष्कं ब्राह्मणाभ्यां भोजयेत् ॥ उत्सृष्टो वृषभो वस्मिन् विषत्यथ जलाशये । जला-  
शयं तत्सकलं पितृन्तरयोपतिष्ठति ॥ हृष्टोऽपि हृष्टो भूमिं यत्र कृत्वा दधतिः । पितृणामक्षयानं  
सर्वयुतसुपतिष्ठति ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 86. 1-20. The काठकपुष्टा (59.3) reads 'हृह रतिरिति  
हुत्वा'. The commentator gives ten mantras here of which हृह रतिरिति is the  
2nd. The first half of एतं युवानं occurs in तै. सं. III. 3.9.1 (reads वरि वो वृषामि).  
The whole verse occurs in a corrupt form in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 147.12 and the  
verse वृषो हि is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 147. 10.

marks (i. e. must not be deficient in any limb), must be dark-coloured <sup>1215</sup> or red but having a white mouth, white tail, white feet and white horns, he must be one that can protect the herd (or that throws into the background by his height all the herd). Then after having kindled a blazing fire among the cows (in the cowpen) and having strewn kuśa grass around it let him boil with milk a dish sacred to Pūṣan and offer (two oblations) with the mantra 'May Pūṣan follow our cows' (Rg. VI 54.5) and the mantra 'here is pleasure' (Vāj. S. 8.51); a blacksmith should then mark the bull, on one flank with a discus and on the other flank <sup>1216</sup> with a trident. Let him wash the bull after he is marked with four mantras beginning with 'the golden-coloured' (Tai. S. V. 6.1. 1-2) and with the (five) mantras beginning with 'May the divine (waters) bring us happiness' (Rg. X 9. 4-8). Having washed and decked the bull he should bring him together with four young cows which also should have been washed and decked and mutter the Rudras (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11), the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. 10. 90. 1-16) and the Kūṣmāṇḍis (Vāj. S. XX. 14-16, Tai. Ā. X. 3-5). Then let him recite in the right ear of the bull the mantra <sup>1217</sup> 'father of calves' and the following mantras 'The holy dharma <sup>1218</sup> is a bull and is declared to have four feet; I choose him with devotion (as the object of worship); may he protect me on all sides. This young bull I give you as husband (O young cows!), roam

1215. A नीलवृष is variously defined. The मत्स्यसू. 207.38 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I, 146.56 define 'अरण्यानि शुक्लं पुच्छं यस्य श्वेतानि गोपतेः । लाक्षारससर्पणश्च तं नीलमिति निर्दिशेत्' . In विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146.42-55 and मत्स्य 207 the characteristics of auspicious and inauspicious bulls are given. The अर. क. त. p. 214 quotes झोन्नक as 'लोहितो वस्तु वर्णेन शुक्ले पुच्छे च पाण्डुरः । श्वेतः सुरविद्यानाम्प्यं स नीलो वृष उच्यते' . This is ascribed to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (रेशकण्ड) by आ. प. and छ. प. p. 226.

1216. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर says शूलेन हस्तिने पाशे वामे चक्रेण निर्बहेत् । I. 147.6 ; while the अविश्वोत्तर q. by छ. प. p. 227 says 'ततो वामे विशूलं च हस्तिने चक्रमालिखेत्' .

1217. The आश्वमेधिक of बृहदार (p. 75) sets out the whole verse as 'पिता वत्सतां पतिरप्यानामर्षी पिता महतां मर्याणाम् । वत्सो अरायु मतिप्रकृ पीयूष आनिका चतः सहस्रस्य रेतः' . It is a corrupt reading of ते. सं. III. 3. 9. 2 (which reads पतिरहितः पानां and आनिका मस्तु चतस्रस्य रेतः).

1218. The holy dharma.....four feet—This refers to the idea that Dharma, when in pristine glory in the कृतयुग, has four feet, but in each succeeding युग one foot is lost ; vide मनु I 31 (= आश्वमेध 232.37). Dr. Jolly is not right when he refers (in SBE vol. 7 p. 262) the words to नारद I. 11 (SBE vol. 30 p. 7) where स्ववहार is said to have four feet of which धर्म is one. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 259-262 for explanation.

about sportingly with him as your lover. May we not lack progeny, O king Soma, nor physical fitness and may we not succumb to our enemy'. He must drive away the bull together with the young cows in the north-eastern direction and give a pair of garments, gold and a vessel of bell metal to the hotṛ (officiating priest). The blacksmith should be given wages as desired by him and food seasoned with a good deal of clarified butter should be served to (three) brāhmanas (at least). That <sup>1219</sup> pool at which a bull let loose (in honour of a deceased person by his son or the like) drinks water serves (reaches) the manes. Wherever a bull (let loose) exulting in his strength scratches (or digs up) the earth, that earth becoming abundant food and water waits upon the manes." <sup>1220</sup> In the Anuśāsanaparva the pitṛs are represented as saying that by letting loose a dark-coloured bull, by offering water mixed with sesame and by lighting lamps in the rains a man becomes free from the debt he owes to the pitṛs (chap. 125. 73-74).

In the Garuḍapurāṇa it is stated that the deceased person for whom a bull is not let loose on the 11th day after death permanently remains a *preta*, even if hundreds of śrāddhas are offered for him. The same Purāṇa further provides that if a bull be not available on the 11th day, then the effigy of a bull made of darbhas and flour or clay should be symbolically let loose. <sup>1221</sup> In the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa the 12th day after death is prescribed for the letting loose of a bull (N. S. III. p. 505). The Nirṇayasindhu says that the making of an effigy of a bull with clay, darbhas and flour is without authority. Even at present people let loose a bull but owing to the rise in the prices of bulls this is becoming less frequent. Several mediæval digests such as the Pitrdayitā (pp. 84, 94), Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 69-77), Nirṇayasindhu (III pp. 595-596), Śuddhiprakāśa

1219. 'That pool' etc. The वायुपुराण (83. 45-48) contains verses of similar import, only two of which are quoted here 'बुधोत्सृष्टा पुनरप्येव वृक्षाती-  
ताम्बुकापरान् ... शुद्धेः सुरैर्वा यद् बुधमिहानिज्जलानिजं बुधः । मधुकुल्याः पिबन्त्यस्य अक्षयास्तः  
भवन्ति ये ॥' 45, 48.

1220. The बुधोत्सर्गविधि in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I. 147. 1-19) closely follows the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र.

1221. एकादश्याह्ने वेतस्य यस्कोत्सृज्येत नो बुधः । वेतसं ह्युत्तरं तस्य वसैः आहूतस्यैरपि ॥  
... एकादश्याह्ने संयते बुधप्रक्षालो भवेद्यदि । हव्यैः पिबेत्तु संयाद्य तं बुधं मोचयेद्बुधः ॥ गवहपुराण  
[I. 3.40, 44-45. बुधस्पति q. by आ. क. ल. p. 214 and बह्विजिह्वस्त q. by छ. य. p. 225 have a verse very similar to the first and the 2nd is ascribed to संयद् by the आ. क. ल.

pp. 225-230, Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa present a far more elaborate description, but from considerations of space they are passed over here. It is provided in these and other digests that such a bull should not be seized by anyone nor made to draw a vehicle and the cow or cows let loose along with him should not be milked nor confined in a cow-pen. A bull is not let loose for a deceased woman, but a cow may be donated together with its calf without being branded and after being decked with sandal-wood paste.<sup>1221a</sup>

What is the idea underlying the letting loose of a bull after the death of a person? If a conjecture may be hazarded, it appears to have been thought that if a bull were freed from toil (that is the lot of most bulls) and placed in the midst of pleasant surroundings, that act of the relatives of the deceased may in a vicarious manner conduce to the happiness of the departed spirit in the other world.

One remarkable matter about śrāddhas is yet to be mentioned. The Baud. gṛhyaśeṣasūtra III. 19, the Lingapurāṇa (II 45. 8-90, some of which are quoted by Śr. Pr. pp. 363-364), the Kalpataru (on śrāddha pp. 277-279), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1704-1717), the Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp. 361-371) and a few other digests describe the procedure of *Jivat-śrāddha* or *Jīva-śrāddha*, which a man was allowed to perform for the benefit of his own soul, while he was himself alive. Baudhāyana's being probably the most ancient extant description it is briefly set out here. "A man who desires his own highest happiness should fast on the 13th tithi of the dark half and bring together materials on the same day, which are required in the funeral rites of deceased persons, viz. six garments, a golden needle, a goad, a noose made of (cotton) threads, a ragged garment, a stalk of palāśa leaves, a chair of udumbara wood, jars and other materials also. On the next day he bathes; after standing in the midst of water he comes out and makes (the brāhmanas) pronounce 'this is an auspicious day, may there be happiness and prosperity (for you)'; he makes a gift of garments, a ring and dakṣiṇā and facing the south eats rice boiled in milk and mixed with ghee.

1221 a. वाचस्पतिमिश्र wrote a work called अश्वत्थधेनुदान in which he quotes two verses of ह्येवम from the रत्नाकर as follows: जीवज्जरी तु वा नारी श्रियते पुत्रिणी यदि । सप्तसामाह्वितां धेनुमाचार्यो वदामहेत् ॥ पतियुजवती नारी श्रियते चाद्यतस्तयोः । इत्थं मैत्रेयमुज्ज्वलः पिता पावतु जीवति ॥. Vide Descriptive Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, vol. III (smṛti Mss.) pp. 405-406 No. 2310.

He kindles the fire according to the general<sup>1222</sup> procedure laid down for *homa*, spreads round it *darbhas*, cooks food on the fire and offers from the cooked food four oblations of food into the fire; the first is made after first reciting the Puroṇuvākya<sup>1222a</sup> (invitatory prayer) 'catvāri śrīgā' ('Agni has four horns,' Rg. IV. 58. 3, Tai. Ā. X. 10. 2) and offers the oblation with the Yājñā (offering prayer) 'tridhā hitam' (placed in three plates, Rg. IV. 58. 4). The Puroṇuvākya and Yājñā of the 2nd oblation of rice are 'tatsavitur vareṇyam' (Rg. III. 62. 10, Tai. S. I. 5. 6. 4) and 'yojayitrī sūnṛtānām'. Of the third oblation the Puroṇuvākya and Yājñā are respectively 'ye catvāraḥ' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 3) and 'Dve sruti' (Rg. X. 88. 15, Tai. Br. I. 4. 2. 3); the Puroṇuvākya and Yājñā of the 4th oblation are respectively 'agne naya' (Rg. I. 189. 1, Tai. S. I. 114. 3) and 'yā tiraścī' (Br. Up. VI. 3. 1).<sup>1223</sup> Then he offers oblations of clarified butter with the Puruṣasūkta of 18 verses (Vaj. S. 31. 1-18, Tai. Ā. III. 12) and 1008, 108 or 28 oblations of clarified butter with the *Gāyatrī* verse. Then he goes to a spot where four roads meet, makes a gift of the needle, goad, ragged garment, the rope to a short-statured brāhmaṇa who has a dark skin and having made him repeat the words 'May the servants of Yama be gratified' he places the jars on grains of rice. Having wound round the jars that are full of water threads he prepares an effigy of a human being, three threads for the head, three for the mouth, 21 for the neck, 4 for the body, two on each arm, one for the male organ, five for each of the feet with the words 'May the revered Yama be pleased.' Then making ready the chair, washing it with *pañcagavya*, he makes the effigy of a human being on black antelope skin with palāśa stalks, he establishes the prāṇas in the effigy made on the jar and placing his body on the body made with stalks he should sleep. When he rises,

1222. For the general procedure of *homa*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 207-211.

1222 a. The पुरोनुवाक्य (or simply अनुवाक्य) is so called because it is recited to make the deity favourable before the sacrifice is offered (पुरः पूर्वे यागादेवतामनुकूलयितुं वा कर्तव्यते इति अनुवाक्य). Yājñā is the offering prayer. It is preceded by वे यजामहे and followed by vasaḥ (pronounced as वी३ वद्). Both these are uttered by the hotṛ in a high tone. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1058-1060. The yājñā is recited while standing, but the Puroṇuvākya is recited sitting. The verse योजयित्री सुवृत्तानां appears to be an adaptation of योजयित्री सुवृत्तानां (Rg. I. 3. 11).

1223. The verse is: या तिरश्ची निषद्यते (ते?) अहं विधरणी इति। तं त्वा वृत्तस्य चारुया यजे संराधनीमहम् ॥ वृ. उ. VI. 3. 1.



he should himself bathe his body with (the water in) the jars with verses of *Puruṣasūkta* and with *pañcagavya* and pure water and eat in the evening food mixed with *sesamum* grains together with clarified butter. He should give dinner to *brāhmanas* for the gratification of the servants of Yama. On the 4th day he burns (the effigy) with mantras. He should offer water and *pinḍa* with the words '*pinḍa to me of such and such a gotra for benefit in the next world; svadhā namaḥ.*' With these words he should bring to a close the rite. He should observe impurity for ten days for himself, but his agnates have not to observe impurity for him. On the 11th day he performs *ekoddīṣṭa*. They also cite the following verse 'one who is in distress, a woman and a *sūdra* having burnt one's body (i.e. effigy) with mantras should perform all rites on that very day. This is the revelation.' In the case of women the rite is performed silently or with (?) Vedic mantras. In this way he should perform his own *śrāddha* every month for a year and at the end of each year up to twelve years. And then he should stop. When he is not able to do all these (himself) his son and the like may perform them. They also recite the following verse; 'Although heirs may be alive one may perform one's *śrāddha* while alive, having quickly set about doing everything according to the rules, except *Sapīḍana*. One should not make delay as to the time specified above, since life is evanescent'."

It may be noted that the *Baud. grhyaśeṣasūtra* III. 22 contains a very brief procedure of the same rite, but therein two verses of *Kaṇva* and one of *Viṣṇu* are quoted. It appears that this is a later addition. The text of *Baud. grhyaśeṣasūtra* III. 19 is quoted by Śr. Pr. pp. 361-363. But the *Śrāddha-prakāśa* also quotes a long passage from the *Līngapurāṇa* and explains it (pp. 363-368). The procedure in the *Līngapurāṇa*, however, materially differs from that of *Baudhāyana*. It is passed over here from considerations of space. The *Śrāddha-mayūkha* also gives an elaborate description. Some of its provisions are stated here. In *Jīvat-śrāddha* the word *preta* should nowhere be used. An effigy of the person is made with fifty *kuśas* and is to be burnt by another with the mantra '*kravyādam-agnim*' (*Rg. X. 16. 9*). The person has to kindle fire on the banks of a river with his face to the south with his *grhya* fire or ordinary fire and has to dig up a pit and make a prayer to the earth as in the case of an actual death.

In the Bombay University Library there is a *Ma. of Jīvat-śrāddha* ascribed to *Śaunaka* in the *Bhadrakamkar Collection*,

It contains a far more elaborate procedure than that of Baudhāyana and is in prose. It contains many of the provisions of Baudhāyana. Further details are passed over here.

The provision of a śrāddha for a living person offered by himself is a perversion of the ancient idea of śrāddha. The basic and fundamental conception of a śrāddha was to gratify the spirits of *deceased* ancestors. People had gone crazy with the idea of śrāddhas and invented this new mode to satisfy that craze. I have known persons that performed Jivat-śrāddha, though they had sons, younger brothers and nephews who would have certainly performed śrāddhas for them on their death.

It is customary to make a gift of a cow with a calf to a brāhmaṇa, preferably a kapilā cow, on the 2nd day after the period of āśauca. Often times this is the only cow given, and the cow called Vaitaraṇī referred to above (p. 183, note 427) is rarely donated in the midst of the sorrow and turmoil immediately on the death of a dear and near relative. A declaration is first made that a gift of a cow will be made and then water is poured on the hand of a brāhmaṇa. Then holding kuśas in his hand the donor makes a gift of the cow with a formula noted below<sup>1224</sup>. The donee replies with the words 'om svasti' (Yes, may it be well!). Then dakṣiṇā (in gold or silver coins) is given and the brāhmaṇa says 'om svasti', holds the tail of the cow and repeats a Kāmastuti (eulogy of Kāma)<sup>1225</sup> according to the recension of the Veda he has studied. The Anuśāsana-parva (57. 28-29) eulogises the gift of a kapilā cow with the calf, given with a milking pail of bell-metal, whose horn tips are decked with gold, by stating that such a gift not only saves the donor in the other world but also his sons, grandsons and family for seven generations. The Anuśāsana-parva (77.10 ff) sets out a legend why the kapilā cow is the best of all cows.

The Purāṇas and digests devote a good deal of space to śrāddhas at tīrthas and at Gayā. Vide Atri 55-58, Vāyupurāṇa 83. 16-42, Hemādri (on Śr.) pp. 1568 ff and 1575 ff. This subject will be briefly dealt with in the section on *tīrthas*.

1224. ओम् अथामोक्षाय जितोयेति अमुकमोक्षस्य पितृमुकयेत्ययं स्वर्गमाप्तिकामः  
हमां कपिलां वा हेमवर्णीं सौन्दर्यां वज्रदन्तवां कांस्योपकोशं शुक्लालङ्कृतवृषितां सवत्सां  
वज्रदेवस्याममुकमोक्षमाहुकसमर्थे जाह्नवाय नमः सप्तमहं संमदहे। आहविवेक of ब्रह्मर p. 77.

1225. For Kāmastuti, vide p. 184, n. 430 above.

Much is said on the question whether śrāddhas should be performed in the intercalary month. The intercalary month is called by various names, viz. Malimluca (Kāṭhaka Sām. 38. 14),<sup>1226</sup> Samsarpa or Arinhasaspāti (Vāj. S. 7.30 and 22.31), Mala-māsa, Adhimāsa. An intercalary month is known even to the Rg-veda (Rg. I 25.8). The vendor of soma and the thirteenth month are condemned as *pāpa* (sinful) in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>1227</sup>. The Purāṇas tried to bolster up the intercalary month by calling it Puruṣottama-māsa (i. e. the month of Viṣṇu) but the original stigma attaching to the 13th month seems to have persisted. The general rule about an intercalary month is stated by the Gr̥hyaparīṣiṣṭa:<sup>1228</sup> 'the month called Malimluca is polluted and springs from sin; it is condemned for all acts; it should be discarded in all rites in honour of gods and pitṛs.' But exceptions to this sweeping prohibition have been recognized. Hārīta provides<sup>1229</sup> that all śrāddhas that come after Sapīḍana are not to be performed in an intercalary month. Vyāsa laid down<sup>1230</sup> that such ceremonies as jātākarma, annaprāśana, the navaśrāddhas, śrāddha on Maghā and the thirteenth *tithi*, the sixteen śrāddhas, bath, gifts, japa and śrāddha at the time of the eclipse of the sun or moon—these should be performed even in an intercalary month. The Smṛtimuktāphala concludes (p. 728) that there is no blemish in performing a śrāddha in an intercalary month provided it is to be performed before the end of one year from death. It is provided by Bhṛgu<sup>1231</sup> that the sāmvatsarika śrāddha of those who die in an intercalary month

1226. मलिम्लुचो नामास्ति त्रयोदशो मास इन्द्राय शर्मास्ति। काठकसं. 38. 10 (161-162); संसर्पोर्यहस्यस्याय स्वेत्याहास्ति त्रयोदश मास इत्याहुस्तमेव तत् पीणाति। तै. सं. VI. 5. 3.4.

1227. तं (सोमं) त्रयोदशमासादक्रीणस्तस्मात्त्रयोदशो मासो नाशुविद्यते न वै सोम-विह्वल्यशुविद्यते पापो हि सोमविक्रयी। ऐ. भा. III. 1 (com. त्रयोदशमासो नाशुविद्यते शुभ-कर्माशुक्रलो नास्ति).

1228. मलिम्लुचस्तु मासो वै मलिनः पापसम्भवः। बर्हितः पितृदेवेभ्यः सर्वकर्मसु तं त्यजेत्। शुद्धपरिशिष्टे q. by आ. क्रि. को. p. 38.

1229. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं यत्किञ्चिच्छ्राद्धिकं भवेत्। इदं पाप्यद्यवा पूर्वं तस्य कुप्याग्मलि-म्लुचे॥ हारीत. q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 374), आ. क्रि. को. p. 323, आहुतस्य p. 252 (as लघुहारीत).

1230. जातकर्ममवकर्मणि नवआहुतं तथैव च। नवात्रयोदशीआहुतं आहुतस्यपि च त्रयोदश। चन्द्रद्वयस्ये स्नानं आहुतं दानं तथा जपः। कार्याणि मलमासेऽपि नित्यं वैमिश्रिकं तथा॥ व्यास q. by आहुतस्य p. 283, स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 373 ascribes to वस).

1231. मलमासे शुतानां तु आहुतं यत्प्रतिपत्तरम्। मलमासेऽपि तत्कार्यं मास्येषां तु कार्यचन॥ शुद्ध q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 375). The नि. सि. III. p. 474 says 'मलमास-शुतानां तु यदा स एवाधिकः स्यात्तदा तत्रैव कार्यमव्यथा शुद्ध एव'.

may be performed in the intercalary month, but if there be none such then in the ordinary month of the same name. When the tithi for performing a śrāddha comes and there is then an intercalary month, Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha says that śrāddha should be performed in both months.<sup>1232</sup>

Further discussion about what may be done in *Malamūsa* and what is prohibited therein will be taken up in the section on *Kāla*. The question as to the day on which a śrāddha is to be performed if the tithi is spread over two days or if there is a *keṇya* of the tithi will also be discussed in that section.

Some of the works on śrāddha such as the *Prthvi-candrodaya* deal with what is called 'saṅghāta-śrāddha'.<sup>1232a</sup> When on the same day several persons die, but not at the same time, then the śrāddhas for them should be performed, as said by Rṣyaśṛṅga, in the order in which they died. But if five or six persons die at the same time on the same day (as when a vessel sinks in the sea or a market is burnt down all at once), then the order in which śrāddhas are to be performed is determined by the nearness of relationship to the performer of śrāddha in the case of each. For example, if a person's wife, son, brother and paternal uncle meet death at the same time, then the order should be this that the śrāddha of the wife is performed first, then of the son, then of the brother and then of the uncle. If the parents die at the same time by accident, then the father's cremation or other rites should be first performed and then of the mother.

Provision is made if the performance of a śrāddha is rendered impossible by some obstacle. Rṣyaśṛṅga provides<sup>1233</sup>

1232. आर्द्धीपाहनि संघाते अधिमासो भवेद्यदि । मासद्वयेऽपि कुर्यात् आर्द्धमेवं न  
ह्यसति ॥ इत्यवसिष्ठ q. by स्मृतिलिख. (आ. p. 375), नि. सि. p. 13.

1232 a. तत्रैकस्मिन्काले क्रमेण मृतान्, मरणक्रमेणैकेन कर्त्ता आर्द्धं कर्तव्यम् । तदाह  
अव्ययशुक्लः । कृत्वा पूर्वमृतस्यादौ द्वितीयस्य ततः पुनः । तृतीयस्य ततः कुर्यात्संनिपाते त्वयं  
क्रमः ।... भवेद्यदि सपिण्डानां युगपन्मरणं तदा । सम्बन्धसाक्षिमात्रेण तत्कमाच्छ्राद्धमाचरेत् ॥  
पृथ्वीच. folio 265 a; आकाशिः । पित्रोस्तु मरणं चैतस्यादेकदेव यदा तदा । पितृर्वाहादिकं  
कृत्वा पश्चात्मातुः समाचरेत् ॥ *ibid* folio 266 a.

1233. द्वये पितॄणां आर्द्धे तु आशौचं जायते यदि । आशौचे तु व्यतिक्रान्ते तेभ्यः  
आर्द्धं प्रदीयते ॥ एकोद्विहे तु संघाते यदि विघ्नः प्रजायते । मासेऽव्ययस्मिन्तिथौ तस्यां आर्द्धं  
कुर्यात्स्वयमन्तः ॥ अव्ययशुक्ल q. by अपरार्क p. 561, आ. क्रि. को. p. 480, मव. पा. 618.  
स्कन्धपुराण VII. 1. 206. 70 is a very similar verse and the verse एकोद्विहे तु is  
भवहपुराण (मेघलह 45.9).

'if impurity (on death) intervenes when a śrāddha is to be offered to the pītr̥s, śrāddha should be offered at the end of the period of impurity. If an obstacle arises at the time when an ekoddīṣṭa is to be performed, the śrāddha should be performed in another month on the same tithi'. This last refers to a monthly śrāddha. If any of the sixteen śrāddhas falls owing to an obstacle it should be performed on the amāvāsya or better still on the 11th day of the dark half. If there is an obstacle owing to impurity on death in the performance of a monthly śrāddha or yearly śrāddha it should be performed at the end of the impurity or on amāvāsya.<sup>1234</sup> The Padmapurāṇa (Pāṭalakhanda 101. 68-70) provides similar rules. If the obstacle is the performer's illness or his inability to collect materials or his wife being in her monthly illness, he may offer amaśrāddha described above.

It may be noted that while great emphasis was laid on inviting a very learned brāhmaṇa at a śrāddha, that object was often frustrated in practice by the provisions made in certain smṛtis that one<sup>1235</sup> should not partake of śrāddha food for three years after sapindana (which is often one year after death) and that by dining at a śrāddha in the first year one eats the bones and marrow of the deceased, in the second year his flesh, in the third year his blood and śrāddha in the 4th year is (somewhat) pure. Vide Par. M. vol. II part 1 p. 423, where smṛti passages prescribing prāyaścittas for partaking of food at various śrāddhas including sāmvaśarika are set out. Hārīta says: one partaking of food at Navaśrāddha should undergo Cāndrāyana, the Prājāpatya for dining at a monthly śrāddha and fast for one day for dining at a pratyūḍdika śrāddha. This is on the same lines as acceptance of gifts. A donor collected merit by making gifts, but it was for the acceptor to decide whether he should accept gifts. The ideal

1234. भासिकाये तु संवाते तन्तरा सुतसुते। वदन्ति सुदौ तत्कार्यं द्रौ वापि विष्णुः  
कथाः॥ वदन्तिस्मृत q. by अपराक p. 561; भासिकायुद्धकुम्भानि आह्वानि यस्मै च । अति-  
संवत्सरं आह्वं सुतकान्तरं विदुः।...एकादश्यां कुम्भपक्षे कर्तव्यं शुभमिच्छता। तत्र एतस्मिन्ने  
हेतावमायां किपते तु तत्॥ पञ्च० (पातालखण्ड 101. 68 and 71).

1235. अथ सुदआह्वं द्विवेदासीये। सपिण्डीकरणार्थं वाचव्यवर्धनं भवेत्। तावदेव  
न भोक्तव्यं कवेऽहनि कदाचन॥...प्रथमेस्थीनि मज्जा च द्वितीये मांसमक्षणम्। तृतीये दधिं  
मोक्षं आह्वं सुदं चतुर्थकमिति आह्वकारिकोक्तः। नि. सि. III p. 475; वाग्वाच्यं नव-  
आह्वं मज्जापरं तु मिश्रके। एकाहं तु दुराजेषु मायधिसं विधीयते॥ हारित q. in परा. मा. II.  
1. p. 423; see आह्वविशेष of बह्वधर p. 113, आ. कि. को. p. 345 for similar rules  
from other स्मृति; पञ्च V. 10. 19 says 'न भोक्तव्यं कुम्भस्य आह्वपणं करेत्'.

placed before brāhmaṇas was that one, though entitled to accept gifts on account of his vedic learning and *tapas*, should not accept gifts, if he desires to secure the highest world (Yāj. I. 213), while Manu IV. 186 affirms<sup>1236</sup> that though entitled to accept gifts a brāhmaṇa should not again and again resort to that method, since the spiritual power that he acquires by Vedic study is lost by accepting gifts. Manu IV. 85-86 (= Padma V. 19. 236-237) say that acceptance of a gift from the king is terrible (in its consequences) and Padma warns that gift appears sweet like honey but is like poison (i. e. deadly in its effects). This reasoning applied with greater force to officiating and dining at a śrāddha, where not only gifts are to be received, but also sumptuous food that will please the palate is served in abundance.

It has been seen above how the most ancient literary monument, viz. the Rgveda, shows that the funeral rites performed immediately after death were prompted by affectionate concern for the departed spirit mingled with some element of fear, that the object of those rites was to provide sustenance to the departed spirit and to endow it with an intermediate body before it became one of the *pitr̥s*. It has also been found that in the most ancient times of which we have literary evidence, there were rites for the worship of ancestors, being the Pinda-pitṛyajña performed every month on amāvāsyā, the Mahāpitṛyajña performed in the Śākamedha and the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. Gradually the rites for deceased ancestors became more and more frequent, all-inclusive and elaborate, so that ultimately an exaggerated importance came to be attached to the cult of śrāddhas over which there was an enormous expenditure of time, effort and wealth. The question now arises what Indians of the 20th century should do about śrāddhas. One finds that in these days when many brāhmaṇas even do not engage in any of the five daily obligatory yajñas (the pañca-yajñas), they are solicitous to offer śrāddha at least once a year to their ancestors. The following may be therefore suggested as a *via media* for all kinds of people. Those who have faith in the duty of performing śrāddhas and their efficacy for the benefit of

1236. मतिग्रहसमर्चोऽपि मत्तङ्गं तत्र वर्जयेत् । मतिग्रहेण ह्यस्याद्यु नाङ्गं तेजः यशान्वयति ॥ मनु IV. 186; vide वक्त्र. IV. 19. 268 for a similar verse. राजन् मतिग्रहो धोरो मज्जात्वाहो विधोयमः । तद् ज्ञात्वा नानः कस्मान्न कुर्वेऽस्माभ्यलोभनम् ॥ इमं धृत्वा तस्य धर्मो... तेन दुःखस्ततो राजा धोस्तस्य मतिग्रहः ॥ वक्त्र V. 19. 235.

the dead may perform them on a small scale, bearing in mind the emphatic admonition of Manu (III. 125-126), the Kūrmapurāṇa II. 22. 27, Padmapurāṇa V. 9. 98<sup>1237</sup> that one should desist from extravagance in the matter of śrāddhas, particularly in the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited. Those whose faith is shaken or shattered by the onrush of modern ideas and English education or firm belief in the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* should also remember one thing. The main underlying conception of śrāddha is certainly admirable, viz. a tender and affectionate regard for one's near and dear relatives. It is a good practice to set apart at least one day in a year for the remembrance of one's near and dear relatives that are no more, to invite relatives, friends, and learned people to a dinner in memory of the dead and to bestow monetary gifts on poor but learned persons of character and devoted to the practice of plain living and high thinking. This will be in keeping with our past traditions and will also give a new orientation to and infuse new life into practices and usages that have become lifeless and meaningless to many people. From very ancient times one of the fundamental conceptions of our faith has been the idea of three debts owed to sages, gods and *pitrs*. The debt owed to the ancestors is paid off by the procreation of a son who would offer *pindas* to his (and therefore also to his father's) ancestors. This is a grand conception. Nothing can be more sublime than the formula which one has to repeat at the time of offering *pindas* and water (with sesame) at Gayā 'may those of my ancestors that are in the form of *pretas* be all satiated by means of the (balls made) of barley flour mixed with sesame and may everything, whether moving or immoveable from Brahman up to blades of grass derive satisfaction from the water offered by me.' If the implication of this formula be thoroughly understood and

1237. द्वौ देवे पितृकृत्ये त्रिनैकेकमुभयत्र वा । भोजयेद्विम्बरोपीह न कुर्याद्विस्तरं बुधः ॥ पद्म V. 9. 98. जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्भोजनवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण क्षत्रियो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एव वा अन्तुषो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी । ते. सं. VI. 3. 10.5 ; क्षत्रमस्मिन् संनयत्यनुतत्वं च गच्छति । पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येच्चैजीवतो मुखम् ॥ दे. भा. 33.1. This subject has been dealt with already in H. of Dh. vol III. pp. 414-416 and may be further dilated upon under Gayāśrāddha. वे कौशिल्येतरूपेण वर्तन्ते पितरो मम । ते सर्वे वृत्तिमावाप्नु सक्तमिस्तिलमिजितैः ॥ आब्रह्मस्तम्भपर्यन्तं वर्त्तित्विस्तचराचरम् । मया दत्तेन तोवेन वृत्तिमावाप्नु सर्वज्ञः ॥ बाहुपुराण 110. 63-64. Compare also a similar invocation in बाहु. 110. 21-22 and the Mettasutta in the Suttanipāṭa.

implemented by actual practice, it will make the whole world kin. Therefore, while discarding the heavy accretions accumulated through ages, we Hindus of these days must see to it that we do not throw overboard the gold that lies buried under the crust of ritual and ill-understood ceremonies.\*

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\* In passing I may mention that my friend Mr. N. G. Chapekar, B. A., LL. B., retired First Class Subordinate Judge residing at Badlapur in the Thana District, has been celebrating the yearly śrāddha of his mother in the manner indicated above for about twenty-five years.



# SECTION IV

## CHAPTER XI

### TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ (pilgrimages to holy places)

All religions have laid great emphasis on the sacredness of certain localities and have either enjoined or recommended with great insistence pilgrimages to them. Among the five incumbent practical religious duties<sup>1237</sup> of a Moslem, pilgrimage at least once in his life to Mecca and Medina, the birth place and burial place of the prophet Mohammad, is one. The four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists have been the place of the birth of Buddha (Lumbini or Rummindei), the place where he attained perfect enlightenment (Bodh Gayā), the place where he set in motion the wheel of *dharma* by delivering his first sermon (at Sarnāth near Benares) and the place where he passed away into the state of *nirvāṇa* (Kusinārā). Vide Mahāparinibbānasutta (S. B. E. vol. XI p. 90). For Christians Jerusalem has been the holiest place and no religious community except the Christians undertook in historic times several great military pilgrimages. The crusades were launched to free the Holy Land of Christians from the domination of Moslems. In spite of what Gibbon says<sup>1238</sup> somewhat cynically about those who joined the crusades, it must be admitted that there were thousands among the crusaders who risked their lives and fortunes in the pursuit of an ideal. In India holy places have played a very important part. Large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated as sacred<sup>1239</sup>

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1237. Vide S. B. E. vol. VI, Introduction LXXI, for the five duties. The pilgrimage is called *Hāj* and the Moslem who performs it is entitled to be called *Hājī*.

1238. Gibbon remarks 'At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide arose by thousands to redeem their souls by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their christian brethren and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. VII (ed. of 1862) p. 188.

1239. Tagore in his '*Sādhana*' (p. 9) remarks 'India chose her places of pilgrimage wherever there was in nature some special grandeur or

(Continued on the next page)

and as the abodes of gods. In ancient and medieval India pilgrimages brought many advantages to the community as well as to the pilgrims themselves. Though India was divided into many kingdoms and the people of India followed several cults and sub-cults, pilgrimages tended to foster the idea of the essential and fundamental unity of Indian culture and of India also. Benares and Rāmeśvara were held sacred by all Hindus, whether they hailed from the north of India or from the peninsula. Though the Hindu community was broken up into numerous castes and suffered from caste exclusiveness, pilgrimages tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers or shrines. The traditions associated with holy places, the discipline through which the pilgrims passed, association with holy and philosophic men and the whole atmosphere and environment at *tirthas* made it easy for pilgrims to remain at a high spiritual level and inculcated in them a mood of reverence that lasted long even after they returned from the pilgrimage. Pilgrimages supplied the much needed stimulus to draw ordinary men away from selfish pursuits and to make them think of the higher and more enduring moral and spiritual values. These obvious benefits and the belief that a holy place was the abode of some divinity led ancient dharmaśāstra writers to lay emphasis on visits to *tirthas*. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. provides <sup>1210</sup> that the *dharma* common to all men comprises the following: forbearance, truthfulness, restraint of the mind, cleanliness, charity, control of the senses, *ahimsā*, obedience to elders, *visiting holy places*, compassion, straightforwardness,

(Continued from the last page)

beauty so that her mind could come out of its world of narrow necessities and realize its place in the Infinite. This was the reason why in India a whole people who once were meat-eaters gave up taking animal food to cultivate the sentiment of universal sympathy for life, an event unique in the history of mankind.' There is a fundamental difference in the outlook of modern Westerners and that of ancient and medieval Indians (which persists to a large extent even now). If there is a beauty spot anywhere most men in the West would think of building a hotel there for tourists, while ancient and medieval Indians would have thought of erecting a shrine there.

1240. कामं सर्वं वना शीतं वानमिच्छिषसंयमः । अहिंसा श्रद्धा श्रुति तीर्थावसरणं  
दया । आर्जवं लोभद्वेषात्तत्त्वं देवमाहात्म्यपूजनम् । अनपहृष्टा च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥  
विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II 16-17. Vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II. 80. 1-4 for a list of सामान्यधर्मसं  
such as अहिंसा, सत्यवचन, तीर्थावसरण and H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 11 notes 28-30  
for quotations about सामान्यधर्मसं from शान्तिपर्व, वामनपुराण, ब्रह्मपुराण and other  
sources.

freedom from avarice, honouring gods and brāhmanas and freedom from jealousy. Modern men whose faith in some of the aspects of the religious beliefs of our forefathers has been weakened or altogether sapped by the sight of the professional ministrants at the tirthas and their rapacity and ignorance should not judge the ancient attitude towards tirthas harshly.

The word tirtha occurs frequently in the Rgveda and other Vedic saṁhitās. In several passages of the Rgveda tirtha appears to mean a road or a way (e. g. in Rg. I. 169. 6 'tirthē nāryaḥ paurnsyāni tasthuḥ', Rg. I. 173. 11 'tirthē nācchā tāṛṣāpam-oko', Rg. IV. 29. 3 'karan-na Indraḥ sutirthābhayam ca.' In some places tirtha may be taken to mean a ford in a river, as in Rg. VIII. 47. 11 'sutirtham-arvato yathānu no neṣathā sugam &c.', Rg. I. 46. 8 'aritrām vām divas-prthu tirthē sindhūnām rathāḥ'. In Rg. X. 31. 3 'tirthē na dasmam-upa yantūmāḥ', tirtha probably means 'a holy place'. On Rg. VIII. 19. 37 'Suvāstva adhi tugvani' the Nirukta IV. 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and *tugvan* means 'tirtha' (either a ford or a holy spot). In the Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1-2<sup>1241</sup> it is said that the sacrificer is to bathe at a tirtha (probably a holy river). The Rudras are said to prow! about tirthas (ye tirthāni pracaranto śrkāvanto niṣaṅgiṇaḥ) in Tai. S. IV. 5. 11. 1-2 and Vāj. S. 16. 61 (reads 'śrkāhastā'). In the Śāṅkhayana Br.<sup>1242</sup> it is said that Day and Night are the sea that absorbs everything and the twilights are the unfathomable tirthas (of the sea). Tirtha also means the way between the 'utkara' and 'cātvala' pit for going to or coming from the sacrificial ground (the *vihāra*).<sup>1242a</sup> Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 984.

It is said that, just as some parts of the human body (e. g. the right hand or ear) are held to be purer (than others), so some localities on the earth are held to be very holy. Tirthas are held to be holy (on three grounds, viz.) on account of some wonderful natural characteristic of the locality or on account of the peculiar strikingness (or grandeur) of some watery place or on account of the fact that some (holy) sages resorted to

1241. अण्डु स्नाति साक्षादेव दीक्षातपसी अवश्ये तीर्थे स्नाति। ते. सं. VI. 1.1.1-2 Vide जैमिनि III. 4. 14-16 for a discussion on the purpose of this passage.

1242. समुद्रो वा एष सर्वज्ञो यद्ब्रह्मज्ञे तस्य हेते अत्राथे तीर्थे ब्रह्मज्ञे तद्यथा अनाद्यन्तो तीर्थानि समुद्रमतीनासादृक् तत्। शां. भा. II. 9.

1242 a. ते अन्तरणे आत्मालोत्करा उपनिष्क्रामन्ति तद्धि यज्ञस्य तीर्थमागानं नाम । शां. भा. 189.

them (for bathing, austerities &c.). Tirtha, therefore, means a locality or spot or expanse of water which gives rise to the accumulation of righteousness (merit) owing to its own peculiar nature without any adventitious circumstance (such as the presence of Śālagrāma near it).<sup>1243</sup> Or it is better to say that those localities that have been technically spoken of by wise and great sages as tirthas are tirthas, just as Pāṇini employs such technical terms as Nadi and Vṛddhi in his grammar. The Skandapurāṇa<sup>1244</sup> says that a spot of the earth resorted to by ancient good men for the collection of merit is called tirtha and that the main thing is to go to (i. e. associate with holy) men and pilgrimage is only a secondary object.

In the Rgveda waters, rivers in general and certain named rivers<sup>1245</sup> are referred to with great reverence as holy and are deified. In Rg. VII. 49 the refrain of all four verses is 'may the divine waters protect me' (tā āpo devir-ihā māmavantu). In Rg. VII. 49. 1 waters are spoken of as purifying (punānāḥ). Rg. VII. 47, X. 9, X. 30<sup>1246</sup> are hymns addressed to waters as divinities. They are said to purify a man not only physically but are also invoked to rid a man of all sins and lapses from the right path. The Tai. S. II. 6. 8. 3 asserts that all deities are centred in waters (āpo vai sarvā devatāḥ). In the Atharvaveda<sup>1247</sup> (I. 33.1) waters are described as holy and purifying and are invoked to confer happiness. About twenty rivers in all

1243. यथा क्षीरस्योद्वेशाः केचिन्मध्यतमाः स्मृताः । तथा पृथिव्या उद्वेशाः केचित् पुण्यतमाः स्मृताः ॥ प्रभावादद्भुताश्चमेः सलिलस्य च तेजसा । परिग्रहान्मुनीनां च तीर्थानां पुण्यता स्मृता ॥ पद्मपुराण (उत्तरखण्ड) 237.25-27, स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6.43-44, नारदीय-पुराण II. 62. 46-47. These verses are quoted by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ pp. 7-8 (ascribes them to महाभारत) and by तीर्थप्र. p. 10. Similar verses occur in अनु-शासनपर्व 108. 16-18 'क्षीरस्य यथोद्वेशाः सुखयः परिकीर्तिताः । तथा पृथिव्या भागाश्च पुण्यानि सलिलानि च । ...परिग्रहाच्च साधूनां पृथिव्याश्चैव तेजसा । अतीव पुण्यभागास्ते सलिलस्य च तेजसा ॥'.

1244. मुख्यया पुरुषयात्रा हि तीर्थयात्रानुबद्धतः । सद्भिः समाश्रितो भूय भूमिभागस्तथो-च्यते ॥ स्कन्द I. 2. 13.10 ; यद्भिः पूर्वतमैः सद्भिः सेवितं धर्मसिद्धये । सद्भिः पुण्यतमं लोकं सम्प्रतीर्थं प्रवक्ष्यते ॥ स्कन्दपुराण q. by पृथ्वीख० folio 135 b.

1245. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 12 for the rivers mentioned in the Rg.

1246. इदमापः प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरितं मायि । यद्वाहमभिदुर्ज्ञेह यद्वा शेप उताहृतम् ॥ ऋ. X. 9.8.

1247. हिरण्यवर्णाः सुखयः पावका याहु जातः सविता यास्तान्निः । या अग्निं गर्भं दधिरे सुवर्णास्ता न आपः शं स्योना भवन्तु ॥ अथर्व० I. 33. 1.

are invoked in Rg. V. 53. 9, X. 64. 9, and X. 75. 5-6.<sup>1248</sup> In Rg. X. 104. 8 Indra is said to have secured for gods and men ninety-nine flowing rivers. Vide also Rg. I. 32. 14 for 99 rivers. Rg. X. 64. 8 speaks of rivers that are thrice seven and the next verse mentions the three great rivers, viz. Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu, as divine and as mothers. Śaṅkara remarks that these three are the principal rivers of three groups of seven rivers each. Seven Sindhus are mentioned in many verses of the Rgveda (e. g. I. 32. 12, I. 34. 8, I. 35. 8, II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, X. 43. 3) and the Atharvaveda (VI. 2. 1 'apām napāt sindhavaḥ sapta pātana'). The river Sarasvatī has three hymns devoted to it as a deity in the Rg. (viz. VI. 61, VII. 95 and 96) and it is addressed in many detached verses also. Rg. VII. 95. 2 says that the pure Sarasvatī, flowing from the mountains up to the sea, alone among rivers, knew the prayer of Nāhuṣa and granted it. A king and smaller people are said to dwell on the banks of the Sarasvatī (Rg. VIII. 21. 18).<sup>1249</sup> The impetuous and roaring

1248. इमं मे गङ्गे वसुने सरस्वति क्षुताद्भि स्तोमं सञ्जता पश्यन्त्या। असिकम्पा मयद्विधे  
वितस्तयाऽऽर्जकीये कृष्णया सुषोमया॥ तुहामया प्रथमं यातये सज्जः सुसर्त्वा रसया श्वेता रया।  
सं सिन्धो कुभया गोमती कुसुं मेहन्त्या सरयं वाहिरीयसे॥ अ. X. 75. 5-6.

1249. Vide Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XV, pp. 1-63, where an attempt is made to show that Sarasvatī was really the Indus. But this is far from acceptable. Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned in Rg. X. 64. 9 as the chief rivers of three groups. Prof. Ksetreschandra Chattopadhyaya refers to the conflict of views among scholars, admits (on p. 22) that, in the 10th Maṇḍala of the Rgveda, Sarasvatī cannot be identified with the Indus, that in Rg. III. 23. 4 Sarasvatī cannot be held to be the Indus and asserts that in Maṇḍalas VI and VII of the Rg. Sarasvatī is really the Indus, while in Maṇḍala X it is not so. The whole argument is vitiated by several unwarranted assumptions. He takes the modern conditions of *Sarsuti* as existing in the early Vedic period. What reasons are there against holding that the Sarasvatī was in very ancient times a mighty river like the modern Indus and that owing to volcanic eruptions or earthquake upheavals and convulsions in the dim past the Sarasvatī lost its mighty character? Further how many centuries does he postulate as having intervened between the composition of the 6th and 7th Maṇḍalas and Rg. III. 23. 4 and Rg. X. 75. 5? I for my part find no difficulty in holding that in Rgvedic times there were two mighty rivers, the Sindhu (Indus) and the Sarasvatī. I cannot enter into this question in greater detail here. Even in the Purāṇas the Sarasvatī is described as springing from a Plakṣa tree, as flowing through Kurukṣetra, as rending asunder thousands of hillocks and as entering the Dvāita forest. Vide Vāmana-purāṇa chap. 32. 1-4 'सेवा शैलस्रष्टकाणि विदार्य च महानदी। प्रविष्टा पुण्यतोयेषा दमं ह्वेति क्षुत्म्॥'

flood of the Sarasvatī impinging by its powerful waves against the tops of hills is referred to in Rg. VI. 61. 2 and 8<sup>1250</sup>. In VII. 96. 1, Sarasvatī is spoken of as *asuryā* (of divine origin) among rivers. Sacrifices are said to have been performed on the Dr̥śadvatī, the Āpayā and Sarasvatī (Rg. III. 23. 4). In Rg. II. 41. 16 Sarasvatī is called the best of rivers and goddesses (ambitame naditame devitame Sarasvatī). Rg. I. 3. 11-12 praise<sup>1251</sup> Sarasvatī as a river and a deity, as a purifier (*pāvaka*), as the impeller of sweet but truthful words and the inspirer of good thoughts and as bringing to notice its great flood of waters. From Rg. VII. 95. 2, VII. 49. 2 and I. 71. 7 it is obvious that the R̥gvedic sages knew that the seven rivers fell into the sea. It would be proper to hold that the seven rivers are Sindhu (Indus), the five rivers of the Panjab and the Sarasvatī. Though from the R̥gveda passages cited above it appears that in the times of the hymns of the R̥gveda Sarasvatī was a big river with abundant waters, that it flowed between the Yamunā and Śūtudrī (X. 75. 5), in the times of the Brāhmanas it disappeared in the sands. It is now generally identified with the modern Sarasutī which is lost in the desert at Bhatnair. The Vāj. S. 34. 11 says that five rivers together with their tributary streams fall into Sarasvatī.<sup>1252</sup> There were three *satras* called Sārasvata, viz. the first in honour of Mitra and Varuna, the 2nd for Indra and Agni and the third for Aryaman. The *dikṣū* (consecration ceremony) was to be performed on the south bank of the dry bed of the Sarasvatī where it disappeared underground<sup>1253</sup>. Vide Tāṇḍya Br.

1250. इयं क्षुप्तेभिर्भिसखा इवारुजस्तातु गिरिणां तविषेभिरुमिभिः। ऋ. VI. 61.2; यस्या अनन्तो अद्भुतस्त्वेषश्चरिण्युर्यवः। अमश्चरति रोहवत् ॥ ऋ. VI. 61.8. The निरुक्त II. 23 remarks 'तत्र सरस्वती इत्येतस्य नदीवत् देवतावच्च निगमा भवन्ति' and explains Rg. VI. 61.2 as a verse where सरस्वती is described as a river.

1251. सोदायित्री हृदतानां चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम्। यज्ञं दधे सरस्वती॥ महो अर्णः सरस्वती य चेतयति केतुना। ऋ. I. 3. 11-12. For this last, vide निरुक्त XI. 27.

1252. पञ्च नद्यः सरस्वतीमपि यन्ति सञ्ज्ञातसः। सरस्वती तु पञ्चधा सी देवोऽभवत्सरित्॥ वाज. सं. 34. 11.

1253. सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते।... ह्यद्भुत्या अप्ययेऽपोनत्प्रोयं चरं निरूप्याधातयन्ति। चतुश्चत्वारिंशदाश्वीनानि सरस्वत्या विनशनात् एक्षः प्राञ्चवजः तावद्विः स्वर्गो लोकः सरस्वतीसंमितेनाध्वना स्वर्गलोके यन्ति।... यदा एक्षं प्राञ्चवजमायच्छन्त्यथोत्थानम्।... कारपञ्चर्षं प्रति यहुनामवधुधमग्यवयन्ति। ताण्ड्य 25. 10. 1, 15, 16, 21, 23. मनु II. 17 defines ब्रह्मवर्त as the country between the divine rivers सरस्वती and ह्यद्भुती and (II. 21) मध्यदेश as the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya mount-

25. 10 for the first Sārasvata-sattra, 25. 11 for the 2nd and 25.12 for the third. The land between Vinasana and Plaksa Prāśravāṇa (which was the source of the Sarasvatī) was the proper locality for Sārasvata sattra. At the confluence of Sarasvatī and Drśadvatī an *istī* to Apām Napāt was performed wherein boiled rice (*caru*) was the offering. From the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared up to Plaksa-Prāśravāṇa the distance was a journey on horse-back for forty days and nights. When the sacrificers (in the sattra) reach Plaksa Prāśravāṇa they should stop the performance of the items of the sattra and undergo the Avabhṛtha bath near the river Yamunā (modern Jumna) which flows through the country called Kārapacava (and not in the Sarasvatī even if it had water). For details, vide Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (10. 15-19) which mentions (in 10. 19. 1) a spot called Parīṇaḥ in Kurukṣetra where the Vedic fires were to be kindled, the Āśv. Ś. 8. 12. 6. 1-28 which adds that at the distance of each throw of the Śamyā from the Vinasana one day is to be spent by the sacrificers, the Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra (24. 5-6) which states that the *istī* at the confluence of the Drśadvatī and Sarasvatī is to be offered to Agni Kāma, Āp. Ś. 8. 23. 12-13 (which gives more details than any one of the other three sūtras). In the Ait. Br. a story is narrated that the sages performed a sattra on the Sarasvatī and Kavaśa who was sitting amongst them was driven out by them as not a brāhmaṇa but the son of a female slave and left in a sandy desert with the idea that he would die of thirst; but he praised the waters or *Apām napāt* with the hymn, Rg. X. 30 ('pra devatrā brahmaṇe') called 'Aponaptriya' and Sarasvatī came rushing towards the place where Kavaśa stood and surrounded it, which (spot) thence-

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(Continued from the last page)

ains, which is to the east of विनङ्गन and west of प्रायङ्ग. For the mention of विनङ्गन in the Baud. Dh. S., Vanaparva and Śalyaparva, vide II. of Dh. vol. II. p. 14 note 35. Dr. D. R. Patil in his thesis 'Cultural History of Vāyupurāṇa' (p. 334) remarks that the institution of pilgrimage was first started by Buddhists and Jains and that later on it became common to all faiths in India. This is quite wrong. The Brāhmaṇa and Śrautasūtra passages clearly show that there were holy places in the comparatively small part of India up to the Yamunā where the Sārasvata sattras had to be carried on. The importance of holy places, visiting them and performing religious rites there were known in the Brāhmaṇa period at least a thousand years before Buddhism and Jainism began to spread.

forward came to be called <sup>1254</sup> 'Parisaraka'. This shows that in the times of the Ait. Br. and long before it the bed of the Sarasvatī was dry. Devala <sup>1255</sup> mentions several places as Sārasvata tīrthas. The Rgveda <sup>1256</sup> VIII. 6.28 appears to hold that the valleys of mountains and the confluences of rivers are sacred. Mountains have been held by most ancient peoples to be the abodes of gods. Mount Parnassus north of Delphi was one of the most holy mountains in classical Greece and Olympus was supposed to be the home of the gods. In the Rgveda Parvata is a dual deity with Indra. 'O, Indra and Parvata! may you two sharpen (or purify) us (our intellects)' Rg. I. 122.3 <sup>1257</sup>; O, Indra and Parvata! May you two, being in the forefront of battle, kill with the thunderbolt every one who desires to attack us with an army' Rg. I. 132. 6. In Rg. VI. 49. 14 a prayer is addressed to Parvata separately 'May the god Ahirbudhnya, may Parvata and may Savitr bestow on us food together with the waters on account of our prayers'. In Rg. III. 33.1 the two great rivers Vipās (modern Beas) and Sūtudri are described as issuing from the lap of mountains. Here the word 'Parvata' is used in its ordinary sense. The Atharvaveda <sup>1258</sup> speaks of a salve (āñjana) from Traikakuda peaks of the Himālaya mountain 'May that salve which comes off the Himālaya from Traikakuda (peaks) destroy all wizards and all witches'. The Hir. Gr. I. 3.11.5 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 168) also

1254. अथथो वै सरस्वत्या सत्रमाकृत। ऐ. ब्रा. 8. 1; माध्यमाः सरस्वत्या सत्रमासत तद्वापि कथो मध्ये निपत्सुव। तं हेम उपोदुक्षारया वै त्वं पुत्रोऽस्मि न वयं त्वया सह भक्षयिष्याम इति। स ह कुक्षः पद्मवत्सरस्वतीमेतेन कुक्षेन तुष्टाव तं हेयमान्वियाय। शां. ब्रा. XII. 3. It may be noted that the Vanaparva chap 83 when enumerating the numerous tīrthas on the Sarasvatī and in कुक्षेऽत्र mentions a famous tīrtha called Saraka which is said to contain in it the sanctity of three crores of tīrthas (verses 75-76). This सरक appears to be the same as the परिसरक tīrtha of सरस्वती.

1255. प्रस्रवणं कुक्षकण्याकं सारस्वतमादित्यतीर्थं कौशेरं वैजयन्तं वृषदकं नेमिज्ञं विनज्ञानं वंशोद्भवं प्रभासमिति सारस्वतानि। श्वेत q. by तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 250.

1256. उपहरे गिरिणा सङ्घे च नदीनाम्। धिया विभो अजायत॥ अ. VIII. 6. 28 = वाज. सं. 26. 15 (which reads सङ्घे).

1257. शिशीतमिन्द्रापर्वतां पुवं नस्तको चिन्वे वारिवरवन्तु देवाः॥ अ. I. 122. 3 (सायण explains पर्वतः पर्वतात् वृषभादिपूरणवात् पर्जन्यः); पुवं तमिन्द्रापर्वतां पुरोयुधा यो नः वृत्त्याद्यप्य तंतमिन्द्रतं वज्रेण तंतमिन्द्रतम्। अ. I. 132. 6 (सायण explains पर्वतः पर्वतान्येषः। तद्विभिमानी देवः); तकोऽहिर्बुध्न्यो अद्विर्कस्तत्पर्वतस्तत्सविता चनो धात्। अ. VI. \*49. 14.

1258. यद्वाञ्छनं त्रैककुक्षं जातं हिमवतस्परि। यातुं च सर्वाज्जम्भयत्सर्वाश्च यातुधान्यः॥ अथर्व. IV. 9.9; vide also Sat. Br. in SBE vol. 26 p. 15.



refers to this salve. Gaut., Baud. Dh. S. and Vas. Dh. S. have the same sūtra <sup>1259</sup> stating that the 'deśas (localities) that are holy and hence destroyers of sin are all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (ṛṣis), cowpens and temples of the gods.' The Vāyupurāṇa <sup>1260</sup> and Kūrma state that all parts of the Himālaya are holy, the Ganges is holy everywhere, all rivers falling into the sea and all seas are holy. The Padmapurāṇa (Bhūmikhanda 39. 46-47) says that all rivers, whether flowing through a village or a forest, are holy and that where no name of a tirtha on rivers is known it should be called Vignutirtha. Kālidāsa speaks of the Himālaya as *devatāmā* (as vivified by the presence of gods) in the Kumārasambhava (I. 1). The Bhāgavata V. 19.16 names 27 holy mountains while the Brahmāṇḍa (II. 16. 20-23) names thirty. The grandeur and sublimity of snow-capped mountains, of large life-sustaining rivers and of great forests easily impress the minds of almost all people and induce them to think that there is something divine about them, that the Supreme

1259. सर्वे शिलोच्चयाः सर्वाः जलनद्यः पुण्या इवास्तीर्थाः पुषिनिवासा गोष्ठपरिष्कन्द्या इति देशाः। गो. 19. 14 = वसिष्ठ 22. 12 = बौ. ध. सू. III. 10. 12 (which reads ऋषि-निकेतनानि गोष्ठक्षेत्रपरिष्कन्द्या इति°).

1260. सर्वे पुण्यं हिमवतो गङ्गा पुण्या च सर्वतः। सद्युद्गताः सद्युद्गाश्च सर्वे पुण्याः सम-  
न्ततः॥ वायुपुराण 77. 117; सर्वत्र हिमवान् पुण्यो गङ्गा...न्ततः। नद्यः सद्युद्गताः पुण्याः  
सद्युद्गश्च विशेषतः॥ कूर्म II. 37. 49-50; 'राजा समस्ततीर्थानां सागरः सरितां पतिः।'।  
नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 58. 19; सर्वे प्रसवणाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्याः शिलोच्चयाः। नद्यः पुण्याः  
सदा सर्वा जाह्नवी तु विशेषतः॥ शङ्ख 8. 14 (reads सरासि च शिलोच्चयाः)। q. by तीर्थ-  
प्रकाश p. 14; सर्वाः सद्युद्गताः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्याः जगत्समाः। सर्वनायनं पुण्यं सर्वे पुण्या  
वनाश्रमाः॥ श्लोक q. by तीर्थकल्प° p. 250; वस IV. 93.46 has almost the same  
words (reads वराश्रमाः). The great mountains (called कुलपर्वतः) generally  
enumerated are: महेंद्रो मलयः सद्यः क्षुत्किनाचक्षपर्वतः। विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सतात्र  
कुलपर्वतः॥ कूर्म I. 47. 23-24, वामन 13. 14-15; वायु I. 85, मत्स्य 113.10-12. ब्रह्म  
18.16 enumerate them somewhat differently. The बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III. 81 says:  
'तत्रापि रैवतकविन्ध्यसहाकुमारमलयक्षीपर्वतपारियात्राः स कुलाचलाः'। The शील-  
मतपुराण 57 reads 'महेंद्रो...क्षुत्किनाचक्षपर्वतः। विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च न विनश्यन्ति पर्वताः'।  
The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (II. 16.39) and वायु (45.108) observe about rivers falling  
into the sea: तास्तु नद्यः सरस्वत्यः सर्वा गङ्गाः सद्युद्गताः। विन्ध्यश्च मातरः सर्वा जगत्पापहराः  
रक्षताः॥ In some Purāṇas certain great rivers are said to be specially holy  
at certain times. For example, देवीपुराण quoted by कल्प (on तीर्थ) p. 242 states  
'कार्तिके ग्रहणं भेदे गङ्गा यमुनसङ्गमे। मार्गे तु ग्रहणं पुण्यं देविकार्या महादमे॥ पौषे तु  
नर्मदा पुण्या माघे सनिहिता क्षुभा। फाल्गुने वर्णा ख्याता चैत्रे पुण्या सरस्वती॥ वैशाखे तु  
महापुण्या चन्द्रभागा सरिहारा। ज्येष्ठे तु कौशिकी पुण्या आषाढे तापिका नदी। श्रावणे सिन्धु-  
नामा च भाद्रमासे च गण्डकी। आश्विने सरयूश्च ध्रुवः पुण्या तु नर्मदा॥ गोदावरी महापुण्या  
चन्द्र राहुसमाश्रितेः। एवमादिष्वन्यान्तेषु तीर्थेषु सविहारास्तु सर्वेभ्यो स्वभावेषु पुलिनेषु प्रसवनेषु  
पर्वतेषु निकुलेषु वनेष्वन्येषु शोमयलितेषु जनाङ्केषु। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85.

Being is partially revealed in such surroundings. In Protestant Europe and the U. S. A. hardly anyone performs a pilgrimage to a holy place in these days. Instead, they tour different countries for rest, health and in search of natural beauty and a respite from humdrum existence. But pilgrimage to a place supposed to be holy for the curing of disease is not rare even now. When one reads a work like that of Louis Caroll, a great surgeon and a winner of the Nobel prize, on the miracles worked at Lourdes in France (in 'a Journey to Lourdes') one sees that pilgrimage has taken on a new motive in the West. Similarly, pilgrimage to the tombs of unknown warriors has become common owing to the two world wars.

In Rg. X. 146 a large forest <sup>1261</sup> (Aranyāni) is invoked as a deity. The Vāmanapurāṇa mentions <sup>1262</sup> seven forests in Kurukṣetra as holy and as removers of sin, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalākivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Punyāśitavana.

In the Sūtras and ancient smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya tīrthas do not occupy a very prominent position. But in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas they are highly lauded and placed even above sacrifices. In the Vanaparva <sup>1263</sup> a comparison is made between sacrifices to gods and pilgrimages. Sacrifices require numerous implements, collection of materials, the co-operation of priests and the presence of a wife and so

1261. अरण्यारण्यारण्यसो या देव नश्यति। कथा ग्रामे न पृच्छति न त्वा भीरिषि विमृशति॥ ऋ. X. 146. 1. The निरुक्त 9. 30 explains this verse and says अरण्यानी means अरण्यस्य पत्नी, while the वार्तिक 'हिमारण्यार्मेहस्ये' on पा. IV. 1. 49 holds that अरण्यानी is formed from अरण्य in the sense of महत्त्व.

1262. ह्यष्ट सप्त वनानीह कुक्षेत्रस्य मध्यतः। येषां नामानि पुण्यानि सर्वपापहराणि च॥ काण्विकं च वनं पुण्यं। ब्रह्मपुराण 34. 3-5.

1263. ऋषिभिः कृतवः शोका देवेष्विव यथाक्रमम्। फलं खैव यथातथ्यं त्रेयं चेह च सर्वशः॥ न ते शक्या दुरिद्रेण यज्ञाः श्राप्तुं महीपते। बहुपकरणा यज्ञा मानासम्भाराविस्तराः॥ प्रादपन्ते पार्थिवैरितैः सधृद्धैर्वा नरैः कश्चित्। मार्थम्यूनैर्नोषमणैरेकात्मभिरसाधनैः॥ यो दुरिद्रेरपि विधिः शक्यः श्राप्तुं नरेभ्यः। तुल्यो यज्ञफलैः पुण्यैस्तं निबोध युष्मां वरम्। ऋषीणां परमं सुखं सिद्धं भरतसत्तम। तीर्थाभिगमनं पुण्यं यज्ञैरपि विज्ञिष्यते॥ महाभारत, वनपर्व 82. 13-17, q. by तीर्थकल्पतक p. 37, तीर्थमः p. 12 (which explains अषमणैः तस्मादिसहायराहितैः, यज्ञस्य कुण्डमण्डपादिसाध्यत्वात्, एकात्मभिः, पत्नीराहितैः, असंयतैः ऋषिगादिसङ्घनतराहितैः)। The अष्टशासनपर्व (107. 2-4) has almost the same verses as न ते शक्या...शक्यः श्राप्तुं सहा भवेत्; मत्स्यपुराण (chap. 112. 12-15) has these verses (except the half verse मार्थम्यूनैः...साधनैः and वनपुराण, आदिकण्ड 11. 14-17, 49. 12-15; vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 4-5 for the same ideas in almost the same words.

they can be performed only by princes or rich men. They cannot be performed by poor men, who are devoid of wealth, who are without a wife and without friends, who are helpless. The reward that a man gets by visiting holy places cannot be secured by performing such sacrifices as Agnistoma in which large fees are paid (to priests); therefore visiting holy places is superior to sacrifices. But the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 82. 9-12 and Anuśāsana 108. 3-4) lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of pilgrimages is to be reaped. It says <sup>1264</sup> 'He whose hands, feet and mind are well controlled and who possesses knowledge, austerities and a good reputation derives the (full) reward of pilgrimages. He who turns his face away from receiving gifts and is content with what little he gets and is free from vanity obtains the rewards of pilgrimages. He, who is free from hypocrisy (or deceit), is not engaged in various undertakings (for earning money), is not a heavy eater, has subdued his senses and is (therefore) free from all sins; so also he who does not fly into a rage, who always speaks the truth, who is firm in his observances, and acts towards all beings by treating them like himself, obtains the full reward of pilgrimages'. The idea seems to be that pilgrimages may help to remove the sins of men who are not possessed of the above characteristics, while those who possess these acquire a great store of merit in addition. The Skanda (Kāśikhanda 6.3) asserts 'snāna cannot be predicated of a man whose body alone is flooded with water; that man who is plunged in restraint of senses, who is pure, relieved of all taint and is stainless, is alone to be called snāta' (as having had a bath). The Anuśāsana has almost the same

1264. यस्य हस्तौ च पादौ च मनश्चैव सुसंयतम् । विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ यतियथादुपावृत्तः सन्तुष्टो येन केनचित् । अहङ्कारनिवृत्तश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अकल्म-  
को निरारम्भो लब्धाहारो जितेन्द्रियः । विदुक्तः सर्वपापेभ्यः स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अक्रोधनश्च  
राजेन्द्र सत्यशीलो ब्रह्मव्रतः । आत्मोपमश्च भूतेषु स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ वनपर्व 82. 9-12 q. by  
the तीर्थकल्पतक pp. 4-5, तीर्थम. p. 13 (only 9 and 12). 'हस्तयोः संयमः परपीडा-  
चौर्यादिनिवृत्त्या, पादयोः संयमः अगम्यदेशगमनपरताडनादिनिवृत्त्या । मनसः संयमः  
कुत्सितसङ्कल्पादिनिवृत्त्या । विद्या अत्र तत्सतीर्थगुणज्ञानम्, तपः तीर्थोपासादि, कीर्तिः  
सञ्चारितत्वेन प्रसिद्धिः' तीर्थम. p. 13. 'अकल्मकः दुष्मरहितः, निरारम्भोऽत्रार्थाज्जनाद्विषयावार-  
रहितः' तीर्थकल्पतक p. 5. Vide also वनपर्व 92.11, 93. 20-23. The above verses  
of the वनपर्व occur in पञ्च, आदिकण्ड 11. 9-12 and the first two in पञ्च, उत्तरकण्ड  
237. 30-32; all occur in स्कन्द, काशीकण्ड 6. 48-51; बाहु 110. 4-5 are the  
same as the first two; the verse यस्य हस्तौ च is भाट्टरवृत्ति 8. 15, ब्रह्म 25.2, अग्नि  
109. 1-2; the स्कन्द (I. 2.2. 5-6) says that Āṅgīras sang the gāthā यस्य...  
संयतम् । निषिकाराः क्रियाः सर्वाः स...श्नुते.

words (108.9).<sup>1264a</sup> The Vāyupurāṇa states<sup>1265</sup> 'A steadfast (or wise) man visiting tirthas with faith and controlling his senses would be purified even if he has been guilty of sins; what need is there to say about him whose actions have been pure? One who has no faith, who is full of sins, whose mind is not free from doubts (about the rewards of pilgrimages and the rites there), who is an atheist and who is bent on bad reasoning—these five do not reap the rewards of pilgrimages'. The Skandapurāṇa (I. 1. 31. 37) remarks that all holy places, sacrifices and various gifts are meant for cleansing the mind (of its sins and sinful proclivities, *manaḥ-śuddhi*). The Padmapurāṇa (IV. 80. 9) remarks: sacrifices, *vratas*, *tapas* and *dāna* cannot be carried out fully in the Kali age; but bathing in the Ganges and taking the name of Hari are free from all defects. The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa<sup>1266</sup> puts the matter very clearly when it says 'When resort is made to a tirtha, it removes the sins of the sinful and tends to the increase of merit in the case of the good and that a holy place yields fruit to men of all varnas and āśramas.' Some of the Purāṇas (such as Skandapurāṇa, Kāśikhapṇḍa 6, Padma, Uttarakhaṇḍa, 237) say that in addition to the holy places on land (*bhūma*) there are certain virtues that may be called mental tirthas (in a figurative sense). According to them 'truthfulness, forbearance, restraint of the senses, compassion for all beings, straight-forwardness, charity, self-control, contentment, celibacy (*brahmacharya*), sweet speech, knowledge, patience, austerity, are tirthas and the highest tirtha is purity of mind.' They further state that a man who is avaricious, wicked, cruel, hypocritical and immersed in pleasures of senses is still sinful and impure even if he bathes in all *tirthas* and that fish are born and die in holy waters but they do not go to heaven because their minds are not purified and that even charity, sacrifices, austerity,

1264 a. नोदकक्लिङ्गनात्रस्तु स्नात इत्यभिधीयते । स स्नातो यो दमस्नातः सत्वाद्या-  
भ्यन्तरः शुचिः ॥ अतुष्टासन 108.9.

1265. तीर्थार्यसुखसर्व धीरः अद्विधाधो जितेन्द्रियः । कृतपापो विष्णुभ्येत किं पुनः  
शुभकर्मकृत् ॥ अभद्रधानाः पाप्मानो नास्तिताः स्थितसंज्ञायाः । हेतुद्वया च पञ्चेते न तीर्थफल-  
भाविनः ॥ वायु 77. 125 and 127 q. by तीर्थकल्पः pp. 5-6, ती. त्रि. p. 4 (which  
explains पापात्मा बहुपापमस्तस्तस्य पापशमनं तीर्थं भवति न तु पथोक्तफलम्). These  
verses occur also in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 56. 52-53.

1266. पापानां पापशमनं धर्मवृद्धिस्तथा सताम् । विज्ञेयं सेवितं तीर्थं तस्मात्तीर्थपरो  
भवेत् ॥ सर्वेदामेव कर्मानां सर्वाभमनिवातिनाम् । तीर्थे फलमहं ज्ञेयं नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥  
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 7 and 9.

cleanliness, frequenting sacred places, learning—all these are not tirthas, if the mind is not pure.<sup>1267</sup> The Brahmapurāṇa (25.4-6) states 'a heart that is wicked is not purified by baths at holy places, just as a vessel in which *surā* (liquor) was carried remains impure even after being washed with water hundreds of times, that tirthas, gifts, *vratas*, or (residence in) hermitages do not purify a man whose heart is wicked, who resorts to hypocrisy and whose senses run away (are uncontrolled). Wherever a man who has his senses under control may dwell, there are present Kurukṣetra, Prayāga and Puskara'. The Vāmanapurāṇa has a fine<sup>1268</sup> *Rūpaka* about the soul being a river full of the water of control, flowing with truth and having character as the bank and the waves of compassion (for all beings) and states that the soul cannot be purified by water. The Padmapurāṇa (II. 39. 56-61) extends the meaning and scope of tirthas by remarking that places where Agnihotra and śrāddha are performed, a temple, a house where Veda is being studied, a cowpen, the place where a soma drinker dwells, parks, a place where the *Aśvattha* exists, a place where Purāṇa is being recited or where one's teacher stands or where a chaste housewife dwells, or where a father and a worthy son dwell are all holy.

Numberless tirthas and holy shrines have been mentioned from ancient times. The Matsyapurāṇa states<sup>1268</sup> that Vāyu declared that there are 35 millions of tirthas in the sky, in the aerial regions and on the earth and all of them are centred in the Ganges; while the Vāmanapurāṇa 46. 53 states that there are 35 millions of Liṅgas. The Brahmapurāṇa says that the number of tirthas and shrines is so large that they cannot be

1267. सत्यं तीर्थं कृमा तीर्थं...तीर्थानामुत्तमं तीर्थं विष्णुर्दिग्मनसः पुनः।...जायन्ते च श्रियन्ते च जलेष्वेव जलौकसः। न च गच्छन्ति ते स्वर्गमपि सुखमनोमलाः।...दानमिषया तपः शौचं तीर्थसेवा सुतं तथा। सर्वाण्येतान्यतीर्थानि यदि भावो न निर्मलः॥ स्कन्द, काशी G. 28-45, पञ्च, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 11-28; compare मत्स्य 22.80 (सत्यं तीर्थं दया तीर्थं-).

1267 a. आत्मा नदी संयमतोयपूर्णं सत्यावहा शीलतया दयार्पितः। तत्राभिषेकं कुर्वन् पाण्डुपुत्र न वारिणा क्षुध्यति चान्तरात्मा॥ वासवपुराण 43. 25.

1268. तिस्रः कोट्योर्ध्वकोटिश्च तीर्थानां वायुरवधीत्। दिवि भूयन्तरिक्षे च तत्सर्वं जाह्नवी रमुता॥ मत्स्यपुराण 110.7, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 53-54, and पञ्च IV. 89. 16-17 and V. 20 150 (last पाद)। तानि ते सन्ति जाह्नवी); बराह 159. 6-7 काटिकोटिसहस्रानि काटिकोटिसहस्रानि च। तीर्थान्येतानि देवाश्च तारकाश्च नभस्तले। गणितानि समस्तानि वायुना जगदायुषा॥ तिस्रः कोट्योर्ध्वकोटौ च तीर्थानि भूवर्णनये। तानि स्नातुं समायागन्ति यक्षप्रां सिंहने हुरौ॥ ब्रह्मपु. 175. 83; तस्मान्मन्त्रायुजं वयमामि तीर्थान्याचरन्तानि च। विस्मयेन न शक्यन्ते वक्तुं वर्षासंस्तरपि॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 25. 7-8.

enumerated in detail even in hundreds of years. The Vanaparva <sup>1269</sup> remarks that Naimiṣa is the (best) tirtha on the earth and Puṣkara in the aerial region, while Kurukṣetra is the most distinguished in all the three worlds and that all the ten thousand crores of tirthas are present in Puṣkara (chap. 82.21). New tirthas were added from time to time and the monetary benefits derived by the permanent residents and particularly by the tirtha priests led them to prepare numerous mahātmyas of an apocryphal character and father them on Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Most of the writers of digests on tirthas follow a process of selection. The Tirthakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, one of the earliest digests (about 1110-1120 AD), devotes more than half the work to Vārāṇasī and Prayāga alone, assigns only two or three pages to such famous tirthas as Puṣkara, Pṛthūdaka, Kokāmukha, Badarikāśrama, Kedāra. The Nṛsimhaprasāda (Tirthasāra) mostly deals with tirthas in the Deccan and southern India such as Setubandha, Puṇḍarika (modern Pandharpur), Godāvari, Kṛṣṇā-venyā, Narmadā. The Tri-śthalīsetu of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa devotes two-thirds of it to Benares and its sub-tirthas and the rest to Prayāga and Gayā. This unequal treatment arose from various causes, such as the localities where the authors lived, their familiarity with the holy places and their predilections. There was also another tendency among the authors of Purāṇas, Mahātmyas and digests viz. that of great exaggeration and over-statement which is often repellent. If a man reads the description of one tirtha and does not discount much as sheer hollow laudation, he is likely to feel that a pilgrimage to a certain tirtha will yield all the desires in this life as well in the next and that after visiting a holy tirtha like Kāśī or Prayāga he need not go to any other tirtha, nor need he perform any *yajña* or act of charity and the like. A few striking passages may be cited here. The Vanaparva remarks that <sup>1270</sup> even gods and sages secured

1269. पृथिव्यां नैमिषं तीर्थमन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम्। त्रयाणामपि लोकानां कुपक्षेत्रं विशि-  
ष्यते॥ वनपर्व 83. 202, q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 19 and तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 178; नीलकण्ठ explains:  
नैमिषारण्ये कृतं पुण्यं पृथिव्यामेव सन्ततिर्नपि सार्वभौमादिपद्मातिहेतुरित्यर्थः, अन्तरिक्षे  
क्षुद्रपद्मादिमार्गे नक्षत्रादिवक्त्रेषु पुष्करं प्रापयतीत्यर्थः। The same verse occurs in  
मत्स्य 109.3, पञ्च (आदिकण्ठ 27.87) and the first half in वामन 7. 37.

1270. पुष्करेण महामान वेदाः सर्वविधाः पुनः। तिसृषु समभिसंपाताः पुण्येन महता-  
न्विताः॥ तत्राभिवेकं यः कुर्यात्पितृदेवाद्यने रतः। अश्वमेधाहवस्युणं कृतं याहुर्मनीषिणः॥ वनपर्व  
82. 26-27; मात्स्यपुराणे तीर्थ लोकेऽस्मिन्परिपठ्यते। पञ्च. (5th खण्ड, 27.78).

perfection at Puskara and that whoever takes a bath there and devoutly worships gods and his pitra secures rewards ten times of what the performance of *Asvamedha* might give. About this very tirtha viz. Puskara, the *Padmapurāṇa* says that there is no holier tirtha in this world. The *Vanaparva* (83. 145) in its eulogy of *Prthūdaka* asserts that *Kurukṣetra* is holy, that *Sarasvatī* is holier than *Kurukṣetra* and that *Prthūdaka* is holier than all other tirthas. The *Matsyapurāṇa* puts the comparative holiness of several tirthas thus 'the waters of the *Sarasvatī* purify after (one bathes for) three days, those of *Yamunā* in seven days, those of the *Ganges* at once, while the water of the *Narmadā* purifies a man at sight of it.' In its eulogy of *Vārāṇasī* the *Kūrma-purāṇa* states 'there is no place higher than *Vārāṇasī* nor will there be one' (I 31. 64). The inveterate habit of exaggeration goes so far that it is said that by merely residing in *Kāśī* till one's death not only does a man become free from the great sin of *brāhmaṇa* murder but from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths and is not born again.<sup>1272</sup> The *Līṅgapurāṇa* says the same thing. The *Vāmana-purāṇa* remarks <sup>1273</sup> that *mukti* (release from *samsāra*) can be secured in four ways, viz. by knowledge of *Brahman*, by *śrāddha* at *Gayā*, by loss of life in repelling the carrying away of cows and by residence in *Kurukṣetra* and that those who die in *Kurukṣetra* never come down (to the earth). Mere residence in *Kāśī* was so much lauded that the *Matsya* (181. 23), the *Agni* (112. 3) and other *Purāṇas* say that after repairing to *Kāśī* one should smash one's feet with a stone (in order that

1271. त्रिभिः सरस्वती तीर्थं समासेन तु वायुनम् । सद्यः पुनाति बाह्येयं वर्त्मनादेव नर्मदाम् ॥ एव, आदिकण्ड 13. 7, मत्व० 186. 11. The अभिलक्षितार्थचिन्तामणि (Mysore ed.) I. 1. 130 has a very similar verse 'सरस्वती त्रिभिः स्नानैः पञ्चभिर्वैयुनापहृत् । जाह्नवी स्नानमात्रेण दुर्धर्मेभ्य नर्मदा' ॥

1272. आ देहपतनापायस्तत्त्रेयं यो न शुचति । न केवलं ब्रह्महत्या प्राकृतं च निवर्तये । प्राप्य त्रिवेन्द्वरं देवं न तं शूनोऽभिजायते । मत्व० 182. 16-17, q. by तीर्थकल्प० p. 17 (which reads प्राकृतश्च that is explained as संसारवन्ध) and तीर्थचि. p. 345 which quotes the passage from लिङ्गपुराण, but those verses are not found in chap. 92 of the लिङ्गपुराण (Venk. ed.) which deals with वाराणसीमाहात्म्य. लिङ्गपुराण 1. 92. 63 is विप्लवकथयिष्यामि त्यक्तधर्मरतिर्नरः । इह क्षेत्रेऽस्तुतः सोऽपि संसारे न पुनर्भवेद् ; कार्यं कथं सुतो देवि अमुर्मोक्षाय कल्पते ॥ लिङ्ग० 1. 92. 94. The verse आ देहपतनाय occurs in स्कन्द, काशीकण्ड 25. 67.

1273. ब्रह्मज्ञानं नवाकारं ज्येष्ठे नर्यं भूयम् । वासः पुंसां कुपकोपे क्षुत्तिवक्ता चतुर्विधः ॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानात्प्राप्तं कालेन वचनाद्भवम् । कुपकोपक्षुत्तानां च पतनं नैव विद्यते ॥ वागम. पुराण 33. 8 and 16 ; the first occurs in वायु० 105. 16, अग्नि 115. 5-6.

one may not be induced to visit another tirtha) <sup>1274</sup> and stay in Kāśī forever.

The Brahmapurāṇa classifies tirthas into four divisions <sup>1275</sup> viz. daiva (created by gods), āsura (those associated with such asuras as Gaya), āṛṣa (those established by sages) such as Prabhāsa, Naranārāyaṇa and mānuṣa (created by kings like Ambarīṣa, Manu, Kuru) and provides that each preceding one is superior to each succeeding one. It enumerates six rivers to the south of the Vindhya and six rivers having their sources in the Himālayas as most holy and as devatīrthas, viz. Godavari, Bhīmarathi, Tūṅgabhadra, Venikā, Tāpī, Payasni, Bhāgirathi, Narmadā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Viśokā, and Vitastā. Similarly, Kāśī, Puṣkara and Prabhāsa are devatīrthas (Tīrthapr. p. 18). The Brahmapurāṇa (175. 31-32) assigns daiva, āsura, āṛṣa and mānuṣa tirthas respectively to the Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas.

There is a good deal of discussion in the Purāṇas and digests about those who are entitled or have the eligibility or capacity (*adhikāra*) for tīrthayātrā. The Vanaparva <sup>1276</sup> provides that brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, when they have bathed in holy places, are not born again. The same work further states that whatever sin a man or a woman may have committed from birth, the moment a person takes a bath in the holy Puṣkara all that sin vanishes. <sup>1277</sup> Therefore not only men but women also had the right to undertake tīrthayātrā. The Matsyapurāṇa <sup>1278</sup> goes further and asserts that 'Avimukta

1274. अस्मिन् चरणे इत्या वसेत्कश्चिं न हि त्यजेत् । अग्नि 112.3 ; अविमुक्तं यदा भवेत् कदाचित्कालपर्ययात् । अस्मिन् चरणे निषा तत्रैव निधनं ब्रजेत् । मत्स्य 181.23, which last is quoted in तीर्थकल्पः p. 16 ; अस्मिन् चरणे इत्या वाराणस्यां वसेत्ततः । कूर्म I. 31.35 q. by तीर्थम. p. 140.

1275. चतुर्विधानि तीर्थानि स्वर्गे मर्त्ये रसातले । देवानि मुनिर्मातुल आहुराण्याकृषाणि च । मातृषाणि त्रिलोकेषु विख्यातानि क्षुद्रादिभिः । ... ब्रह्मविष्णुशिर्वैर्देवीर्मितं देवमुच्यते । ब्रह्मपुराण 70. 16-19 q. by तीर्थमकाश p. 18, which also quotes the verses from ब्रह्मपुराण 70. 33-35 about the twelve rivers (देवतीर्थे). आकृष stands for आर्य. Vide ब्रह्म 70. 33-40 for examples of the four kinds of तीर्थे.

1276. ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वा राजसूतस्य । न वै योनिं प्रजायन्ते स्नातास्तीर्थे मन्वात्मनः । वनपर्व 82. 30-31 q. by तीर्थम. p. 19 (which reads न विप्योनिं ब्रजन्मयेते, meaning 'are not born in a condemned or low body').

1277. जन्ममृच्छति यत्पारं क्षिया वा पुत्रयेन वा । पुष्करे स्नातमात्रेण सर्वमेव प्रणश्यति । वनपर्व 82. 33-34 q. by तीर्थम. p. 23.

1278. नानावर्णा विवर्णाश्च बन्धाला ये क्षुद्रास्त्रिताः । किल्बिषैः पुण्यदेहाश्च प्रकृष्टैः वातकैस्तथा । भेषजं परमं तेषामविमुक्तं विबुधैः । मत्स्यपुराण 184. 66-67, कूर्मपु. I. 31. 12-43 q. by तीर्थकल्पक p. 26, तीर्थम. (on p. 140), तीर्थचि. p. 140.



(Vārāṇasī) is the highest cure for men of numerous castes, for men not (recognized as) belonging to any particular *varṇa*, for cāṇḍālas who are abhorred (by people) and for persons whose bodies are full of diseases and of aggravated sins.' It is stated in the Vāmanapurāṇa: <sup>1279</sup> persons of all the four āśramas (i. e. brahmacārins, householders, forest hermits and *sannyā-sins*) by bathing in the tirtha (mentioned by it) save seven generations in their families and that persons belonging to the four varṇas and women, when they bathe in tirthas with devotion, see the highest goal. It was provided by the Brahmapurāṇa that a brahmacārin can undertake a pilgrimage only if ordered or directed by his guru, and that a householder whose wife is alive and is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her; otherwise he would not reap the fruit of pilgrimage. The Padmapurāṇa (Bhūmikhanda chap. 59-60) narrates the story of a vaiśya called Kṛkālā who went on a pilgrimage without his virtuous wife and did not reap the fruits of a long pilgrimage (bhāryām vinā yo dharmāḥ sa eva viphalo bhavet, 59. 33). The Tirthacintāmaṇi and Tirthaprakāśa quote a passage (from the Kūrmapurāṇa) which glorifies Vārāṇasī (called Avimukta there) as follows <sup>1280</sup> 'brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, persons of mixed castes (varṇasankara), women, *mlecchas* and others who are born in evil forms and are of mixed blood, worms, ants, birds and beasts when they die in Avimukta are born as human beings in Benares and no one guilty of sins dying in Avimukta goes to Hell.' As regards <sup>1281</sup> women and śūdras, a smṛti verse provided '*Japa, tapas*, pilgrimage to holy places, becoming an ascetic (*sannyāsin*), efforts to attain mastery over mantras and worshipping deities (as a priest)—these six lead to sinfulness in the case of women and

1279. ब्रह्मचारी पृथक्स्थ वाग्यस्यो वतिस्तथा । कुलाणि तारयेत्स्नातः सप्त सप्त च सप्त च ॥ ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैद्याः श्रियाः शूद्राश्च तपराः । तीर्थेस्नात्वा भक्तिभुताः पदपति परमं पदम् ॥ वागमपुराण 36. 78-79.

1280. ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैद्याः शूद्रा ये वर्णसङ्कराः । श्रियो म्लेच्छाश्च ये चान्ये सङ्निर्णाः पापबोध्यः ॥ कीटाः पिपीलिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये द्युनपक्षिणः । कालेन निषण्णं याता अभिमुके वरा-जने ।... इमे मम पुरे देवि जायन्ते तत्र मानवाः । नाभिमुके भूतः कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी । कुर्म I. 31. 32-34, मत्स्यपुराण 181. 19-21 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 346, तीर्थम. p. 139 (which quotes from कुर्मपुराण and adds नाभिमुके भूतः कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी); ईश्वराष्टपदीता हि सर्वे वापि परा गतिम् । नाभिमुके भूतः कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी । कुर्म I. 31. 31-34 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 346, तीर्थम. p. 139. The same verses occur in पद्म I. 33. 18-21.

1281. जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा यज्ञया मन्त्रसाधनम् । देवताराधनं चेति श्रीशुद्धपतना-जिह्व ॥ q. by तीर्थम. p. 21, ascribed to मनु by अहोजि in विषयलीसेतुसारसंग्रह p. 2.

*sūdras*.' This was explained away by stating that this text refers to undertaking pilgrimage without the husband's permission (in the case of a woman) and as to a *sūdra* in such a way as to be opposed to the primary duty of a *sūdra* to wait upon learned brāhmaṇas (as laid down in Manu X. 123). *Katya-yana*<sup>1282</sup> as quoted in the *Vyavahāramayūkha* provides 'whatever a woman does that relates to (benefit in) a future state (i. e. state after death) without the permission of her (husband's) father, husband or son, would become fruitless.' It is clear therefore that it was recognized early that *tirthayātrā* was a popular way for redemption of sins in the case of all classes of men and women. Though a Hindu woman succeeding as heir to her husband's estate has only a limited and qualified ownership over it, judicial decisions have recognized that she can alienate a small portion of her husband's estate for the expenses of a pilgrimage to Gayā for performing her husband's *śrāddha* for the latter's spiritual benefit or of a pilgrimage to Pandharpur. Vide *Muteeram v. Gopal* 11 Beng. L. R. 416; *Darbari Lal v. Gobind* 46 All. 822; *Ganpat v. Tulsiram* 36 Bom. 88 (pilgrimage to Pandharpur).<sup>1283</sup> It was also provided that there was no question of untouchability<sup>1284</sup> when bathing in holy waters.

1282. नारी खल्वननुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्ता कुलेन वा । विपत्तं तन्मयेकस्या वत्कलेरपौर्ब-  
द्वेष्टिकम् \* कात्या. q. by च. म. ; p. 113; this verse is quoted by चतुर्वर्गः on द्व. I. p. 327 as from आश्विनपुराण and और्ववेष्टिकम् is explained as व्रतानि.

1283. Strangely enough, the Calcutta High court has held that a widow cannot validly alienate a part of her husband's property inherited by her as heir for a pilgrimage to Benares; vide *Hari v. Bajrand* 13 C. W. N. 544 at p. 547. But a gift to the temple of Jagannātha at Purī for *bhog* (offerings of cooked food) to the deity and for the maintenance of the priests there for the salvation of the husband and the members of his family and for the widow's own salvation was upheld by the Privy Council in *Sardar Singh v. Kunj Behari* 49 I. A. 383. As seen in note 1294 below, a person on returning from a pilgrimage had to honour and feed brāhmaṇas. In *Dinanath v. Hrishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303, 1306, where a widow on returning from a pilgrimage to Gayā for the benefit of her husband's soul incurred a debt for feeding brāhmaṇas and her husband's relatives and alienated a portion of her husband's property, it was held that the debt was one for a spiritual purpose and was binding on the reversifiers after the death of the widow.

1284. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां संयामे वेदविद्वहे । नवरयामहादे च सृष्टास्तृष्टिर्न दुष्पति ॥  
बृह. q. by कल्पतरु on छुद्रि p. 169, स्तुतिच. I. p. 122. This is variously explained. The तीर्थच. p. 41 says 'तीर्थे विवाह इत्यनेनानिवार्य-तीर्थाद्यधिकरणकास्तृष्ट्यर्थो न दोषावेत्यभिधानात् । सृष्टास्तृष्टिर्न दुष्पतीति वचनं पञ्चाङ्गछुद्रौ कल्पतरुकृता लिखिते तीर्थे पञ्चाङ्गवर्गे न दोष इति । अत एव दुष्पतीत्यनेनोपादौ तथैव सिद्धाचार इति ॥' Vide above note 750 for the same quotation. The छुद्रिच. p. 130 explains: तीर्थादौ अस्तृष्ट्य-  
र्थज्ञाने नाप्यमन्यमानादि.

There is a verse of Bṛhaspati: 'At holy places, in marriages, in a religious festival (or procession), in a battle, when there is an invasion of the country and when a town or village is on fire, no blame attaches on the ground of incurring contact with untouchable persons or things.'

In order to guard against the facile assumption that without a change of heart or change in one's sinful mode of life a mere physical act of pilgrimage and bath in holy waters would be enough, some of the texts in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas adopted two propositions: viz. the one noted above that it is the pure mind that is a real tirtha and further emphasized that it is better to stay at home and perform all the duties of a householder including the performance of vedic sacrifices than to go on a pilgrimage. The Śānti-parva<sup>1285</sup> in the dialogue between Tulādhara and Jājali (a brāhmana proud of his *tapas*) asserts that puroḍāśa is the holiest of offerings, that all rivers are (holy like) Sarasvatī and all hillocks (and not merely Himālaya and the like) are holy, that one's soul is a tirtha and advises Jājali not to be a guest (i. e. to be wandering in quest of tirthas) to several countries. The Tirthacintāmaṇi and Tirthaprakāśa quote passages from the Brahmapurāṇa that a brāhmana should wander about tirthas after his capacity to perform sacrifices has come to an end, that it is better for a man to stay at home and perform the duties of an householder when he has the capacity and authority to perform *ṛgīs* and *yajñas*, and that all the tirthas do not come up (in their rewards) to the performance of *agnihotra*.<sup>1286</sup> The Kūrmapurāṇa<sup>1287</sup> has the following remarkable verses on this point. 'That person who abandoning his proper duties<sup>1287</sup> resorts to tirthas does not reap the fruits of

1285. पुरोडाशो हि सर्वेषां यजुर्ना मेव उच्यते। सर्वं नमः सरस्वत्यः सर्वं पुण्याः  
सिलोच्चयाः। जाजले तीर्थमात्मेव मा स्म वेत्तातिथिर्वचः। एतानीहसकात् वर्मानाचरन्निह जाजले।  
कारणेधर्ममन्विच्छत् स लोकामाप्नुते क्षुमात्। ज्ञान्तिपर्व 263. 40-42. नीलकण्ठ explains:  
'यज्ञेनात्मसमाधानं तत्रैव सर्वानि तीर्थानि सन्तीत्यर्थः'।

1286. यज्ञाधिकारेष्वप्यत्र निवृत्ते विश्वस्तु तीर्थानि परिभ्रमेत्।... यस्यापि यज्ञेष्वधिकारि-  
तास्ति वरं यज्ञं यद्व्यर्थाच्च सर्वं। एवं यद्व्याजमसंस्थितस्य तीर्थं वतिः पूर्वतरेर्निषिद्धा। सर्वानि  
तीर्थान्यपि आग्निहोत्रद्वयानि नैवेति वचं वक्ष्यामः। ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थकल्पतट p. 9,  
तीर्थचि. pp. 5-6 and तीर्थम. p. 19. Vide नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 22 for the first verse.

1287. यः स्वधर्मात् परिव्रज्य तीर्थंतेषां करोति हि। न तस्य फलते तीर्थमिह लोके  
परत्र च॥ यार्थमिच्छी च निजुरस्तथा यायावते यही। यजुर्नात्तीर्थंतेषां यस्याप्यस्तादृशो  
जनः॥ सहागिर्षां सयत्निको यच्छेतीर्थानि यत्नतः। सर्वपापविभिर्मुक्तो यथोक्तो नतिमाप्नुयात्॥  
अज्ञानि श्रीव्यासकुर्वाण्डुर्वा तीर्थसेवकम्। विद्याय इति पुत्राणां भार्या तेषु विद्याय च॥  
कुर्म II. 44. 20-23.

pilgrimage in this world as well as in the next. A person who has to undergo an expiation (for a sin), or who is a widower or who is a householder of the *yāyāvara*<sup>1288</sup> type or similar persons may resort to pilgrimages. One may go to holy places with his vedic fires or with his wife; he becomes free from all sins and secures the best goal as stated above. One who wants to go on pilgrimages should pay off the three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and should consign his wife to their care.'

Ancient writers on Dharmaśāstra favoured pilgrimages by prescribing, as stated in the Viṣṇu Dh. S., that<sup>1289</sup> no money was to be demanded from a Vedic student, a forest hermit, an ascetic, a pregnant woman and a pilgrim by a ferryman or by a toll officer and that if he took money from such persons he was to be made to return it. But this prescription was not invariably followed even by Hindu Kings. The Rājatarāṅgiṇī (VI. 254-255 and VII. 1008) notices that a tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śrāddhas at Gayā.<sup>1290</sup> It appears that Siddharāja king of Anahilavād (1095-1143 A. D.) levied a tax on pilgrims going to Somanātha at the frontier town Bāhuloda, that he remitted the tax at the intercession of his mother and that the tax thus remitted amounted to 72 lakhs of rupees every year (this last may be an exaggeration to glorify Siddharāja).<sup>1290a</sup> Moslem kings levied this tax. It appears that a great writer called Kavindrācārya took up the cause of Hindu pilgrims visiting Prayāga and Kāśī and so eloquently pleaded it before Emperor Shah Jehan that the latter remitted the tax altogether

1288. A householder is said to be of two sorts, *śālina* and *yāyāvara*. The latter is one who subsists by picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken from the fields to the house or threshing floor or who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as a priest or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 641-642 and notes 1501-1504. For the three debts to Gods, Manes and sages, vide. H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 270 and 425.

1289. ब्रह्मचारिणान्मरणभिक्षुवर्णिनीर्थावृत्तारिणां नाधिकः शौलिकः कुल्कमाव-  
धानम् । तत्र तेषां दद्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 132-133.

1290. काश्मीरिकाणां यः आज्ञाकुलकोष्ठेन मयान्तरे । सोपदेरमस्तकः क्षुरः  
परिहासपुराण्यः ॥ बद्धा नहरिणा कण्ठे वितस्ताम्भसि पातितः । राजत. VI. 254-55.  
The valiant *परमस्तक* of परिहासपुर who had relieved Kashmir residents from the tax at Gayā was drowned in Vitastā (by queen Diddā) with a big stone tied round his neck.

1290 a. Vide Bom. G. vol. I. part I p. 172 and Prabandha-cintāmaṇi (tr. by Tawney p. 84).

and conferred upon the great scholar <sup>1291</sup> the title of 'Sarva-vidyā-nidhāna'. People throughout India felt such relief at the remission of the tax that congratulatory letters and addresses (several of them couched in very poetic language) poured upon Kavindrācārya. These have been published in a work styled 'Kavindra-candrodaya' by Dr. Har Dutta Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar (in the Poona Oriental series), a characteristic verse from which is quoted below.<sup>1292</sup> In a remarkable copper-plate inscription in Sanskrit<sup>1293</sup> and Kannada issued by the Hoysala king Narasimha III in Māgha śukla 1200 (1279 A. D.) it is said that the king granted the revenues (amounting to 645 *niṣkas* a year) of a village called Hebbāle to the pilgrims of Kāśī and to god Śrīviśveśvara for the purpose of enabling the pilgrims to Benares (including those from the whole of Kārṇāṭaka, from the countries of Telingana, Tulu, Tirhut, Gauda and others) to pay off the tax levied by the Turaṣkas (Moslem kings).<sup>1293</sup>

The digests quote certain verses of the Brahmapurāṇa about the rites to be performed when a person decides to start on a pilgrimage. The Brahmapurāṇa provides that the intending pilgrim should restrain his senses the previous day, should observe a fast and on the next day he should offer worship to Gaṇeśa, the gods, the pitrs and honour good brāhmanas according to his ability and when he returns from the pilgrimage he should offer similar worship and honour.<sup>1294</sup> The digests

1291. Vide I. A. vol. 41 (1912) p. 7 at p. 11 for an account by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri of the abolition of the pilgrim tax by Shah Jeha n.

1292. वेव श्रीसाहिजाई नरपतिसिलकः स्वद्वयः कुतोऽप्यर्थि चारदयं प्रपन्नः पुनरपि विहितः साहिद्वाराकोटः । काशीवीर्यमवागमतिजमितकराहमोसेकहेतुः सोर्व श्रीमान्क-  
वीन्दो जपति कविकवलीरवावाविराजः ॥ कवीन्दुचन्द्रोदय p. 23 No. 169. There is possibly a veiled allusion to कवेन्दुचन्द्र in the words 'साहिद्वारा'.

1293. Vide Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. 15 No. 298 pp. 71-73 (containing transliterated text) and p. 12 of the dynastic list; the important words in Kannada are 'Ellā-ketravāsi-gaṇa Turaḥkariga ... Kula karnāṭigara Telagara...Telū-Maleygara...Tirabhukṭi-gara...Gavudigara' &c. This inscription indicates that the expression 'Turaṣkaṇḍa' occurring in certain Gāhādvala inscriptions such as those in E. I. IX at p. 305, E. I. XIII, p. 295, E. I. XIV, p. 195 meant a levy imposed by Moslem raiders and rulers.

1294. को वः कश्चिदीर्यकायां तु यन्मेन्द्रसंयतः स च पूर्व यदे स्वे । कुतोयकासः कुचिर-  
यमसः समुज्ज्वलजिगमो यमेकाव । देवाय पितृन् ब्रह्मण्यन्तैव साधून् धीमान् पितृन् ब्राह्मण्यन्  
पूजयेत् । प्रयासतश्चापि पुनस्तथैव देवाय पितृन् ब्राह्मण्यन् पूजयेत् । ब्रह्महृत्य q. by श्री-  
कण्ठः p. 9, तीर्थचि. p. 6 (explains कुतयत इति पूर्वदिने कुतैकमकाशिनियमः), तीर्थम.

explain that on return there is no fast and no worship of Ganeśa. He should perform śrāddha in which there is plenty of ghee, honour three brāhmanas (at least) with the offer of sandalwood paste &c. and then make a resolve (*saukalpa*) to go on pilgrimage. The Vāyupurāṇa <sup>1295</sup> and the digests lay down that (after the worship of Ganeśa, the planets and the deities) he should put on the dress of a *kārpaṭi* viz. wear a copper-ring, a copper bracelet and reddish garments. Bhaṭṭojī (p. 5) states that according to some the apparel of *kārpaṭika* is to be put on by a pilgrim going to Gayā. The Padma (IV. 19. 22) prescribes the pilgrim's dress for other tirthas also. The Tir. C. adds that this dress is to be worn only on the journey to a tirtha, when the pilgrim is in a tirtha, but not at the time of performing his daily duties such as taking meals (p. 9).

There is a difference of opinion among the digests as to whether tonsure of the head is obligatory when starting on a pilgrimage. The Padmapurāṇa <sup>1296</sup> and Skandapurāṇa appear to make it obligatory. The Tirtha-Kalpataru does not <sup>1297</sup> refer to tonsure at all, while a fast at a tirtha is declared by it to be optional. The tendency of later digest-writers is generally to make every religious act more elaborate and harder. The tonsure of the head and beard was prescribed for a sacrificer

(Continued from the last page)

p. 23 (which states 'कुतःपतः इतिदिने कुतैकभक्तानि नियम इति केचित्, ब्रह्मचर्यादि-युक्त इति तु युक्तम्'). In *Dinanath v. I'* *ishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303 this passage of the Brahmapurāṇa is quoted and relied upon. These verses occur in भारद्वाज (उत्तर) 62. 24-25). The स्कन्दपुराण (काशीखण्ड 6. 56-57) and पद्म have similar verses: तीर्थयात्रां चिकीर्षुः प्राग्विधापोषेणं एव । मणेशं च पिबन् विमानं साधुम् शक्यम् प्रयुज्य च । कुतःपारणको ह्यसौ गच्छेन्नियमधुक् पुनः । आगत्याग्यस्य च पिबन् यथोक्त-फलभाग्यवत् ॥ पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 36-38. ब्रह्म 76. 18-19 provide ताम्बूलसम्प्राद, वेदह्यदि, ब्राह्मणभोजन, remaining celibate and not talking with *patita* people, when one is on a pilgrimage to गोदावरी.

1295. उद्यतश्रेष्ठं गन्तुं आद्यं कृत्वा विमानतः । विधाय कार्पटीवेणं कृत्वा ब्रह्मं प्रदक्षिणम् । ततो ब्रह्मान्तरं गत्वा आद्यशेषस्य भोजनम् । वायुपुरा. 110. 2-3. q. by तीर्थचिन्धि. p. 7. तीर्थच. p. 29 (which explains 'कार्पटीवेणः ताम्बूलह्यदिताम्रकङ्कणकायावकाश-धारणम्'). The तीर्थचिन्धि remarks that although these requirements are mentioned in connection with Gayā, these hold good as to pilgrimages to all holy places. Besides, this *kārpaṭika* apparel is to be worn only when actually travelling and not when the pilgrim performs his daily duties or takes his meals or offers śrāddha.

1296. तीर्थोपवासः कर्तव्यः क्षिरको ह्यण्डम् तथा । क्षिरेयतामि पापमि शान्तिं सुष्ठ-यतो यतः । पद्म (उत्तरखण्ड 237. 45), स्कन्द (काशीखण्ड 6. 65).

1297. तीर्थोपवासस्य फलविशेषार्थः । तीर्थमसिगम्य ब्रतोपवासनिमित्तमुक्तपदमव-पादमानक्षिराश्रुविष्य सर्वपापैः मनुष्यते स्वस्तिनीम् भवतीति वेदवचनात् । तीर्थकल्प- p. 11.

when undertaking such solemn Vedic sacrifices as Caturmāsya and Agniṣṭoma.<sup>1298</sup> The termination of the stage of Vedic studenthood (*śamāvartana*) was also marked by tonsure.<sup>1299</sup> Further, tonsure was prescribed when undergoing *prāyaścitta* for sins (vide p. 122 above). The Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. both quote a verse of Viṣṇu<sup>1300</sup> from the *Smṛtisamuccaya*, viz. 'at Prayāga, on a pilgrimage, on the death of one's father or mother one should cut one's hair; but one should not cut one's hair without cause.' The Mīt. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes a verse as follows: 'On the Ganges, in Bhāskarakṣetra, on the death of one's father, mother and *guru*, at the time of consecrating Vedic fires and at a *soma* sacrifice—tonsure is prescribed in these seven cases. Some read 'ṣaṭsu' and therefore they take the first two words as meaning 'on the Ganges only at Prayāga.' Both Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. quote a verse<sup>1301</sup> which says that tonsure and fast are acts that must be done at all tirthas except at Kurukṣetra, Viśālā (Ujjayini or Badarikā), Virajā (river in Orissa) and Gayā.' In the case of a *śnātaka*, all the hair except the top-knot is cut and

1298. Vide Sat. Br. II. 6. 3. 14 ff. (S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. 448).

1299. Pāraskara gr. II. 6. 17, Khādīra gr. III. 1. 2. 23, Sāh. gr. III. 1. 1-2 (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 314, p. 408, p. 91 respectively). The Khādīra gr. is 'prāśya vāpayet śikhāvarjam keśāśmaśrulomanabhāni.'

1300. मनुष्याणां तु पापानि तीर्थानि प्रतिगच्छताम् । केनमाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति तस्मात्तद्वपनं श्रेयम् ॥ यत्र, पातालकण्ड 19. 21; उपवासदिने मुण्डनमपि । प्रयागे तीर्थयात्रायामपि तुमातुमिष्यतः । कथानां वपनं कुप्यद्विषा न विकचो भवेत् ॥ इति स्मृतिसमुच्चयधृत-विष्णुलिखितवचनात् । तीर्थं चि. p. 7, तीर्थम्. p. 28. This verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 28. The Mītā. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes the following verse: गङ्गायां भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्दुर्बुद्धौ ॥ आधामकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तह्यं श्रुतम् ॥. भास्करक्षेत्रं is प्रयाग acc. to some and कोणार्क acc. to others. It is not correct to translate 'ādhāne' as 'in the Garbhādhāna ceremony' (as Dr. Chaudhuri does on p. 55 of his English Intro. to गङ्गावाक्याः). आधाम by itself in धर्मशास्त्र works generally means अग्न्याधान. गर्भाधान is referred to by the word निषेक or गर्भाधान itself. भास्करक्षेत्रं is really कोणार्क and not प्रयाग, which latter is called यज्ञपतिक्षेत्रं in मत्स्य 104.5 and 111. 14.

1301. मुण्डनं चोपवासस्य सर्वतीर्थेष्वपि विधिः । वर्जयित्वा कुपक्षेत्रं विज्ञातां विरजां गमाम् ॥ वायुपु. 105. 25 q. by तीर्थं चि. p. 14 (ascribes to स्कन्दपुराण). तीर्थम्. p. 50 (ascribes to वेदल and स्कन्द). The तीर्थम्. (p. 50) refers to the view of तीर्थकल्पः 'यद्यपि कल्पतत्कारणेन तीर्थं मुण्डनं नोक्तं न वा तत्र प्रमाणं दृष्टिं तथापि मुण्डनं चोपवासश्चेत्यादिवाक्यस्य सकलशिष्टपरिपृष्टीकृतत्वात्कर्तव्यमेव'. The तीर्थं चि. p. 32 also does the same. In the गङ्गावाक्याः second half is read as वर्जयित्वा गङ्गां विज्ञातां विरजां तथाम् ॥ and is said to be from स्कन्दपुराण. The बालम्बह्वी on Yāj. III. 17 explains विरजां as दक्षिणदिक्षस्थं लोणारक्षेत्रमपि विरजमित्यादित्यपुराणे. The first half is अग्नि 115. 7 and the whole verse is ascribed to अग्निपुराण by the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय folio 141a and occurs also in नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 45.

in the case of women whose husbands are living only two finger-breadths of hair are cut. *Vṛddha-Hārta* (IX. 386-387) lays down that in the case of women whose husbands are living tonsure of the head should not be carried out, but that holding up all their hair only three finger-breadths should be cut off. Other *smṛtis* like *Apastamba* in verse (I. 33-34), *Āṅgiras* verse 163, *Yama* 54-55, *Parāśara* q. by the *Mitākṣarā* on *Yaj.* III. 263-264 lay down that tonsure is limited to the cutting of two finger-breadths of hair in the case of woman (*nāri*). *Par. M.* <sup>1302</sup> II. 1. p. 291 reads 'evam nārikumārīṇām' and holds that *nāri* means here 'a woman whose husband is alive'. Although the *smṛti* passages occur in the section on *prāyaścitta* still by analogy they are to be applied to the tonsure in holy places. As regards widows, ascetics <sup>1303</sup> and *śūdras* all hair are to be cut. The *Tirthaprakāśa* finds fault with *Vācaspatimiśra* for saying that there is no tonsure on the Ganges. When there is such a conflict of views, the final decision rests with the usage of each country or the individual's choice. The *Tir. K.* (p. 10) appears to hold that honouring the *pitṛs* at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is specially obligatory on a man with means. The texts make a difference between *kṣaura* and *mūḍana*. The latter means 'shaving the hair on the head as well as the moustache and beard,' while *kṣaura* means only shaving the head. Therefore the *Nāradya* says that all sages did not prohibit *kṣaura* even at *Gayā* but only *mūḍana* is forbidden there <sup>1303a</sup> and there is no *mūḍana* on the Ganges anywhere except at *Prayāga*. The *Tirthendusekhara* (p. 7) gives it as its opinion that tonsure and fast are not obligatory but are only *kāmya* (i. e. to be done if certain rewards are desired) and points out that *śiṣṭas* do not resort to these two at many tirthas.

1302. स्त्रीणां पराक्षरेण निक्षेपोऽभिहितः। वपनं नैव नारीणां... सर्वान्केशान्स्तुद्धृत्य छेदयेच्चकुलित्वम्। सर्वत्रैवं हि नारीणां शिरसो मुण्डनं स्मृतम्। मिता. on वा. III. 263-264; सर्वान् केशान्... मुण्डनं भवेत्। इत्यस्य प्रयागसप्तकर्णे श्रुतस्याकांक्षातौल्येनान्नाप्यन्वयात्। प्रयागादावपि तासां द्वन्द्वकुलकेशप्रकर्तनमात्रं वपनम्। तीर्थप. pp. 50-51.

1303. वृत्तिः शुभश्च विधवा साक्षिणं वपनं चरेत्। इति द्वाक्षिणात्याः। नाचस्पति-मिश्रास्तु-वर्जयित्वा गयां गङ्गां विशालां विरजां तथा-इति पठित्वा गङ्गायां न मुण्डनमिति प्रलपन्ति। तत्र साक्षीयः। अस्य पाठस्य शिष्टैरपरेष्वहात्। तीर्थप. p. 51.

1303 a. प्रयागादावपि द्वेदेशे द्मक्षणां वपनं विना। न क्षौरं मुनिभिः सर्वैर्निषिद्धं चेति कीर्तितम्। सहस्रमुकेष्वपणं मुण्डनं तद्विदुर्मुखाः। न क्षौरं मुण्डनं सुभू कीर्तितं वेदवेदिभिः। नारदीय (उत्तर) 62, 54-55, प्रयागव्यतिरेके तु गङ्गायां मुण्डनं नहि। *ibid* chap. 62, 52.



The Purāṇas and digests devote some attention to the mode of travel. The *Mataya* (106. 4-6) states that <sup>1304</sup> if a pilgrim goes to Prayāga in a conveyance drawn by bulls he falls into hell and his piñs do not accept the water offered by him at the holy place and if a pilgrim because of riches or avarice or foolishness goes in a conveyance (not drawn by bulls) all his effort (as a pilgrim) becomes fruitless and therefore a pilgrim should avoid journey in a conveyance. According to the *Kalpataṛu* (on Tīrtha p. 11) using a conveyance is forbidden only in the case of pilgrimage to Prayāga (and not in the case of other tīrthas), while the *Tīr. C.* (p. 2) and *Tīr. Pr.* (p. 45) quote a verse <sup>1305</sup> which provides that if a pilgrim uses a cart drawn by bulls he is guilty of *govadhā* (killing a cow), if he travels on horse-back (or in a horse-drawn carriage) his pilgrimage yields no fruit, if he is carried by men (in a palanquin or the like) he secures only half the merit but if he travels bare-footed then he wins the full merit. The *Padma-purāṇa* (IV. 19. 27) has a similar verse. The *Tīr. Pr.* p. 34 quotes a verse from the *Kūrmapurāṇa* that those who are unable to perform a pilgrimage otherwise do not incur blame (or loss) by making use of a conveyance drawn by men or a chariot which is drawn by mules or horses. Similarly, a verse of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* <sup>1306</sup> quoted by both *Tīr. C.* and *Tīr. Pr.* (pp. 34-35) provides that one should always go on a journey wearing shoes and holding an umbrella in the rains or in summer and armed with a staff at night or in a forest. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* takes a more practical view when it says that to make a pil-

1304. प्रयागतीर्थयात्रायी यः प्रयाति नक्तः कश्चित् । बलीनर्हसमाप्यः कृषु तस्यापि यत्फलम् ॥ नरके वसते योने मर्षां क्षेप्यो हि क्षयः ॥ क्षतिलं न च सुकृति पितरस्तस्य हेहिमः ॥ ऐश्वर्यालभमोहाद्वा गच्छेद्यानेन यो नरः । निष्फलं तस्य तत्सर्वं तस्माद्यानं विवर्जयेत् ॥ मत्स्य. 106. 4-5 and 7. These verses are quoted by तीर्थचि. p. 8 (its reading ऐश्वर्यालभ-माहारयात् is better) and तीर्थच. pp. 33-34. The verse ऐश्वर्यालभमोहादयात् in q. by माय. तस्य p. 492. The *कुर्म* (I. 37. 4-5) has the verse ऐश्वर्यालभमोहाद्वा... वजयेत्. The *मङ्गलवाक्य* p. 13 reads ऐश्वर्यमदुमोहेन and remarks 'मत्स्यपुराणीय-वचनस्य प्रयागयात्राप्रकरणस्येति ऐश्वर्यमदुमोहस्यैव प्रयागयमनेपि बोधाभावः ।'

1305. गोपाने गोवधः श्रेयो इवयाने तु निष्फलम् । नयाने तदर्थं स्यात् पशूणां तच्च चतुष्टयम् ॥ q. by *वङ्गभक्ति* p. 13, तीर्थचि. and तीर्थच. ; 'उपनिषदां चतुष्टयीं गोपाने गोवधादिकम्' एव. IV. 19.27.

1306. वर्षातपादिके छत्री इच्छी रात्र्यवस्थी तु च । क्षरितशान्मकामो वै क्षोपनस्तः सदा ब्रजेत् ॥ इति निष्पुपुराणीयवचनेन निष्पतिप्राप्तदाशान्मत्वरसात् तीर्थयात्रायामपि उद्यान-परिषादमवश्यकमिति । तीर्थचि. pp. 8-9. This verse is निष्पु. III. 12. 38 ; नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 35 is almost the same; तीर्थचि. इत्यर्थं वङ्गनां तपः परमिहोच्यते ॥ तद्वै कृत्वा यानेन स्नानमात्रफलं लभेत् ॥ निष्पु. प्रमाणम् III. 273, 11-12.

grimage on foot is the highest *tapas* (austerity) and that if a pilgrimage be made in a conveyance the pilgrim will reap only the reward of the bath. The Tir. Pr. (p. 35) allows the use of a vessel to reach holy places like Gaṅgāsāgara which cannot be reached otherwise.

The Tristhali-setu (pp. 1-3) has a long discussion about the *sāṅkalpa*<sup>1307</sup> (declaration) to be made at the time of starting on a pilgrimage. The conclusions reached are that the declaration should not include the names of all the holy places intended to be visited, but should expressly state the last one up to which one desires to go, that persons from southern or western India should make a *sāṅkalpa* about Gayā (and pilgrimage to Prayāga and Kāśī will be implied) and that a person from East India should make a *sāṅkalpa* about Prayāga (and pilgrimage to Gayā and Kāśī will be included as a matter of course) and that (as an alternative method) a man from south or west India should at first make a *sāṅkalpa* about pilgrimage to Prayāga, then while in Prayāga he should make a *sāṅkalpa* about visiting Kāśī and then in Kāśī he should make a *sāṅkalpa* about visiting Gayā. A pilgrim from Eastern India should first make a *sāṅkalpa* about Gayā, then, while in Gayā, he should make one about Kāśī and so on. The Tirthaparakāśa (p. 326) appears to criticize the first method proposed by the Tristhalisetu and states its own view to be that those who intend to visit many sacred places should make a *sāṅkalpa* in the form 'I shall perform pilgrimage' (Tirtha-yātrāmaham kariṣye). The Tirthaparakāśa, however, approves of the second method proposed as an alternative.

That the merit of a pilgrimage could be collected in a vicarious manner is laid down by the Smṛtis and Purāṇas. Atri (50-51) provides<sup>1308</sup> 'He for whom an effigy made with kuśa grass intending it as a representative is dipped in the waters of a holy place secures one-eighth part of the merit (that he would have secured by himself bathing in the waters). If a man takes a bath (in a holy place) having in view (the benefit

1307. The *sāṅkalpa* may take the form ओं अथ प्रतिपदमश्वमेधयज्ञजन्य-फलसमफलप्राप्तिकामोऽयुक्ततीर्थयात्रामहं करिष्ये।

1308. प्रतिफलं कुशमयीं तीर्थवारिषु मज्जयेत्। यमुदिश्य निमज्जेत् अष्टभारं लभेत् सः॥ मातरं पितरं वापि आतरं सुहृदं युवयु। यमुदिश्य निमज्जेत् द्वादशांशफलं लभेत् । अत्रि 50-51. The first verse is quoted as पैठीनासि's by तीर्थकल्पः p. 11 and by तीर्थचिः pp. 13-14 and occurs in स्कन्द (काशीः 6. 64); the 2nd is q. by प्राय. तत्त्व. 492, as from अत्रि. The गङ्गावधवापली (p. 59) reads लभेत् सः and attributes it to गङ्गापुराण

of his mother, father, brother, friend or guru, these latter receive one-twelfth of the fruit (of the pilgrimage). Another verse of Paithīnasi says that he who visits a holy place for money (wages) from another gets only a 16th part of the merit, but he who goes to a tirtha while bent on another purpose or errand (such as study, business, waiting on a guru)<sup>1309</sup> reaps only half the merit. The Viṣṇudharmottara has a similar verse. It was owing to this idea of collecting merit and God's Grace that wealthy men built *Dharmatālās*, tanks, and *annasatras* and wells for the conveniences of pilgrims and the planting of trees by the sides of roads had in view the comfort of pilgrims as well as of the general public. The Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa remarks 'A wealthy man who enables another to perform pilgrimage by providing his own money or conveyances gets one-fourth of the merit of the pilgrimage.'<sup>1310</sup>

The Prāyaścittatattva of Raghunandana quotes from the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa some verses which enumerate fourteen acts that a pilgrim has to give up after reaching the Ganges viz. *śauca* (punctilious performance of bodily purification), *ācamana* (sipping water on various occasions in the day), hair (dressing), wearing *nirmūlya* (flowers taken away after being offered in worship), repeating the Aghamaśana hymn (Rg. 190. 1-3), shampooing the body, sports, acceptance of gifts, sexual dalliance, devotion to another tirtha, praising another tirtha, the gift to others of clothes (worn by oneself), striking any one and swimming across the water of the tirtha.

One noticeable rule is that, though Manu III. 149 requires strict examination of the ancestry and learning of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha, some of the Purāṇas provide<sup>1311</sup> that

1309. पैठीनसिः। बोधसाक्षं स लभते यः परार्थेन गच्छति। अर्थ तीर्थफलं तस्य यः प्रसङ्गेन गच्छति। तीर्थकल्प. p. 11, प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 492 (explains परार्थेन वेतनादिना प्रसङ्गेन उद्देश्यान्तरमसङ्गेन), तीर्थप्र. p. 36 (प्रसङ्गेन गुरुसेवाद्ययनवाणिज्यादिवै विहित-विहितरूपः). This is found in स्कन्द (काशी chap. 6.63). The first half is पद्म VI. 237. 43.

1310. ब्रह्मान्य कारयेत् शक्या तीर्थयात्रां तथेभ्यः। स्वकीयव्रत्ययानानां तस्य पुण्यं चतुर्धनम्। प्रभासखण्ड q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 36; तीर्थ प्राप्त्यानुव्रत्येन स्नानं तीर्थं समाचरेत्। स्नानञ्च फलमाप्नोति तीर्थयात्राफलं न तु। सङ्ख्य 8.12 q. by स्वतिस्र. I. p. 132 and कल्प-तरु (तीर्थ) p. 11. Almost the same verse occurs in पद्मपु. VI. 237. 41-42; vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273.10 for a similar verse.

1311. तीर्थेषु ब्राह्मणं नैव परीक्षेत कथञ्चन। अजायिगममुयात् भोज्यं तं महारजवित्॥ पद्म V. 29.212 and देवीपुराण q. by तीर्थकल्प. p. 10; ब्राह्मणान् परीक्षेत आद्रे क्षेत्रनि-वासिनः। सुमहाभ्युपनिषदोऽप्य ब्राह्मणानां परीक्षणे॥ स्कन्द. (प्रभासखण्ड) quoted by पृथ्वीचन्द्रोद्भव folio 130 b; न परीक्ष्यो हिजस्तीर्थज्जायी भोज्य एव च। सङ्कभिः पिण्डदानं च चरुणा पायसेन वा। स्कन्द. (काशी. 6. 56-57).

one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmaṇas at holy places and this view is endorsed by several digests such as the Kalpataru on tirtha (p. 10), the Tir. C. (p. 10) and the Tir. Pr. (p. 73). The last work remarks that brāhmaṇas who are known for certain to possess defects deserving condemnation should be avoided. The Varāhapurāṇa goes<sup>1312</sup> so far as to say that at Mathurā a pilgrim should prefer to honour a brāhmaṇa born and bred up in Mathurā rather than a brāhmaṇa who has studied the four Vedas (but is a stranger to Mathurā). Similar passages from the Vāyu and Skandapurāṇa have been quoted above in note 910 and there is another similar passage in Skanda. It is provided by the Vāyupurāṇa<sup>1313</sup> that when a son goes to Gayā, he should invite only those brāhmaṇas that have been settled in Gayā by Brahmā and that such brāhmaṇas are above ordinary mortals, that when they are gratified the gods together with one's *pitṛs* become pleased, that one should not enter upon a consideration of their family, their character, their learning or their austerities and that when the Gayā brāhmaṇas are honoured the man doing so secures release (from saṁsāra). In Vāyu 106. 73-84 and Agni 114. 33-39 and Garuḍa it is narrated that, after Gayāsura fell down and asked for boons which were granted by Viṣṇu, Brahmā bestowed upon the Gayā brāhmaṇas 55 villages and Gayātirtha extending over five *krośas*, gave them well-appointed houses, desire-yielding cows and trees, but he enjoined on them not to beg or accept a gift from others. The brāhmaṇas, however, greedy as they were, officiated at a sacrifice performed by Dharma (Yama) and begged him for fees and accepted them. Then Brahmā cursed them that they would always be in debt and took away the Kāmadhenu and Kalpavṛkṣa and other gifts. The Agnipurāṇa<sup>1314</sup> (114. 37) adds that Brahmā cursed them to be bereft of all learning and to be full of greed. The brāhmaṇas then begged Brahmā to favour them with some means of livelihood (as they had been deprived by the curse of Brahmā of all that had been bestowed on them). Brahmā pitied them and told them that they would maintain themselves at Gayā-tirtha

1312. स्वतुर्वेदं परित्यज्य मायुरं व्रजयेत्तदा । मथुरायां ये वसन्ति विष्णुरूपा हि ते नराः । ज्ञानिनस्तान् हि पश्यन्ति अज्ञाः पश्यन्ति ताव हि । बराह 165. 57-58.

1313. यदि पुत्रो गयां गच्छेत्कदाचित्कालपर्ययात् । तानेव भोजयेद्विमानं ब्रह्मणा ये प्रकल्पिताः । अमायुषतया विद्या ब्रह्मणा (ब्रह्मणा ?) ये प्रकल्पिताः । वायु 82. 25-27.

1314. स्थिता यदि गयायां ते क्षतास्ते ब्रह्मणा तदा । विद्याविवर्जिता यूयं वृष्णायुक्ता भविष्यथ ॥ अग्नि 114. 36-37.

till the end of the world and that those who would perform śrāddha at Gayā and worship them (by engaging them as officiating priests and pay them) would secure the merit of having worshipped Brahmā. From this it is clear that the Gayā brāhmanas at the time of the composition of the section on Gayā at the end of the Vāyupurāṇa possessed the same characteristics as the modern Gayā brāhmanas (Gayāls or Gayāwals as they are called) and made the Gayā pilgrimage their business even then (as now). One of the early historic references to Gayā brāhmanas occurs in the Śāktipur copper-plate of king Lakṣmanasena of Bengal in his 6th year (i. e. about 1183 A. D.)<sup>1315</sup>.

The result of this teaching of the Purāṇas was that the brāhmanas at Gayā became a guild or a close corporation and the Gayāwals resent the intrusion of an outsider. Disputes between Gayāwals and outside priests and cases of Gayāwals have come before the courts and have gone up even to the Privy Council in England. It has been a usage for orthodox Hindu pilgrims going to Gayā to shave themselves at the river called Punpun,<sup>1315a</sup> then on arrival at Gayā to worship the feet of one of the Gayāwal brāhmanas. The Gayāwal himself or his agent takes the pilgrim to the sacred spots (Vedīs) in and around Gayā. The priest is paid a fat fee near the Aksaya-vata and the Gayāwal puts a garland of flowers on the folded hands of the pilgrim and pronounces the word 'suphala' and utters a blessing that the pilgrim's ancestors would go to heaven on account of the pilgrim's visit to Gayā. In order to keep this business in their own families the Gayāwals have adopted loose and peculiar customs. If a Gayāwal is sonless he makes a gift of his office (called *gādi* or *gaddi*) to another Gayāwal, who describes himself as the adopted son of the Gayāwal making the gift. There is no real adoption in the strict sense. Therefore, the so called adopted son retains his rights in the family of birth, he is not severed from his natural family and it is not rare to find that one Gayāwal claims to have succeeded to four *gādis* (i. e. claims to be the son adopted by several persons simultaneously). The Gayāwals have got books in which they enter the names and addresses of

1315. Vide E. I. vol. XXI. p. 211 at p. 219 'अभिषेकालसेनदेवप्रदत्त-मयाल-ब्राह्मणहरिदासेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चाशतोत्पत्तिकक्षेत्रपांडकाभिधानशासननिर्दिशयेन.'

1315 a. The महाभारत says: वाराणस्यां कृतआज्ञस्तीर्थे क्षीणमग्ने तथा। पुनः पुनर-महानद्यां आज्ञं स्वर्गे विनूयते॥ q. in पृथ्वीच. folio 141 a.

their clients, who sign such entries and enjoin upon their descendants to make members of that particular Gayāwal family their *gurus* whenever they might visit Gayā. Thus large incomes and properties come to the hands of the Gayāwals. They send their agents throughout India, who bring as many pilgrims as possible. In *Lachman Lal v. Kanhaya Lal* the Privy <sup>1316</sup> Council had to deal with the case of a Gayāwal who claimed to be an adopted son without loss of his interest in the property of the natural family on the ground of these peculiar practices of the Gayāwals and that claim was upheld. In *Lachman Lal v. Baldeo Lal* <sup>1317</sup> the Patna High Court gives a brief summary of the origin, history and customs of the Gayāwals, remarks that though in former times there were several hundred families of Gayāwals their number is now reduced to about 150, that the Gayāwals so-called *gaddi* is not a hereditary office, but only a business to which a good-will is attached. The Calcutta High Court decided in *Dwarkanath Misser* <sup>1318</sup> v. *Rampertab Misser* that persons who require religious ceremonies to be performed for their benefit are at liberty to choose the priest by whom they shall be performed, that plaintiffs are not entitled to a declaration that they along with defendants are exclusively entitled to officiate as priests when pilgrims, on their way to the holy city of Gayā, perform the *śrāddha* ceremony of their ancestors on the bank of the sacred river Punpun, and that the plaintiffs could be given a declaration that they are entitled to officiate as priests for such pilgrims as may choose to employ them for the purpose of religious ceremonies and that the defendants are not entitled to prevent the plaintiffs from the exercise of their calling. In *Narayan Lal* <sup>1319</sup> v. *Chulhan Lal* the Calcutta High Court decided how the books containing the names and addresses of pilgrims kept by a joint family of Gayāwals were to be divided at the time of the partition of all the properties of the family.

The literature on tirthas is probably far more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmaśāstra. Not to mention the Vedic Literature, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas

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1316. 22 Cal. 609 at pp. 615-618 (P. C.) = 22 I. A. 51.

1317. 2 Patna Law Journal 705.

1318. 13 C. L. J. p. 449.

1319. 15 C. L. J. p. 376.

contain on a very modest calculation at least 40000 verses on tirthas, sub-tirthas and legends connected with them. In the Vanaparva (chap. 82-156) and Śalyaparva (chap. 35-54) alone there are about 3900 verses on *tirthayātrā*. To mention only a few of the Purāṇas, the Brahmapurāṇa devotes about 6700 verses (i. e. nearly half of its total extent of 13783 verses) to tirthas, the Padma about 4000 verses out of the 31000 verses of the first five khaṇḍas, the Varāhapurāṇa devotes about 3182 verses to tirthas (out of which about 1400 refer to Mathurā) out of about 9614 verses, the Matsya about 1200 verses out of 14002. Besides these, the following well-known digests and works on tirthas deserve mention. The Tirthavivecana-kāṇḍa of the Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (G. O. S. series); the Caturvarga-<sup>1320</sup> cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (1260-1270 A. D.) contained a section on tirthas (no Ms. has yet been discovered); the Tirthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati (1450-1480 A. D.) published in B. I. series; the Tirtha-sāra, part of Nṛsiṃhaprasāda about 1500 A. D. (published in the Sarasvatī-bhavana series); the Tristhaliṣetu of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (about 1550-1580 A. D.) printed by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona; Tirthasaṅkhyā, a part of Ṭodarānanda (1565-1589 A. D.); Tirthatattva or Tirthayātrāvidhitattva of Raghunandana whose literary activity lies between 1530-1570 A. D. (printed in Bengali characters and over and above the 28 *tattvas* of his Smṛtitattva); Tirthaprakāśa by Mitrāmīśra about 1610-1640 (published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series); the Tristhaliṣetusāra-saṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji (about 1625); Tristhaliṣetusāra-saṅgraha of Nāgeśa; the Tirthendusekhara of Nāgeśa or Nāgoji (published in the Sarasvatībhavana series, Benares, 1936). There are several works on tirthas (not yet printed) mentioned in H. of Dh. vol. 1. p. 554, of which the Tirtharatnākara of Anantabhaṭṭa composed at the order of Anūpasinḥa is probably the largest work on tirthas (ms. no. 1822 in the Anup Library at Bikaner). Besides these there are special works on indivi-

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1320. Vide H. of Dh. vol. 1 p. 354 n. 838 which shows that Hemādri had completed his section on tirtha when he commenced the *Parīśeṣa*-khaṇḍa. It may be noted that the *त्रिस्थलीसेतु* and the *तीर्थप्रकाश* had the work of Hemādri on tirtha before them. For examples, the *त्रिस्थलीसेतु* p. 53 'तथा च हेमाद्रिश्चादिभ्यादिपुराणवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि', p. 55 'विशेषस्तु हेमाद्रियशरीरोत्सर्गविधेरेवमन्त्रध्वः'; the *तीर्थप्रकाश* pp. 122, 123, 136, 377 refer to हेमाद्रि's quotations from the *स्कन्दपुराण*, *अग्निवपुराण*, *जाबालोपनिषद्* and *कुर्मपुराण* respectively, which unmistakably refer to *tirthas* and p. 478 speaks of *तीर्थहेमाद्रि*.

dual tirthas such as the Gaṅgā-vākyaśvalī<sup>1321</sup> (on the Ganges) of Vidyāpati (1400-1450 A. D.) published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri; Kāśimṛtimokṣa-vicāra of Śureśvarācārya (published in the Sarasvatibhavana Texts series, Benares 1936); the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Raghunandana, the Purusottama-kṣetratattva of Raghunandana (published by Jivananda). Only printed works have been drawn upon in this work (except where expressly stated otherwise).

The preliminaries before starting on a pilgrimage to any tirtha prescribed by the purāṇas and digests may be brought together. On a certain day (when a person has decided on tirtha-yātrā) he should take only one meal, then the next day he should shave himself (according to most digests) and observe a fast; then on the day after the fast he should perform his daily duties, should make a *saṅkalpa* (declaration of intention) in the form 'I shall perform a pilgrimage to such and such a place and I shall worship Gaṇeśa and my favourite deities for the accomplishment of the pilgrimage without obstacles'; offer worship to Gaṇeśa, to the planets (nine) and his favourite deities with five or sixteen upacāras,<sup>1322</sup> then perform a pārvapa-śrāddha with plenty of ghee according to his own grhyasūtra, honour three brāhmanas at least and donate some money to them. Then he should put on a pilgrim's dress as described above (p. 573), go round the village in which his house is located (or at least round his own house), reach another village not more distant than one *krośa* (two or two and half miles) and break his fast by eating the remainder of the food cooked and ghee used for the śrāddha (this applies to pilgrimage to Gayā). He may break his fast

1321. The last verse of the Gaṅgāvākyaśvalī is कियञ्जिबन्धमालोक्य श्री-विद्यापतिस्वरिणा । गङ्गावाक्यावली देव्याः प्रमाणैर्विमलीकृता ॥. This verse shows that the famous Maithila scholar Vidyāpati at least provides the authorities on which the work is based. Some scholars hold that it is really Vidyāpati who wrote the work for commemorating the queen who had honoured and patronized him. The 2nd Introductory verse claims the work as Viśvāsa-devi's own. In the दानवाक्यावली of धीरमति the last verse is निबन्धनं सम्प्रमालोक्य...स्वरिणा । दानवाक्यावली देव्याः...कृता ॥ (D. C. ms. No. 216 of 1881-82).

1322. For the sixteen and five *upacāras*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729-730. The ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण (Ānandāśrama ed.), ब्रह्मसंह, chap. 26.90-92 mention 16, 12 or five upacāras as follows: आसनं वसनं पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयकम् । पुष्पं चन्दनधूपं च दीपं नैवेद्यमुत्तमम् ॥ गन्धं मारुतं च ज्ञप्या च ललितं सुविलक्षणात् । जलमक्षं च ताम्बूलं साधारं देयमेव च । गन्धाक्षतलपताम्बूलं विना हव्याणि द्वादश । पाद्यार्घ्यजल-नैवेद्यपुष्पाण्येतानि पञ्च च ॥.



in his own house (in the case of other tirthas) and then start. Then the next day he should bathe with pure clothes on and then put on his pilgrim dress and start on his pilgrimage in the forenoon with his face to the east, preferably bare-footed. There are two views here. Some say that on the day on which a man reaches a tirtha he should observe a fast, while the other view is that the pilgrim should fast on the day previous to his reaching the *tirtha*. In the first case he will have to perform a śrāddha on the day of the fast and in that case he cannot actually taste the remnants of śrāddha food but should only smell the cooked food. The Kalpataru (on tirtha p. 11) and the Tirtha-cintāmaṇi (p. 14) quote Devala for the proposition that a fast on reaching a tirtha is not obligatory, but if observed yields special merit.

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## CHAPTER XII

### THE GANGES

Since the Ganges is the holiest of rivers and since such highly esteemed tirthas as Kanakhala, Haridvāra, Prayāga and Kāśī are situated on it, it would be most proper to begin the treatment of individual tirthas with the Ganges.

It has been already seen (p. 556) how the Ganges is the first among the many rivers invoked in the famous *Nadistuti* hymn (Rg. X. 75.5-6). In Rg.<sup>1323</sup> VI. 45.31 we have the word 'Gāṅgyaḥ' which most probably means 'growing on the Ganges'. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII 5.4. 11 and 13 and Ait. Br. 39. 9 the victories and sacrifices of Bharata Daussanti on the Gaṅgā and Yamunā are mentioned. In Śat. Br. XIII 5.4.11 and 13 an ancient *gūthā* is quoted 'At Nāḍapit the Apsaras Śakuntalā conceived Bharata who after conquering the whole earth brought to Indra more than 1000 horses meet for sacrifice.' The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 26. 26-103) and the Purāṇas (such as Nāradiya, Uttarārdha, chap. 38-45 and 51. 1-48, Padma V. 60. 1-127, Agni chap. 110, Matsya chap. 180-185, Padma, Ādikhaṇḍa, chap. 33-37) contain hundreds of verses eulogising the greatness and the sanctifying activity of the Ganges. The Skandapurāṇa, Kāśikhapṇḍa, chap. 29 (verses 17-168) contains one thousand names of the Ganges. It is not possible to reproduce here even a small fraction of what is said in these works about the Ganges. To most men in India great rivers like the Ganges, great mountains like the Himālaya present a double aspect, viz. the physical aspect and the spiritual aspect. A great river apart from its volume of water is deemed to have a spiritual or divine life which animates it. Tylor (in 'Primitive Culture', 2nd ed. p 477) observes 'What we call inanimate objects—rivers, stones, trees, weapons and so forth—are treated as living intelligent beings, talked to, propitiated, punished for the harm they do.' There are separate treatises devoted to the glorification of the Ganges and the pilgrimage to it such as the

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1323. अग्निं ब्रुवः पत्नीनां बभूवे मूर्ध्वजम्भात् उवः कक्षो न बाह्वन्ः ॥ ऋ. VI. 45. 31. The last pāda means 'like a broad patch of grass or bush growing on the banks of the Ganges'.

Gaṅgāpattalaka of Gaṇeśvara (1350 A. D.), Gaṅgāvākyāvalī of Viśvāsadevi, queen of king Padmasinha of Mithilā, the Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī of Gaṇapati, the Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka of Vardhamāna. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 538 for the dates of some of these works.

The Vanaparva, chap. 85, has a grand eulogy of Gaṅgā in verses 88-97, some of which may be translated here<sup>1324</sup>. "The Ganges is equal to Kurukṣetra wherever one may take a bath in it, but there is a speciality about Kanakhala and in Prayāga there is the greatest and highest (holiness). If a person, after committing a hundred bad deeds, sprinkles himself with Ganges (water), the waters of the Ganges burn all of them as fire burns fuel. In the Kṛta age all (places) were holy, in Tretā age Puṣkara was (the holiest place), in Dvāpara Kurukṣetra and in the Kali age the Ganges. The Ganges, when its name is uttered, purifies a sinner, when seen it yields good fortune, when a bath is taken in it or its water is drunk, it sanctifies the family up to the seventh ancestor. As long as (a particle of) the bones of a man touches Ganges water (i. e. lies inside it), so long does the man remain happy (or honoured) in heaven. There is no holy place equal to the Ganges, there is no god higher than Keśava. That country and that penance-grove where the Ganges flows should be known as the sacred spot of success (or perfection) since it attaches itself to the Ganges." The Anuśāsana (26.26, 30-31) asserts 'those districts and countries, those hermitages and mountains, in the midst of which the Ganges flows are pre-eminent in *punya* (religious merit). Even those men who, after committing sinful acts in the first part of their lives, resort afterwards to the Ganges reach the highest world (or goal). That increase (in merit) which comes to men that bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges and that then become pure in spirit, cannot be secured

1324. कुरुक्षेत्रसमा गङ्गा यत्र तत्रावगाहिता। विशेषो वै कनकले घषागे परमं महत्॥ यद्यकार्षत कृत्वा कृतं गङ्गायसेचनम्। सर्वं तत्सर्वं गङ्गायां दहत्यग्निर्विवेचनम्॥ 88; सर्वं कृतपुणे पुष्पं त्रेतायां पुष्करं स्मृतम्। द्वापरेपि कुरुक्षेत्रं गङ्गा कलिपुगे स्मृता॥...पुनाति कीर्तिता यत्तं दृष्ट्वा भर्तुं प्रयच्छति। अथवाह्यं च पीता च पुनात्यासप्तमं कुलम्॥ यावदस्थि मनुष्यस्य गङ्गायाः स्पर्शते जलम्। तावत्स पुरुषो राजन् स्वर्गलोके महीपते॥ 94... न गङ्गासङ्गं तीर्थं न वेवः केसवात्परः।... यत्र गङ्गा महाराज स देशस्तत्तपोवनम्। सिद्धिक्षेत्रं च तज्ज्ञेयं गङ्गातीर-समाश्रितम्॥ वनपर्व 85.88-97=पञ्च I. 39.81-90. नारदीय. (उत्तर) 39. 46 is कुरुक्षेत्र... गाहिता। हरिहारे भयागे च सिन्धुसङ्गे कलाचिका॥ The नारदीयपु. (उत्तर) 38. 20 is कृते तु सर्वतीर्थानि त्रेतायां...कलौ गङ्गा विशिष्यते॥ The कूर्म. I. 27. 37 has कृते तु नैमिषं तीर्थं. The same verse is quoted from भाविष्य by तीर्थचि. p. 191.

even by the performance of hundreds of solemn Vedic sacrifices.' <sup>1325</sup>

In the Bhagavadgītā (X. 31) Lord Kṛṣṇa says that among streams he is the Ganges (srotasāmasmi Jāhnavi). The Manusmṛti setting out an exordium to a witness to tell the truth indicates that the Ganges and Kurukṣetra were the most sacred spots in the age of the Manusmṛti.<sup>1326</sup> Some of the Purāṇas describe the Ganges as flowing in Heaven (as Mandākinī), on the earth (as Gangā) and in the nether regions or Pātāla (as Bhogavatī). Vide Padma VI. 267. 47. The Viṣṇupurāṇa<sup>1327</sup> and other Purāṇas state that the Ganges springs from the toe-nail of the left foot of Viṣṇu. In some Purāṇas it is said that Śiva let off from his matted hair the Ganges in seven streams, three flowing towards the east (Nalinī, Hlādinī, Pāvanī), three to the west (Sītā, Cakṣus and Sindhu) and Bhāgirathī (vide Matsya 121. 38-41, Brahmāṇḍa II. 18. 39-41, Padma I. 3. 65-66). The Kūrmapurāṇa (I. 46. 30-31) and Varāha (chap. 82 in prose) state that the Ganges flows first in four different streams, Sītā, Alakanandā, Sucakṣu and Bhadrā and that the Alakanandā flows towards the south, comes to Bhāratavarsa and falls into the sea with seven mouths.<sup>1328</sup> In the Brahmapurāṇa (73. 68-69) the Ganges is described as sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu and as established in the matted hair of Mahēśvara (Śiva).

The Viṣṇupurāṇa eulogises<sup>1329</sup> the Ganges as follows : The Ganges purifies all beings from day to day when its name is

1325. स्नातानां शुचिभिस्तोयैः गाङ्गेयैः प्रयतात्मनाम् । श्रुष्टिर्भवति या पुंसं न सा कृत-  
ज्ञतैरपि ॥ अमुशासन 26 31, नारद (उत्तर) 39. 30-31 and also 40. 64.

1326. यमो वैवस्वतो वेवो यस्तवैव हृदि स्थितः । तेन चेदविवाहस्ते मा गङ्गां मा कुरु-  
न्ममः ॥ मनु 8. 92.

1327. वामपादाम्बुजाङ्गुलनखस्रोतोविनिर्गताम् । विष्णोर्बिभर्ति या भक्त्या शिरसाहर्भि-  
ज्ञं ध्रुवः ॥ विष्णुसु. II. 8. 109, q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p. 161 (reads शिवः); नदी सा  
वैष्णवी प्रोक्ता विष्णुपादसमुद्भवा । पद्म V. 25. 188.

1328. तथैवातंकनन्दा च दक्षिणादेश्य भारतम् । प्रयाति सागरं भित्त्वा सप्तभेदा  
द्विजोत्तमाः ॥ कूर्म I. 46. 31.

1329. मृताभिलाषिता दृष्टा मृष्टा पीतावगाहिता । या पावयति मृतानि कीर्तिता च  
दिने दिने ॥ गङ्गा गङ्गेति यैर्नाम योजनानां ज्ञतेष्वपि । स्थितैश्चकारितं हन्ति पापं जन्मत्रया-  
जितम् ॥ विष्णुसु. II. 8. 120-121 q. by गङ्गावा. p. 110, तीर्थचि. p. 202, गङ्गाभक्ति-  
p. 9. The 2nd verse is variously read in पद्म VI. 21 8 and 23. 12, ब्रह्मा 175. 82  
as गङ्गा...यो व्याधोजनानां ज्ञतैरपि । छुष्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो विष्णुलोकं स गच्छति, while पद्म  
I. 31. 77 reads ॥ ज्ञतैरपि । नरो न नरकं याति किं तथा सदृशं भवेत्.

heard, when one desires to see (it), when it is seen or touched or when its waters are drunk or when one plunges into it or when one takes (or sings) its name; when people utter the name 'Ganges' even though living at a distance of hundreds of yojanas, their sins accumulated in three births are destroyed.' The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa<sup>1330</sup> has a similar verse 'one becomes free from sins at once by seeing the Ganges or touching it or drinking its water and by uttering the name Gaṅgā and also by remembering it.'<sup>1331</sup> The Matsya, Kūrma, Garuda and Padma remark that the Ganges is easy of access everywhere but is difficult to reach at three places viz. at Gaṅgādvāra (Haridvāra), at Prayāga and where it joins the sea and that those who bathe therein reach heaven and that those who die there are not born again. The Nāradiyapurāṇa, on the other hand, says that the Ganges is difficult of access everywhere, but much more so at three places. The man, whether desiring it or not, who draws near the Ganges and dies (near it) secures heaven and does not see hell (Matsya 107.4).<sup>1332</sup> The Kūrmapurāṇa represents that the Ganges<sup>1333</sup> is equal to all the 35 millions of holy places declared by Vāyu in the heaven, in mid region and on the earth and that all of them are represented by the Ganges. The Padmapurāṇa asks 'what is the use of sacrifices rich in large wealth, what is the use of very difficult austerities when there is the Ganges honoured easily and gracefully that yields Heaven and mokṣa'? A similar verse occurs in the Nāradiya-purāṇa 'what is the use of Yoga with its eight aṅgas, of austerities, of solemn (Vedic) sacrifices? Residence

1330. दर्शनास्पर्शनात्वाभात् तथा गङ्गेति कीर्तनात्। स्मरणादेव गङ्गयाः सद्यः पारैः प्रमुच्यते॥ भविष्यपु. q. by तीर्थचि. p. 198, गङ्गया. p. 12, गङ्गाम० p. 9. The first half is अनुशासन 26.64, अग्निपु. 110.6; गच्छंस्तिष्ठञ्ज् अपश्यपायन् मुञ्चन् जायन् स्वप्नं वदन्। यः स्मरेत् सततं गङ्गां सोऽपि मुच्येत बन्धनात्॥ स्कन्द (काशीखण्ड) पूर्वार्ध 27.37, नारद (उत्तर) 39. 16-17.

1331. सर्वत्र सुलभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु दुर्लभा। गङ्गाद्वारे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे॥ तत्र स्नात्वा दिवं याप्ति ये सुतास्तोऽपुनर्भवाः॥ मत्स्य. 106.54, कूर्म. I. 37.34, गरुड (पूर्व०) 81. 1-2, पद्म V. 60.120. The नारदीय (उत्तर 40. 26-27) reads: सर्वत्र दुर्लभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु चाधिका। गङ्गाद्वारे...सङ्गमे॥ एषु स्नाता दिवं...र्भवाः॥

1332. अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गयां योऽभिपद्यते। हृत्स्तु लभते स्वर्गं नरकं च न पश्यति॥ मत्स्य. 107.4, q. by कल्पसूत्र (on तीर्थ) p. 145 (reads यो विपद्यते). कूर्म. I. 37.39 has the same verse with slight variations; compare पद्म I. 44.4.

1333. सिधः कोट्योर्ध्वकोटी च तीर्थानां वायुरजनीत्। दिवि सूर्यन्तरिक्षे च तत्सर्वं जाङ्गरी सृता॥ कूर्म I. 39.8, पद्म I. 47.7, V. 60. 59, मत्स्य. 102. 5 (reads तानि ते सन्ति जाङ्गवि).

on the Ganges alone is superior to all these' <sup>1334</sup>. Two verses of the Matsya-purāṇa <sup>1335</sup> deserve mention here 'even a man of sinful deeds, on remembering the Ganges even at a distance of thousands of yojanas, attains the highest goal. A person is delivered from sin by uttering the name (of the Ganges), on seeing it a person sees happiness; by bathing in the Ganges and drinking its water he purifies his family up to the seventh ancestor'. It is stated in the Kāśīkhanda that on the banks of the glorious Ganges all times are auspicious as well as all countries, and all men are fit for receiving gifts.

In the Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 82) the name 'Gaṅgā' is derived as 'gām gatā' (that has gone to the earth). The Padma-purāṇa (Śrīkhaṇḍa 60. 64-65) specifies the *mūlamantra* about the Ganges as follows: 'Om namo Gaṅgāyai, viśvarūpīnyai nārāyaṇyai namo namaḥ'.

The Padmapurāṇa (śrī 60.35) holds that Viṣṇu represents all the gods and the Ganges represents Viṣṇu. It eulogises the Ganges as follows: Sons abandon their fathers, wives their husbands, friends and relatives abandon a friend or a relative if any one of these is adulterous, or *patita*, or wicked or becomes a cāṇḍāla or kills his *guru*, or is full of all kinds of sins and hatreds; but the Ganges does not forsake such persons <sup>1336</sup>.

The extent of the holy region of the Ganges is laid down in some purāṇas. The Nāradiya <sup>1337</sup> states: the region

1334. किं यज्ञैर्बहुविधादेवैः किं तपोभिः सुदुष्करैः। स्वर्गमोक्षमवा गङ्गां सुखसौभाग्य-  
पूजिताम् ॥ पद्म V. 60.39; किमहाङ्गेन योमेन किं तपोभिः किमध्वरैः। वास एव हि गङ्गायां  
सर्वतोपि विशिष्यते ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 38.38, q. in तीर्थचिं. p. 194 (reads गङ्गायां  
ब्रह्मज्ञानस्य कारणम्) and माय. तत्त्व, p. 498. The first verse किं यज्ञैः is quoted as  
from ब्रह्माण्ड by तीर्थचिं. p. 195 (last pāda is सुखसेवया यतः रिचिता).

1335. योजनानां सहस्रेषु गङ्गायाः स्मरणाक्षरः। अपि दुष्कृतकर्मा तु लभते परमां  
मतिम् ॥ कीर्तनाम्बुच्यते पापाद् दृष्ट्वा भद्राणि पश्यति। अघनाद्य च पीत्वा तु पुनार्यासतमं  
कुलम् ॥ मत्स्य. 104. 14-15 q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p. 160; vide also मत्स्य. 108.25-26.  
Compare वनपर्व 87. 93 (पुनरिते कीर्तिताः) quoted in n. 1324; सर्व एव शुभः कालः  
सर्वो देशस्तथा शुभः। सर्वो जनी दानपात्रं भूमितीजाङ्गवर्षिते ॥ काशीखण्ड 27. 69.

1336. जारजं पतितं बुद्धमन्यजं गुरुघातिनम्। सर्वब्रह्मेण संपुके सर्वपातकसंपुतम् ॥  
त्यजन्ति पितरं पुत्राः सिरं पत्न्यः सुदुष्टजाः। अन्ये च बाणधराः सर्वे गङ्गां ताव परिरिचयेत् ॥ पद्म  
(सुष्टिखण्ड 60. 25-26).

1337. तीरावृत्त्यतिमात्रं तु परितः क्षेत्रमुच्यते। तीरं त्यक्त्वा वसेत्क्षेत्रे तीरे वासो न  
श्रेयसे ॥ एकयोजनविस्तीर्णं क्षेत्रसीमा तद्वद्वात् ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 43. 119-120. The  
first is quoted from स्कन्द by तीर्थचिं. p. 266, which remarks 'उभयतटे प्रत्येकं  
कोनैर्द्वयं क्षेत्रम्'. The half verse एकम् is quoted from भविष्य by तीर्थचिं. p. 267,

(Continued on the next page)

within one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is called *kṣetra*; one should reside within the *kṣetra* limits, but not on the bank itself; residence on the bank (of the Ganges) is not desired. The limits of the *kṣetra* are of the extent of one *yojana* between both the banks' i. e. the *kṣetra* extends for two *krośas* from each bank. The general rule is stated by Yama that forests, mountains, holy rivers and tirthas are without an owner; these cannot be possessed (by a person as owner). The *Brahmapurāṇa*<sup>1338</sup> says that measuring from the flowing waters for a distance of four *hastas*, God Nārāyaṇa is the Lord (or owner) and no one should accept a gift in that strip even if he be on the point of death. A difference is made between the *garbha* (the inner circle) of the *Gaṅgākṣetra*, the *tira* and the *kṣetra*. '*Garbha*' extends up to that portion of the river stream which is reached on the 14th of the dark half of Bhādrapada; beyond that is the *tira* (bank), which extends upto 150 *hastas* from *garbha* and *kṣetra* extends up to two *krośas* from each bank.

Let us suppose that the pilgrim has come to the Ganges. Then the question is, how is he to proceed about a bath in the Ganges. Many of the digests contain several alternate forms of the *saukalpa* to be made at the time of Gaṅgā-snāna. For example, the *Prāyascittatattva* (pp. 497-498) contains a very elaborate *saukalpa*. A simple one is quoted below from the *Gaṅgāvākyāvali*.<sup>1339</sup> The mode of bathing prescribed in the

(Continued from the last page)

गङ्गायां. p. 136. गव्यूति is a measure of length or distance generally taken as equal to two *krośas*. There was some difference about the measures of length. According to the *Amarakośa* a *gavyūti* is equal to two *krośas* 'गव्यूतिः क्षी क्रोशयुग्म'. According to the वायु 8. 105-107 and 101. 122-126 and ब्रह्माण्ड II. 7. 96-101 the measures are 24 अङ्गुलः = one हस्त, 96 अङ्गुलः = धनुः (which is same as दण्ड, युग and नाली); 2000 धनुः = गव्यूति and 8000 धनुः = योजनः; acc. to the मार्कण्डेय 46. 37-40, 4 हस्तः = धनुः or दण्ड, or युग or नालिका; 2000 धनुः = क्रोश, 4 क्रोशः = गव्यूति which is the same as योजन. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 145 n. 185.

1338. महाहमवधिं कृत्वा यावद्भस्मचतुष्टयम् । अत्र नारायणः स्वामी नाभ्यः स्वामी कदाचन ॥ न तत्र मतिशुद्धीयात्माग्नेः कण्ठसत्तरपि ॥ भाद्रपदशुक्लचतुर्विंश्यां यावदाक्रमते जलम् । तावद्धर्मं विज्ञानीयात्तद्वृत्तं तीरहृष्यते । नारद (उत्तर) 43. 116-118 q. by तीर्थंशि. p. 266 and प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 499 (from ब्रह्मपुराण and the verse भाद्र० from दानधर्म) and by वनोवा. p. 136 (the first verse from ब्रह्माण्ड); नारद (उत्तर) 43. 118 (last half) is सार्धहस्तसप्तं यावद्धर्मस्तीरं ततः परम्. The digests read भाद्रपदशुक्लं for भाद्रपदशुक्लं.

1339. अद्याहुके मासि अहुकपक्षे अहुकतिथौ सद्यःपापयन्ताभार्यकं सर्वपुण्यमाप्तिकामो गङ्गायां स्नानमर्थं करिष्ये । गङ्गायां. p. 141. Vide तीर्थंशि. pp. 206-207 for several alternative सङ्कल्पः before गङ्गास्नान.

Matsyapurāṇa 102 is common to people of all varṇas and students of all the different recensions of the Veda. The Matsyapurāṇa, chap. 102, which contains one of the earliest procedure of a religious bath, and which has been taken over by several digests such as the Gaṅgāvākyaśāli (pp. 148-152) is summarised here. Cleanliness (of the body) and clean thoughts do not exist without a bath; therefore bathing is first prescribed for making the mind pure. One may bathe with water drawn (in a vessel from a well or stream) or with water not so drawn. A wise man should fix upon a holy spot after repeating the fundamental mantra 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' (reverent bow to Nārāyaṇa). A man holding darbha grass in his hand and being clean and pure should perform *ācamana* (ceremonial sipping of water). He should select a spot four *hastas* square on all sides and invoke the Ganges (to come or be present there) with the following mantras 'you are sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu, you are a devotee of Viṣṇu, you worship Viṣṇu; therefore save us from sins committed from birth to death. Vāyu declared that there are three and a half crores (35 millions) of holy places in heaven, on the earth and in mid air; all these, O Ganges (daughter of Jahnu), belong to you. Your name among the gods is Nandinī (the joy-giving) and also Nalinī and there are other names of yours viz. Dakṣā, Pṛthivī, Vihagā, Viśvakāyā, Amṛtā, Śivā, Vidyādhari, Suprasāntā, Viśva-prasādinī, Kṣemā, Jāhnavī, Śāntā, Śāntipradāyinī.<sup>1339a</sup> One should utter these holy names at the time of bathing; then the Ganges flowing in the three worlds would be near (even if a man bathed at home). He should, after folding his hands, cast on his head thrice, four times, five times or seven times water on which he has muttered the mantras seven times. After having invoked the clay (in the river bed) with the mantras 'O earth! Oh clay! you are crossed over by horses and chariots, by Viṣṇu, remove my sin which I may have committed by my evil deeds; you were brought up (from the depths of the sea) by the Boar incarnation of Kṛṣṇa with his hundred hands. O clay! you are given (to the world) by Brahmā and you had mantras repeated over you by Kāśyapa. Occupying my limbs may you drive away all my sin! Oh clay! Give us

1339 a. Verses 1-8 of मत्स्यः chap. 102 are q. by the स्मृतिक. I. p. 182. The स्मृतिक. I. p. 183 also gives the twelve names of गङ्गा differently. पद्म (IV. 89. 17-19) has the same holy names of the Gangas that the Matsya (102. 6-8) mentions. For the thousand names of the Ganges, vide above p. 585.





*nivāta* <sup>1341</sup> form (when satiating men). He should devotedly satiate men, the sages who were sons of Brahmā; he should say "May Sanaka, Sananda and Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vṛdhū, Pāñcasikha—may all these reach satiety by the water offered by me." Then he should satiate with water and *akṣata* grains (the sages) Marīci, Atri, Āngiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas, Vasistha, Bhṛgu, Nārada; he should satiate all these *devarṣis*, and *brahmarṣis*, <sup>1342</sup> and *ṛsis* with water and *akṣatas*;—Then wearing the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode, bending his left knee on the ground, he satiates with water mixed with sesame and sandal-wood paste pits called Agnisvāta <sup>1343</sup>, Saumya, Havismat, Uśmapa, Sukālin, Barhiṣad and others called Ājyapa. He should make a bow to Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaivasvata, Kāla, destroyer of all beings, Audumbara, Dadhna, Nīla, Paramēsthin, Vṛkodara, Citra and Citragupta. With darbhas in his hand a wise man should satiate his pits. He should satiate with devotion his father and the rest by uttering their names and gotra and his maternal grandfather and others in the same way and should recite the following *mantra* 'May those who are my bandhus or not my bandhus or were my bandhus in some previous life reach satisfaction and also whoever desires satisfaction from me.' Then he should sip water (perform *ācamana*) in the prescribed way and draw the figure of a lotus in front of himself and offer thereon to the Sun *arghya* (respectful offering of water) with water mixed with red sandal-wood paste, flowers and *akṣatas* (grains of rice) and repeat the names of Sūrya (the Sun) 'Bow to thee! that art Viṣṇu in another form, that art the face of Viṣṇu, that hast thousand rays and that art all refulgence. Bow to thee that art beneficent, the lord of the world. Bow to thee that art adorned with divine sandalwood, that art seated on a lotus, adorned with ear-rings and armlets, the lord of people; that awakenest (or enlightenest) the whole world, that goest everywhere and markest the good and evil

1341. निर्वीतं मण्डयानां प्राचीनावीतं विदूषाद्युपवीतं द्वेषानाम् । तै. सं. II. 5. 11. 1.

For explanation of these three modes of wearing the sacred thread, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 287-288 and *apasavya* has been explained in this volume in note 1095.

1342. Vide Vāyu 61.86-90 for definitions and enumeration of ऋषि, देवर्षि, राजर्षि and also Baud. Gr. I. 7 and Devala q. by अपराक pp. 442-443 for ऋषि and other terms.

1343. For Agnisvāta and other names of classes of pits, vide above pp. 343-344 and Brahmanḍa III. 10. 53, 75, 93, 96.

deeds; a bow to thee who art a god to all. O Bhāskara (Sun) ! be well disposed to me. A bow to thee, Divākara (maker of day). A bow to thee, Prabhākara (source of refulgence)'. Having thus bowed to the Sun and having circumambulated thrice (the lotus drawn for representing the sun) and touching a brahmana, gold and a cow, the person (bather) should go to a temple of Viṣṇu (or to his own house, according to another reading).<sup>1344</sup>

It may be noted that the verses of the *Mateyapurāṇa* (102. 2-31) summarised above occur (with slight variations of a word here and there) in *Padma* (*Pātāla-khaṇḍa* 89. 12-42) and *Śrīṣṭi-khaṇḍa*, chap. 20. 145-176.

The *Sm. C.* and *Raghunandana* in his *Prāyaścittatattva* (p. 502) lay down two mantras to be recited at the time of taking a bath in the Ganges<sup>1345</sup> 'O Ganges, daughter of Jāhnu ! That flowest in three worlds, that art sprung from the lotus-like feet of Viṣṇu, that art far-famed as devoted to (the spread of) dharma, remove my sin; O divine mother, O Bhāgirathī ! purify with your immortal waters me who am full of faith and devotion'. The mantra to be repeated at the time of the bath at the place where the Ganges falls into the ocean according to the same two works is "O god that art the lord of rivers ! O goddess that art the best among rivers ! Having bathed at the confluence of both I shall cast off my sins".

On pp. 243-244 above it has been stated that the *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* and other works recommend the casting of the ashes or charred bones of a cremated body in the Ganges at Prayāga, Kāśī or other holy place and the rites accompanying the casting of ashes have been there set out. A few words are added here. The same verse<sup>1346</sup> (with slight variations) about casting

1344. धर्मराजं तं चित्रं are the names of वरुण and for चित्रवृत्त vide p. 160 above and बराहवृत्त chap. 203-205.

1345. विष्णुपादाब्जसम्भूतं यङ्क्ते त्रिषयगामिनि । धर्मव्रतेति विरुपाते पापं मे ह्यर जाह्नवि ॥ अमुया भक्तिरूपके (च ?) श्रीमातर्देवि जाह्नवि । अमुतेनाम्बुजा देवि भागिरथि पुत्रीहि मातृ ॥ सङ्कलित. I. 131 ; भाव. तत्त्व p. 502 ; त्वं देवि सरितां नाथ त्वं देवि सरितां वरे । उभयोः सङ्क्रमे रत्नाम्बा दुःखानि दुरितानि वै ॥ *ibid.* पद्म, सुडिकण्ड 60, 60 is the same as the first verse and 60, 62 offers some variant readings for the second.

1346. वायव्यस्थि मनुष्यस्य यङ्कुरयाः सृष्टाते जलम् । तावत्स पुरुषो राजन् स्वर्गलोके महीपते ॥ वनपर्व 85.94 = पद्म I. 39 87 ; अङ्गुलासन 26 32 is वायव्यस्थिनि यङ्कुरयां तिष्ठन्ति हि क्षीरिणिः । तावद्द्वर्षसङ्क्रान्ति...महीपते ॥ = मत्स्य. 106.52, कूर्म I. 37.32 (reads द्रुवस्य तु ! ) ; नारद (उत्तर) 43.109 वायव्यस्थिनि यङ्कुरयां तिष्ठन्ति पुरुषस्य वै । तावद्द्वर्ष...महीपते । and नारद (उत्तर) 62.51 is वायव्यि नक्षलोमानि यङ्कुरलोके यन्ति वै ॥ तावद्द्वर्षसङ्क्रान्ति रवर्गलोके महीपते ॥ नारदीय (पूर्वार्ध) 15.163 'नेत्रास्थिनामङ्गुलाभ्य मरुतावि द्रुवस्यतम । यन्ति विष्णुसङ्क्रान्ते सृष्टा गाङ्गेज वारिणा ॥'.

ashes in the Ganges occurs in several works. The *Agnipurāṇa* observes 'the deceased man benefits if his bones are thrown into the Ganges; a man stays in heaven as long as (even a particle of) his bone remains in the waters of the Ganges. No rites for the dead are performed for those who commit suicide or who are *patita*; but even in their case the fall of their bones in Ganges water is beneficial to them.' The *Tir. C.* and *Tir. Pr.* quote two verses and a half from the *Brahmapurāṇa* <sup>1347</sup> which set out a briefer rite of throwing ashes than the one in the *Nirpayasindhu*. The verses mean: "The man carrying the ashes should take a bath, sprinkle *pañcagavya* over the ashes, should place on them a piece of gold, honey, ghee and sesame; then he should deposit them in an earthen vessel; he should then look in the southern direction, say 'salutation to Dharma,' enter the waters (of the Ganges), utter, 'may he (Dharma or Viṣṇu?) be pleased with me' and then cast the ashes in the water; then he should bathe in the river, come out of it, cast a look at the Sun and then give a present (*dakṣiṇā*) to a *brāhmaṇa*; if he does so, then the state of the deceased person will be like Indra.' Vide *Skanda, Kāśī-khaṇḍa* 30, 42-46 where a little more elaborate procedure is prescribed. The importance of casting ashes in the Ganges probably owes its origin to the story of king *Sagara*'s sons who were reduced to ashes by the wrath of the sage *Kapila* and who were saved by the ashes being washed in the waters of the Ganges brought down from heaven by *Bhagiratha*. Vide *Vanaparva* chap. 107-109, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II, 8-10 for the story. The *Nāradya* makes not only the throwing of calcined bones a source of benefit to the departed but even his nails and hair when cast in the Ganges confer the same benefit. It is stated in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* that those who, while standing on the banks of the Ganges, praise another *tīrtha* or do not think very highly of the Ganges go to hell. <sup>1347a</sup> The *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* further provides that there is special and

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1347. स्नात्वा ततः पञ्चगवेन सिक्तवा हिरण्यमञ्जराज्यतिलेन योजयन् । ततस्तु  
सुत्पिण्डपुटे निधाय पश्यन् दिशं मेतमणायगृह्यात् ॥ नमोऽस्तु धर्माय बह्व्यं यद्विच जलं स मे श्रुत  
इति क्षिपेच्च । स्नात्वा तथोत्तीर्य च भास्करं च दृष्ट्वा यद्व्याचक्षुः क्षिपेत् । एवं कृते मेतदुर-

स्थितस्य स्वर्गे गतिः स्यात् । महेन्द्रमुल्या । *ब्रह्मपुराण* q. by तीर्थचि. pp. 265-266 and तीर्थ-  
प्र. p. 374. The *गङ्गावा.* p. 272 quotes these as from *ब्रह्माण्ड* (with slight  
variations, one of which is यस्तु सर्वहितो विष्णुः स मे श्रुत इति क्षिपेत् ।). These  
verses are नारद (उत्तर chap. 43, 113-115) with slight variations.

1347 a. तीर्थमन्त्रप्रशंसन्ति गङ्गातीरे स्थिताश्च ये । गङ्गां न बह्व् मन्त्रान्ते ते  
सुशुनिर्यगामिनः ॥ स्कन्ध, काशी= 27, 80.

excessive merit in Gaṅgāsūnā on special days e. g. the merit of bath on New Moon has one hundred times as much merit as on an ordinary day, a thousand times on a sankrānti, one hundred thousand on the eclipse of the sun or moon and unlimited times when a bath is taken on moon eclipse on a Monday and on sun eclipse on Sunday.<sup>1348</sup>

## TRISTHALI

The three great tirthas of Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā are referred to as Tristhali and the great scholar, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (born in 1513 A. D.), wrote (about 1580 A. D.) in Benares a famous work called Tristhalisetu (a bridge to the Tristhali) wherein he gives a thorough and exhaustive treatment of the pilgrimage to these three holy places<sup>1348a</sup> alone. Prayāga is assigned pp. 1-72, Kāśī pp. 72-316 and Gayā pp. 316-379 (of the Ānandāśrama edition). Following with all humility the footsteps of such an illustrious and venerable scholar I shall deal with the three tirthas in the same order.

## PRAYĀGA

One of the most ancient reference to the greatness of the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā occurs in a khila<sup>1349</sup> verse which is usually placed in Rg. X. 75 and may be rendered as follows: "Those who take a bath at the place where the

1348. इहो कतमुणं पुण्यं संक्रान्ती च सहस्रकम् । अण्डद्वयग्रे लक्षं व्यतीपाते  
त्वन्मत्स्यम् । ... सोमग्रहः सोमदिने रात्रिरे रवेर्ग्रहः । तत्पूजामपिपार्श्वं तत्र स्नान-  
संकल्पकम् ॥ स्कन्ध, काशी 27, 129-131.

1348 a. त्रयाणां स्थलानां समाहारः त्रिस्थली ।

1349. सिवासिते सरिते यत्र सङ्गते तत्राद्भुतासौ दिवमुत्पत्तिः । ये वै तत्रं विसृजन्ति  
धीरास्ते जनासौ अमृतं च भजन्ते । The त्रिस्थली° p. 3 says it is a supplementary śruti  
text of the Āśvalāyana school, while the Tīr. C. p. 47 quotes it as a verse of  
the Rgveda. It is quite possible to hold that the verse does not encourage  
religious suicide but only makes this distinction that by a bath only once  
a man goes to heaven and that if he dies at Prayāga he attains mokṣa even  
without correct metaphysical knowledge. Vide रघुवंश 13.58 'तत्स्वावलोकेन विनापि  
श्रुयस्तद्व्युत्पत्त्या नस्ति शरीरवधः' q. by तीर्थय. p. 313. The स्कन्ध says: कुमिभिः परि-  
पठ्येते सिवासिते सरितरे । तत्राद्भुताद्भुतं द्रव्यं भवन्तीति विनिश्चितम् । काशी. 7. 54 q. by  
त्रिस्थली° p. 11. Vide also काशीस्कन्ध 7.46 for a similar verse. The verse no  
doubt has a vedic ring about it. The त्रिस्थली° p. 4 notices another reading.  
The waters of the Ganges are whitish while those of the Yamunā are dark.  
Classical Sanskrit poets very often harp on these colours of the waters of the  
two rivers. Vide रघुवंश 13. 54-57.

two rivers, white and dark, meet together, rise up (fly up) to heaven; those determined men who abandon their body there (i. e. commit suicide by drowning themselves) secure immortality (or *mokṣa*)". This must have been a comparatively early verse. The Skandapurāṇa refers to it as śruti. The greatness of Prayāga is dwelt upon in the Mahābhārata (Vana-parva 85. 69-97, 87. 18-20, Anuśāsana 25. 36-38)<sup>1350</sup> and in many purāṇas such as the Matsya (chapters 103-112, in all 260 verses), Kūrma I. 36-39 (verses 121), Padma (I. chap. 40-49), Skanda, Kāśi-Khaṇḍa, chap. 7. 45-65). Only a few out of the hundreds of verses on Prayāga can be cited here by way of sample. One remarkable fact is that the Rāmāyaṇa does not say much about Prayāga. The confluence of the two rivers is no doubt referred to (Rām. II. 54.6) but from the description it appears that there was a forest at what is now Prayāga. Prayāga is called Tirtharāja (the prince among tirthas) in the Matsya 109. 15, Skanda (Kāśi 7. 45), Padma VI. 23. 27-35 (where the refrain at the end of each verse is 'sa tirtharājō jayati prayāgaḥ) and elsewhere. The legend runs that Prajāpati or Pitāmaha (Brahmā) performed a sacrifice here and Prayāga is the middle one of the vedis of Brahmā, the others being Kurukṣetra in the north (uttaravedi) and Gayā in the east. It is believed that three rivers meet at Prayāga viz. Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī (underground between the two). It is said in the Matsya<sup>1351</sup>, Kūrma and other Purāṇas that at the very sight of Prayāga, even by taking its name or by applying its clay to one's body a man becomes free from sin. The Kūrmapurāṇa<sup>1352</sup> proclaims "it is the sacred spot of Prajāpati; those who bathe here go to heaven and those who die here are not born again." That sacred spot is known as tirtharāja; it is dear to Keśava. The same is known as Trivenī.

1350. इनातीर्थसहस्राणि तिष्ठः कोट्यस्तथापराः । समगच्छन्ति मादृशं तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ ॥ मायमासं प्रयागे तु नियतः संशितव्रतः । स्नात्वा तु भरतश्रेष्ठ निर्मलः स्वर्गमाप्नुयात् ॥ अनुशासन 25. 36-38.

1351. दर्शनास्य तीर्थस्य नामसंकीर्तनादपि । क्षुत्तिकालम्भनाद्वापि नरः पापात् प्रमुच्यते ॥ मत्स्य. 104. 12, कूर्म. I. 36. 27. The अग्नि (111. 6-7) reads स्नानादस्य तीर्थस्य, बलपर्व 85.80 reads 'मममासस्य...दपि । क्षुत्तिकालभयाच्चापि नरः...च्यते ।

1352. एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् । अत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यास्ति ये क्षुत्तास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः ॥ कूर्म. I. 36.20. मत्स्य. (104.5 and 111. 14) and नारद (उत्तर 63.127-128) also calls it प्रजापतिक्षेत्र.

The word Prayāga is employed in the neuter when connected with such words as tirtha or kṣetra, as in Matsya (111. 14 prajāpater-idam kṣetram prayāgam-iti viśrutam), but when employed along with words (in the masculine gender) such as tirtharāja, it takes the masculine gender.

The word Prayāga is derived in various ways. The Vāna-parva<sup>1353</sup> appears to suggest that the word Prayāga is derived from the root 'yaj' when it says 'Brahmā who is the soul of all beings performed formerly a sacrifice here; therefore it became known as Prayāga'. In the Skanda<sup>1354</sup> purāṇa also it appears to be explained by taking the two parts *pra* and *yāga* separately. "It is mentioned as Prayāga because it is superior to all sacrifices; Prayāga was the name given to it by the gods Hari, Hara and others seeing that it is superior to all sacrifices though the latter be enriched with fees and the like." The Matsyapurāṇa<sup>1355</sup> appears to lay emphasis on the part 'pra' when it says 'on account of its efficacy (or power) as compared with all other tirthas it prevails (or is useful) far more'. The Brahmapurāṇa<sup>1356</sup> affirms "It is called prayāga on account of its eminence and it has the word 'rāja' (in Tirtharāja) applied to it on account of its being the chief'.

We must distinguish between Prayāga-maṇḍala, Prayāga and Varāṇ or Trivenī, each subsequent one being smaller and holier than each preceding one. The Matsya<sup>1357</sup> states that the sphere of Prayāga is five *yojanas* in circumference and that the moment a man enters inside this strip of land, there is an Āśva-medha at every step. This has been explained by the Tristhali-setu (p. 15) as follows: Regarding Brahmayūpa (the sacrificial post of Brahmā) as the spike or peg, if one measures with a rope one and one half *yojana* long all round, that would be the

1353. गङ्गायस्तुनयोर्वीरं सङ्गमं लोकविश्रुतम् ॥ यत्रायजत भूतात्मा पूर्वंमेव पितामहः । प्रयागमिति विल्यातं तस्माद्भरतसत्तम ॥ वनपर्व 87. 18-19; तथा सर्वेषु लोकेषु प्रयागं पूजयेद् बुधः । पूज्यते तीर्थराजस्तु सत्यमेव युधिष्ठिरः ॥ मत्स्य. 109. 15.

1354. प्रकृष्टं सर्वयागेभ्यः प्रयागमिति गीयते । दृष्ट्वा प्रकृष्टयागेभ्यः पुष्टेभ्यो हविषाविभिः । प्रयागमिति तस्मान् कृतं हरिहरादिभिः ॥ q. in त्रिपथलीः p. 13. The first half is स्कन्द, काशी 7. 49; so प्रयाग means प्रकृष्टो यागो यत्र.

1355. प्रभावात्सर्वतीर्थेभ्यः प्रभवत्यधिकं विभो । मत्स्य. 110. 11.

1356. प्रकृष्टत्वात्प्रयागोसौ शोधन्याद्वाजशब्दान् । ब्रह्मपुराण q. in त्रिपथली 0 p. 13.

1357. पञ्चयोजनविस्तीर्णं प्रयागस्य तु मण्डलम् । अवेष्टमात्रे तपसावश्वमेधः पक्षे पक्षे ॥ मत्स्य. 108. 9-10, 111. 8, पञ्च I. 45. 8. The कुर्मपुराण has पञ्चयोजनविस्तीर्णं ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः । प्रयागं प्राप्यते तीर्थं यस्य माहात्म्यमीरितम् ॥ II. 35. 4.

Prayāgamapada of five *yojanas* in circumference. The boundaries of Prayāga itself are defined by Vanaparva,<sup>1358</sup> the Matsya-purāṇa (104. 5 and 106. 30) and others. 'Prayāga extends from Pratiṣṭhāna up to the pool of Vāsuki and upto the two *nāgas* Kambala and Aśvatara and the *nāga* Bahumūlaka; this is known in the three worlds as the sacred spot of Prajāpati' (Matsya 104. 5), while Matsya 106. 30 provides that to the east of the Ganges is the Sāmudrakupa, which is the same as Pratiṣṭhāna. This is explained by the Tristhalisetu as follows: the eastern boundary is the kūpa called Pratiṣṭhāna<sup>1359</sup>; the northern one is the Vāsuki pool, the western limit is formed by Kambala and Aśvatara; the southern boundary is Bahumūlaka. This would be a four-cornered space which is included within Prayāga-maṇḍala. According to the Matsyapurāṇa as quoted by the Kalpataru on tirtha p. 143 the two Nāgas are on the south bank of Yamunā while the printed text has 'vipule Yamunātate' (106. 27)<sup>1360</sup>. The printed text of Padma I. 43. 27 supports the Kalpataru reading ('Yamunā-daksine tate'). Venī-kṣetra is within the limits of Prayāga itself and is twenty bow lengths in extent, as stated in the Padma. There are three *kūpas* viz. Prayāga, Pratiṣṭhāna and Alarkapura. The Matsya and Agni say 'there are three fire kundas and the Ganges flows in their midst'. It should be noted that except where special reference is made in the Purāṇas to the sub-tirthas, the reference to a bath at Prayāga in general means bath in the Venī i. e. the confluence of the two rivers, as e. g. in Vanaparva 85.81 and 85 and Matsya 104. 16-17.<sup>1361</sup>

1358. आ प्रयागं प्रतिष्ठानायत्तुरा वासुकेर्हदात्। कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ नागश्च बहु-  
मूलकः॥ एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विभुतम्। मत्स्य. 104. 5; पद्म I. 39. 69-70, 41.  
4-5 are similar. वनपर्व 85. 76-77 are: प्रयागं समप्रिष्ठानं कम्बलाश्वतराबुधौ। तीर्थं भोग-  
वती चैव वेदिवेषा प्रजापतेः। तत्र वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च मूर्तिमन्तो युधिष्ठिरः। अग्नि 111. 5, has the  
verse प्रयागं...प्रजापतेः (reads वेदी शोका)।

1359. पूर्वेषांश्च तु गङ्गायास्त्रिषु लोकेषु भारत। कूपं चैव तु सासुद्धं प्रतिष्ठानं च विभुतम्॥  
मत्स्य. 106. 3.

1360. मावः सितसिते विप्र राजस्यैः समो भवेत्। धनुर्विंशतिविस्तीर्णं सितनीलाम्बु-  
सङ्गमे॥ इति पाद्मोक्तेः। विष्णुलीः p. 75. सितसित (white and dark) means Venī.  
Vide n. 1337 above for धनुः being equal to four hastas and 96 angulas.

1361. तत्र त्रीण्यग्निकुण्डानि येषां मध्येन जाह्नवी। वनपर्व 85. 73; त्रीणि आप्यग्नि-  
कुण्डानि येषां मध्ये तु जाह्नवी। मत्स्य. 110.4 and अग्नि 111.12, पद्म I. 39. 67, I. 49. 4;  
while मत्स्य. 104.13, कूर्म. (I. 36. 28-29) read पञ्च कुण्डानि.



The Vanaparva<sup>1362</sup> and some of the Purāṇas represent that the country between the Ganges and the Yamunā is (like) the hips and loins of the earth (i. e. it is the most prosperous and plentiful part of the earth) and that Prayāga is like the inmost part of the hips.

The Narasimha-purāṇa says that Viṣṇu is in the form of Yogamūrti in Prayāga (65. 17). It is said in the Matsya-purāṇa<sup>1363</sup> (111. 4-10) that when Rudra dissolves the world at the end of the Kalpa, the holy place of Prayāga is not destroyed, that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara (Śiva) stay in Prayāga, that to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna Brahmā stays in it under guise, that Viṣṇu stays there as Venī-Mādhava, that Śiva stays there as the Vata (banyan tree) and that therefore the gods with the Gandharvas, the Siddhas and great sages always protect the sphere (*maṇḍala*) of Prayāga by guarding it against evil actions. The Matsyapurāṇa, therefore, recommends that a pilgrim should go to Prayāga which is protected by all the gods, stay there for a month, avoid sexual intercourse, worship gods and pitrs and thereby secure his desired objects (104. 18). The same Purāṇa highly eulogises the gift at Prayāga of a *kapilā* cow properly decked (105. 16-22) with clothes, ornaments and jewels. The Padmapurāṇa (Ādi. 42. 17-24) has the same verses as the Matsya on this subject. Similarly, the marriage of a daughter in the *ūrṣa* form at Prayāga is highly spoken of in Matsya (106. 8-9). The Matsya (105. 13-14 and 106. 10) says generally that if a man makes a gift of a cow, of gold, of precious stones, of pearls and of other things that he owns his pilgrimage becomes fruitful (*saphala*) and he collects religious merit (*punya*) and that when a man makes gifts according to his ability and wealth, the fruit of his pilgrimage increases and he remains in heaven till the end of the world. The Brahmāṇḍa<sup>1364</sup> assures pilgrims that whatever gifts are made according to one's ability at

1362. गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्यं पृथिव्या जघनं स्मृतम् । प्रयागे जघनस्थानमुपस्थापयते विदुः ॥ वनपर्व 85. 75 = पद्म I. 39. 69 and I. 43. 19, अग्नि 111. 4, कूर्म I. 37. 12, मत्स्य. 106. 19. The idea appears to be that holy places are like the children of the earth.

1363. प्रयागे निवसन्त्येते ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः । उत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठाप्यमाना ब्रह्म तिष्ठति । वेणीमाधवस्त्वयी तु भगवांस्तत्र तिष्ठति ॥ माहेश्वरो वटो मूला तिष्ठते परमेश्वरः । ततो द्वेष्टः सगन्धर्वाः सिद्धाश्च परमर्षयः । रक्षन्ति मण्डलं निरर्थं पापकर्मनिवारणात् ॥ मत्स्य. 111. 4-10. Vide कूर्म. I. 36. 23-26, पद्म, आश्विखण्ड 41. 6-10 for similar verses.

1364. कुवक्ष्यते प्रयागे च यद्दानं सदा कुरुते । गङ्गायां पुष्करे तैत्ति यद्दानं च मेदिनिः । यद्दानं दीयते शक्यता तद्दानं सदा कल्पते ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड प. 10. त्रिथली p. 24.

Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, at the mouth of the Ganges where it falls into the sea, on the Ganges, at Puṣkara, at Setubandha, at Gaṅgādvāra and in Naimiṣa tends to confer inexhaustible rewards. In the Vanaparva <sup>1365</sup> it is stated that this sacrificial ground (of Brahmā) is honoured even by the gods, that even a small thing donated here assumes greatness (i. e. produces the rewards of large gifts).

The confluence of the three rivers came to be associated with *omkāra*, <sup>1366</sup> the mystic syllable that stands for *Brahma*. It is said in a purāṇa passage (probably *Brahmapurāṇa*) that the three parts of *om* (aum) respectively are Sarasvatī, Yamunā and Gaṅgā and that the waters of three rivers represent Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Śaṅkarsaṇa Hari.

It may be noted that, in spite of the fact that the *Matsya*, *Kūrma* (I. 36-39), *Padma* (*Ādi*, chapters 41-49), *Agni* 111 and other *Purāṇas* contain several hundred verses on Prayāga, the *Kalpataru* (on tirtha), the earliest extant digest on tirthas, quotes only the *Matsya* (104. 1-13 and 16-20, 105. 1-22, 106. 1-48, 107. 2-21, 108. 3-5, 8-17 and 23-34, 109. 10-12, 110. 1-11, 111. 8-11, in all about 151 verses) and *Vanaparva* chap. 85. 79-87 and 97 and does not add a single word of explanation or discussion. But the other digests profusely quoting mostly from *Purāṇas* discuss at some length several topics and a few words must be devoted to some of those topics.

One such topic is tonsure at Prayāga. It is stated by the *Gaṅgāvākya*valī (p. 298) and the *Tir. Pr.* (p. 335) that, though the author of the *Kalpataru* says nothing about tonsure at Prayāga, yet as *śiṣṭas* (respectable and learned people) and the writers of digests accept it as necessary, certain authorities would be set out. The two verses quoted by most <sup>1366a</sup> writers are 'one should tonsure the head at Prayāga, offer *pinḍas* at *Gayā*, make gifts in *Kurukṣetra* and should commit

1365. एषा यजनभूमिर्हि देवानामपि संस्कृता । तत्र दत्तं स्वल्पमपि महद्भवति भारत ॥  
वनपर्व 85. 82 = 83. 77 of the cr. ed. which reads तत्र दत्तं सुखमपि.

1366. ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधायकम् । तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्य-  
प्रदायिनी ॥ अकारः शारदा प्रोक्ता प्रद्युम्नस्तत्र जायते । उकारो यमुना प्रोक्तानिबद्ध-  
स्तज्जालात्मकः । मकारो जाह्नवी गङ्गा तत्र सङ्गम्यो हविः । एवं त्रिवेणी विरचयता वेद्वीजं  
प्रकीर्तिता ॥ q. by त्रिरचली० p. 8.

1366a. प्रयागे वपनं कुर्याद्दयायां पिण्डपातनम् । दानं दद्यात् कुरुक्षेत्रे वाराणस्यां तप्तं  
हवजेत् ॥ किं गणपिण्डदानेन कार्या वा मरणेन किम् । किं कुरुक्षेत्रदानेन प्रयागे वपनं यदि ॥  
q. by गङ्गादा. p. 298. तीर्थचि. p. 32, त्रिस्थली० p. 17, तीर्थध. p. 335. These two  
verses occur in नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 103-104.

(religious) suicide at Benares. What is the use (or necessity) of pinda offerings at Gaya or death in Kāśī, or gifts at Kurukṣetra, if one has tonsured one's head at Prayāga? ". Elaborate discussions are held by all these works about the exact intention of the verses, about the application of the maxim of *rātrisattra* <sup>1367</sup> to them and about the results derived from tonsure. They have to be passed over here from considerations of space. The Tristhalī-setu (p. 17) holds that the verse only praises the rite of tonsure at Prayāga and the fruit thereof is simply the removal of sin. The Tri. S. refutes (p. 17) the application of *rātrisattra-nyāya* to these verses, while Tir. C. (p. 32) applies it. Some of the conclusions drawn by the Tri. S. are that in one and the same yātrā at Prayāga (even if a man stays there for some days) ceremonial tonsure takes place only once, that widows have to tonsure their heads, that in the case of women whose husbands are living only two or three finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut and offered at the *Trivenī*, that even <sup>1367a</sup> boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed have to undergo tonsure provided the *cūḍā* rite has already been performed. The Tristhalīsetu (p. 22) notes that certain traditionalists, <sup>1368</sup>

1367. *रात्रिसत्राय* occurs in Jē. IV. 3. 17-19. There is a passage in the पञ्चविंशब्राह्मण 23. 2. 4 'यसि तिस्रिणि य एता रात्रिसत्रयन्ति.' Here in the पञ्चविंश रात्रिसत्र is enjoined but no fruit thereof is expressly promised. The question arises whether in the absence of an express reward, heaven should be understood as the reward (because as explained in Jai. IV. 3. 15-16 *svarga* is the reward of all sacrifices for which no express reward is mentioned) or whether *सवित्रा* (stable position) which occurs in the above *arthavāda* passage should be held to be the reward of *रात्रिसत्र*. The reply is that here the reward is *सवित्रा* and not *स्वर्ग* i. e. though there is no express mention of the reward in the passage about *rātrisattra*, the *arthavāda* passage should be construed as laying down the reward. In the two verses, there is a *vidhi* in the words *प्रपाने वपनं कुर्यात्* and the second verse is an *अर्थवाद*. The question is what reward is promised in it. If *रात्रिसत्र* *व्रत* applies, then *सुष्ठु* secures all the fruits of *वपनविच्छदान*, *कुक्षकोष्ठदान* and *काशीतनुरवाण*. If it does not apply then the only fruit is *पापमात्र*.

1367a. अष्टप्रवीतन्यामपि प्रपाने वपनं कार्यम् । यस्तु पुत्रास्तथा बालास्त्रापयेत्पाप-  
येतथा । यथात्मना तथा सर्वं हानं क्रियेत् वापयेत् ॥ इति मत्स्यपुराणवचने तृतीयपादवचनम्...  
सुष्ठुनादिविधायकत्वात् । त्रिस्थली० pp. 23-24. यस्तु पुत्रास्तथा- is मत्स्य. 106.6.

1368. सांप्रदायिकास्तु...तस्मात्सुष्ठुमेव केशवपनमिह क्षीयामिति । अत्रापि नोन्मुख-  
केशवपनं किंतु वेणीं कृत्वा कुक्षमादिमङ्गलवृत्त्यालङ्कृता भर्तारं नमस्कृत्य तद्वत्पुत्राया वापयेत् ।  
तं च वेणीमञ्जलीं निक्षिप्य यथाशक्तिकृतां स्वर्णमयीं रज्यमयीं वा वेणीं सुकामवालादि च  
निक्षिप्य-वेण्यां वेणीमञ्जलेन कुर्यात् पापं प्रणश्यति । जन्मान्तरेणापि सदा सोमवारं मम-वर्षकात् ।  
इति पठित्वा वेण्यां क्रियेत् ॥ त्रिस्थली० p. 22 ; प्रपाने क्षीयामपि सुष्ठु न तु कश्यपमन्त्र-  
वचनाभ्यां केशानां ह्यथकुलच्छेदमात्रम् ॥ प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व p. 493.

relying on passages that aver that all sins cling to the roots of a person's hair, say that cutting two or three tresses would be merely *kartana* and not *vapana* (tonsure), that even women whose husbands are alive must shave themselves at Prayāga, that such women should make a braid of all their hair, should deck the braid with saffron and other auspicious materials, bow to their husbands and with the husband's permission have the head tonsured, that then they should place the cut hair in their joined hands, place thereon a golden or silver *venī* and pearls and coral and should cast all these into the confluence (*Venī*) of the Ganges and Jumna after repeating the mantra 'May all my sins be destroyed by this offering of my braided hair into the *Venī*! may my blessedness (the auspicious state of wifehood) always increase in the lives to come.' The Tri. S. states that women do not tonsure their head at any tirtha except at Prayāga and the only reason for this is that it is the practice of sistas. Vide above pp. 122-124 for tonsure as expiation for sins. The Nāradya (Uttara) 63. 106 provides the same rule as Parāśara (in note 278 above) for women. The Prayāścittatattva of Raghunandana prescribes the complete tonsure of the head for women at Prayāga.

It appears probable that the provision for the casting of *venī* (braided hair) on the part of women whose husbands were alive was suggested by the word *Venī* applied to the confluence of the two rivers, where the river Ganges appears to make a bend or curve for some distance.<sup>1369</sup>

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Indian writers was whether and when suicide, particularly at sacred spots like the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna or at the foot of the Akṣaya Vata at Prayāga, would involve no sin.<sup>1370</sup> This matter has already been

1369. ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधावकम् । तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्य-  
प्रदायिनी ॥ स एव तीर्थराजोऽयं त्रिवेण्या यत्र सङ्गमः । त्रिधली० p. 8.

1370. प्रयागः...विभो० भवणात्तस्य...प्रसूयते ॥ तत्राभिषेकं चः कुर्यात्सङ्गमे संसित-  
व्रतः । पुण्यं सकलमाप्नोति राजसूयाश्वमेधयोः । एषा यजन...महद्भवति भारत ॥ न वेद...  
प्रयागमरणं मति ॥ दशतीर्थसहस्राणि वटिकोट्यस्तथापराः । येषां साभिधमत्रैव कीर्तितं कुव-  
नन्दनं । चातुर्वेदे च वरपुण्यं सत्यवादिषु चैव यत् । स्नात एव तदामोति यज्ञायसुनसङ्गमे ॥ वनपर्व  
85. 79-85. After quoting the last verse and several other verses the त्रिधली-  
सेतु observes (p. 30) 'एतेषु सर्वेषु यद्यपि प्रयागशब्दस्याविशेषतः उपादानं तथापि  
तद्वत्सर्गतसत्सतीर्थस्नानफलस्य बाह्यान्तरैकत्वात् स्थलमात्रे च जलाभावेन स्नानासम्भवाद्दे-  
व्युपलक्षकः प्रयागशब्दः'. The same verses occur in एका (आदि 39. 72-78). स्कन्द  
(काशी० chap. 7, 63 and 65) says 'तद्विष्णोः परमं वर्यं ब्रह्मा पश्यन्ति क्षरयः । एतत्पञ्चत-  
वेदे तत्प्रयागं पुनः पुनः ॥ इयं वेणी हि त्रिवेणी ब्रह्मणो कर्म यावत्ततः । तद्विष्णोः.....  
क्षरयः ।—is क्र. I. 22.20.

dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 924-928 and vol. III, pp. 939, 948-949. Only a brief treatment by way of a summary of the pages and a few notes will be added here. The general sentiment of Dharmaśāstra works is to condemn suicide or an attempt to commit suicide as a great sin (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, page 924 for texts). The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 10, 28, 15-17) mentions the view of Hārita which condemns suicide even as *prāyaścitta* for committing a *mahāpātaka* (like incest) and puts killing another or killing oneself on the same footing. Manu V. 89 and Yāj. III. 154 condemn suicide by denying after-death rites to those who commit it, but Manu allowed suicide in various ways as *prāyaścitta* for *mahāpātakas* (vide Manu XI. 73, 90-91, 103-104). But exceptions to the condemnation of suicide are found in the *smṛtis*, *epics* and *purāṇas*. They may be grouped under several heads. (1) Suicide as an exception in various ways by those guilty of *mahāpātakas* (viz. *brāhmaṇa* murder, drinking of *surā*, theft of *brāhmaṇa*'s gold and incest); vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 924-925 for *smṛti* and other texts. (2) Starting on the Great Journey (*mahāprasthāna-gamana* or *mahāpathayātrā*) by a forest hermit (Manu VI. 31, Yāj. III. 55) suffering from incurable diseases and unable to perform the duties of his order. (3) An old man or one who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or who is so ill as to be beyond medical skill may kill himself by throwing himself from a precipice or by fire or by drowning or fasting or start on the Great Journey into the *Himālaya* or by jumping from the branches of the *Vata* tree at *Prayāga* (Aparārka p. 877 quoting *Ādi-purāṇa* and *Atri-smṛti* verses 218-219 q. by *Medhātithi* on Manu V. 88 and *Mit.* on Yāj. III. 6). (4) Even a householder, otherwise all right, may resort to suicide by the means stated (in No. 3) if his life's work is done, if he has no desire for the pleasures of the world and does not desire to live, or if he is a *Vedāntin*<sup>1371</sup> and convinced of the ephemeral nature of life and may kill himself by fast in *Himālaya*. (5) Religious suicide was allowed at the confluence of the two great rivers *Gangā* and *Yamunā*, at the *Vata* there and at some other *tīrthas*. (6) A wife dying by *sahagamana* or *anumarana*. As to *Sati*, the *Nāradya* (*pūrvārdha* 7. 52-53) provides that a woman should not burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband if she has a

1371. शरीरकृच्छ्रेण च विधिपूर्वमनाशकं। अथैव जीवितं ज्ञात्वा यो वै वेदान्तयो द्विजः॥  
अप्यर्च्यं देवतास्तत्र नमस्कृत्य कुर्वीत यः॥ ततः सिद्धो विष्णुं गच्छेद् ब्रह्मलोकं समात्मनः॥ अष्ट-  
भासन 23. 63-64, तत्र refers to *Himālaya* as the context shows.

young child or young children, if she is pregnant or if she has not attained puberty, or if she is in her monthly illness at the time. Not only did common men believe in the promise of the Purāṇas that those who killed themselves at Prayāga (at the *saṅgama* or near Vāṭa) secured mokṣa (freedom from the everlasting cycle of births and deaths) which was the highest of the four *puruṣārathas* (goals of human existence), but even great poets like Kalidāsa held the view that, though mokṣa or *kaivalya* or *apavarga* requires correct knowledge and realisation of the Supreme Spirit according to the Vedānta, Sāṅkhya and Nyāya systems, death at the sacred saṅgama led to mokṣa even without 'tattvajñāna.' In H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 925-927, historical examples of kings such as Yaśaḥ-karṇadeva, Candella Dhaṅgadev and Cālukya Someśvara committing suicide at Prayāga or the Tūṅgabhadra have been given. The king Kumāragupta of Magadha is said to have entered the fire of dry cow-dung cakes. This is in accordance with the prescriptions in the Matsya-purāṇa 107. 9-10 (=Padma, Ādi-khaṇḍa 44.3) which states<sup>1372</sup> 'the man who, suffering from no diseases, having no deficiency as to his limbs and being in full possession of his five senses, encompasses (his death) in cowdung fire remains honoured in heaven for as many years as there are pores on the whole of his body.'<sup>1373</sup> The Rājataranginī VI. 14 refers to officers entrusted with the duty of supervising suicide by fast (*prāyopaveśa*).

1372. गङ्गायल्लनयोर्मध्ये कर्षाग्निं यस्तु साधयेत्। अहीनाङ्गे हारोगश्च पञ्चोद्भय-  
समन्वितः। यावन्ति रोमकूपानि तस्य गात्रेषु देहिनः॥ तावद्ब्रह्महत्याणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥  
मत्स्य 107.9, कूर्म I. 38. 3-4, नारदीय, उत्तर, 63.154 (reads करीषाग्निं तु धारयेत्), पद्म  
I. 44. 9 (reads पञ्चाग्निं यस्तु). कर्षाग्निं is short for करीषाग्निं for metrical reasons.  
कूर्म I. 38.3 reads 'करीषाग्निं च साधयेत्.' Vide Gupta Inscriptions No. 42 p. 200,  
the Absaid Stone Inscription of आदित्यसेन of मगध, which states that his  
fifth ancestor Kumāragupta plunged himself in the slow-burning fire of  
dried cowdung cakes as if in water at Prayāga. श्रीरसरयवतधरो यः प्रयागगतो  
धने। अम्भसीय करीषाग्नौ मगः स पुण्यपूजितः॥ p. 203 (of the text). धने means धने  
सरयवि. The learned editor was probably unaware of the provisions about  
suicide at Prayāga by being burnt with dry cowdung cakes in the Matsya  
and other purāṇas.

1373. The Ain-i-Akbari (tr. by Gladwin and published in 1800) speaks of the following as the meritorious kinds of suicide (vol. I. p. 531 and p. 802 of the Popular edition, edited by J. Mukhopadhyaya). These are five in number viz. (1) starving; (2) covering himself with cowdung and setting it on fire and consuming himself therein; (3) burying himself in snow; (4) to plunge into water at the *Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama*, enumerate one's sins and pray till alligators come and devour the man; (5) cut his throat at Allababad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

The important verse on which reliance is placed for sanctioning religious suicide at Prayāga may be translated<sup>1374</sup> as follows: 'You should not set aside (pass over) your wish about dying at Prayāga on account of the words of the Veda or the words of the people.' The words of the Veda<sup>1375</sup> are Vāj. S. 40. 3 (= Īśāvāsyopaniṣad 3) which literally translated means 'there are worlds of Asuras enveloped in blinding darkness; those who have killed themselves repair after death to those worlds.' This verse does not in the context appear to refer to a person committing suicide, but rather to a person who kills his soul by remaining in ignorance of the true Self. But even learned writers and poets took it to refer to suicide (vide Uttara-rāmacarita, Act IV after verse 3). Another passage of the Veda on which reliance may be placed is the one in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X. 2. 6. 7 'one ought not to yield to his own desire and pass away before the full extent of life, for it (such shortening of full life) does not make for the (heavenly) world'. By 'the words of the people' are meant smṛti passages condemning suicide such as Gaut. 14. 12, Vas.<sup>1375a</sup> 23. 14-15, Manu V. 88 (which says that no water is to be offered to those who kill themselves), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 56 (ātmatyagīnaḥ patitāś-ca naśaucodakabhājah).

1374. न देववचनात्त न लोकवचनादपि । मतिरकमणीवा ते प्रयागमरणं प्रति ॥  
वनपर्व 85.83, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63.129, एक (आदि 39.76 reads न देव०), अग्नि 111.8  
(reads मतिरकमणीयान्ते प्रयागे मरणं प्रति). मत्स्य. 106.22 reads न देववचना...  
प्रयागमरणं प्रति) and एक, आदि 43.22 reads प्रयागमरणं प्रति. The कुर्मपुराण 1.37.14  
is न मातृवचनात्त न...दपि । मति...प्रयागमरणं प्रति ॥; एक, आदिखण्ड 33.64 reads न  
लोकवचनात् पित्रोर्न चैव मुदधादतः । मतिर्न कमणीवा स्वाद्विहितमतिं प्रति ॥. This  
entirely changes the meaning and avers that if one has a desire to go to  
Kāśī, one should not heed the words of one's parents or elders or of the  
people (dissuading him from going).

1375. अहूर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन हमसाह्वताः । तस्ते मेधाभिगच्छन्ति ये के आत्मह्वो  
जनाः ॥ वाज. सं. 40.3; The ईशावास्योप. reads अहूर्या (sunless). Vide for  
आत्मह्व the sūtra of बसिष्ठ quoted below. यो वा ज्ञात वचांणि जीवति स हेतवः-  
वृत्तमाप्नोति...तस्माद् ह न पुरापुनः स्वकामी मेधाहलोकं हत उ वा लोकाः । सावयवना-  
X. 2. 6. 7 q. by मेधासिधे on मनु V. 88 (आत्मनस्वयानि चैव निवर्तते ह्यकाशे वा)  
and VI. 32. The printed text of मेधासिधे and कुल्लूक reads स्वकामी (desiring  
heaven).

1375 a. य आत्मस्वायामिहस्यो भवति सविच्छानां प्रेतकर्मच्छेदः । काष्ठजललोह-  
पत्राणश्चाविबरज्जुभिर्वा आत्मानमवसाह्वति स आत्महा भवति ॥ बसिष्ठ 23. 14-15.

There is no doubt that some of the smṛtis, the Mahābhārata<sup>1376</sup> itself and some purāṇas do recommend (or at least do not condemn) suicide in certain circumstances. A few purāṇa passages may be quoted here. Two verses of the Kūrma state 'That goal (or state), which a wise man that is devoted to Yoga and that has become an ascetic (or has forsaken all actions) reaches, is secured by him who gives up life at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Whoever dies in the Gaṅgā whether wilfully or unintentionally is born after death in heaven and does not see hell'.<sup>1377</sup> The Kūrma is quite clear 'Mokṣa may be secured or not after a thousand births elsewhere but in Benares mokṣa can be secured in a single birth' (I. 32. 22). The Padma<sup>1378</sup> is quite emphatic 'a man who, knowingly or unknowingly, wilfully or unintentionally, dies in the Ganges secures on death heaven and 'mokṣa'. A verse of the Skanda asserts 'He who abandons his life in this sacred place in some way or other does not incur the sin of suicide but secures his desired objects.' The Kūrma (I. 38. 3-12) refers to four modes of suicide and promises residence in heaven and various other rewards for thousands of years, viz. by (1) burning oneself in the slow fire of dry cowdung cakes, (2) by entering the water at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (3) by hanging with head down in the stream and feet up and drinking

1376. Vide the references given under No. 2 and 3 of the five classes of excusable or permitted suicides on p. 604 above. The Mahābhārata has a *parva* called Mahāprāsthānika in which it is narrated (chap. 1. 24) that Yudhiṣṭhira with his four brothers, queen Draupadī and a faithful dog started on the Great Journey towards the Himālaya and that they fell down dead one after another, Draupadī being the first and Bhīma the last.

1377. वा वसिष्ठोऽगुक्तस्य संयस्यस्य मनीषिणः । सा वसिष्ठजतः प्राणान् गङ्गापद्मसङ्गमे ॥ अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गायां यो विपद्यते । स वृत्तो जायते स्वर्गे नरकं च न पश्यति ॥ कूर्म. I. 37. 16, 39. The first verse is read in पद्म, सुहितलण्ड 60,56 as वा वसिष्ठः संयस्यस्य मनीषिणः । सा...गङ्गायां तु शरीरिणः ॥. नारद ( उत्तर ) 43.97 is the same as पद्म.

1378. ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि कामतोऽकामतोऽपि वा । गङ्गायां च वृत्तो मर्यः स्वर्गे मोक्षं च विन्दति ॥ पद्म, सुहित, 60.65 q. by त्रिस्थली. p. 47. यथा कथञ्चित्तीर्थेस्मिन् प्राणसंशयं करोति यः । तस्यात्मघातदोषो न प्राप्नुयादीप्सितानपि ॥ स्कन्द, काशी. 22.76. The कल्पतरु 00 तीर्थ p. 258 quotes from वायुपुराण 'यो बाह्मिनाग्निमयसो वीराध्वानं (० ध्वानं ?) वसतोपि वा । सप्तमयः सप्तः पूर्वं मन्त्रस्तु जायेच्छनैः ॥ त्वमग्ने वदस्व त्वधामहोदधिरस्व सर्वं माकताः क्षिप्रमीदृशे । त्वं वातेपांसिसगरी यस्त्वं प्रस्थिमायीरूपः पातयन् माम् ॥'. The mantra as printed makes no sense. The editor should have separated the words properly even if the mss. were unsatisfactory. It appears to be Rg. II. 1. 6 ( = Tri. S. I. 3. 14. 1 ) त्वमग्ने वदस्व अहुरो महो दिवस्त्वं त्रयो माकतं पुंस ईमिषि । त्वं वातेपांसिर्वासे शोमयस्त्वं पूषा विष्णोः पांसि शु त्वमा ॥.



the waters of the Ganges, (4) by cutting off his own flesh and giving it as food to birds. The famous Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsaang (about 629-645 A. D.) clearly refers to this practice of religious suicide (vide Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western world,' vol. I, pp. 232-234). The Kalpataru on Tirtha (composed about 1110-1120 A. D.) devotes a special section to Mahāpathayātrā (pp. 258-265). Gradually, the idea of securing heaven and *mokṣa* by committing suicide at Prayāga or Benares appears to have spread to other tirthas. Vanaparva<sup>1379</sup> speaks of suicide at Prthūdaka (Pehova in the Karnal district of Punjab, 14 miles from Thanesar). The Brahmapurāṇa<sup>1380</sup> calls upon *dvijas* who are intent on securing *mokṣa* to commit suicide at Puruṣottama-kṣetra. The Lingapurāṇa<sup>1381</sup> says 'if a brāhmaṇa kills himself on Śrīśaila he destroys his sins and attains *mokṣa* as at Avimukta (Benares); there is no doubt about this'. The Padma promises<sup>1382</sup> a similar reward for suicide by fire or by fast at the confluence of Narmadā and Kaverī (a small river, not the great South Indian river).

Gradually there was a revulsion of feeling against suicide at Prayāga or Kāśī or starting on the Great Journey. Among the actions forbidden in the Kali age are included 'starting on the Great Journey' and 'suicide of old people jumping from a precipice or by fire' (vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 939, 958-59). Some of the later medieval writers try very hard to combat the view that religious suicide is permitted<sup>1383</sup>. Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata, holds that Vanaparva 85. 83 (na vedavacanāt &c.) refers to natural death at Prayāga and not to wilful death and that the Khila verse ('Sītāsīt' quoted above on p. 596) has the same meaning. Then he propounds two alternative interpretations of Vanaparva 85.

1379. उत्तमं सर्वतीर्थानां वसत्यजेदात्मनस्तनुम् । पृथुर्वके जटवपरो जैव श्वो वरणं वपेत् ॥ वीतं सनत्कुमारेण व्यासेन च महात्मना ॥ वनपर्व 83. 146, 147 q. by तीर्थकल्प. p. 180 (reads श्रुतं मे सर्वम्).

1380. तस्मात्सर्वमपत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः । देहत्यागो नरैः कार्यः सप्तर्षीसाधिकादिभिः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 177. 25; vide also ब्रह्मपुराण 68. 75 and 177. 16-17.

1381. श्रीशैले सत्यजेद् देहं ब्राह्मणो दग्धकिल्बिषः । सुवपते नात्र सन्देशो क्षयिष्यके यथा ह्यनम् ॥ लिङ् ( पूर्वार्धे 92. 168-169 ).

1382. अग्निमेषं यः कुर्याद्यश्च कुर्यादनाशनम् । अनिवर्तिका यतिस्तस्य यथा मे शङ्करोऽबबीत् ॥ पद्म., आदि. 16. 14-15.

1383. Vide a learned paper on 'suicide at Prayāga' by Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya in Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, vol. X, pp. 63 ff.

83, viz. that this passage allows those who are suffering from an incurable disease to commit suicide at Prayāga instead of dying by falling from a precipice and the like or that this verse does not apply to brāhmanas but only to the other three varṇas. <sup>1384</sup>

Both the Gangāvakyaṭī (pp. 304-310) and the Tir. C. (pp. 47-52) hold that all varṇas have the authority to resort to suicide at Prayāga. The Tir. Pr. holds a long, learned and highly polemic discussion on the subject of religious suicide at Prayāga (pp. 346-355). Its own view appears to be that a brāhmana should not commit this suicide at Prayāga on account of the prohibition contained in Kalivarjya verses and that members of the other varṇas may do so. The Tristhalīsetu also enters upon a long discussion (pp. 47-55) and its conclusions are that in suicide at Prayāga for the attainment of mokṣa or other rewards (such as heaven) there is no sin, that this suicide at Prayāga is not forbidden <sup>1384a</sup> to brāhmanas as some think (since Agni 111. 8 reads 'na vedavacanād vipra'), that persons whether seriously ill or in good health <sup>1385</sup> may resort to suicide at Prayāga, that no one has authority to commit suicide at Prayāga after abandoning to their fate one's old parents, young wife and children that require support, nor should a woman who is pregnant or who has young children or who has no permission from her husband, commit suicide at Prayāga. <sup>1386</sup> It is refreshing to find Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, perhaps

1384. शूद्राश्च क्षत्रिया वैश्या अस्त्रजाश्च तथाधमाः । एते रज्जेशुः प्राणान् वै वञ्चयित्वा हिंजं नृप । एतित्वा ब्राह्मणस्तत्र ब्रह्महा वात्महा भवेत् । q. by त्रिस्थली° p. 52, which remarks that these verses are not found in any authoritative source and they involve a contradiction, in as much as क्षत्रिय and वैश्य are allowed to kill themselves though they are *drījas*. This is q. also by भट्टोजि in त्रि. से. सा. स. p. 33.

1384 a. तथा च हेमाद्र्यादिषाद्विपुराणवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि । इहः शीघ्ररुतेर्लुप्तः—इत्याद्युपक्रम्य मध्येन्महापथं वापि तुषारगिरिमादरात् । प्रयागवटशालायां देहत्यागं करोति वा ॥ इवमं देहविनाशस्य काले प्राप्ते महामतिः । उत्समाग्यामुद्योकावात्म-याती भवेत्कचित् ॥ एतेषामधिकारस्तु सर्वेषां सर्वजन्तुषु । नराणामथ नारीणां सर्वधर्मेषु सर्वदा ॥ त्रिस्थली° p. 53.

1385. तस्माद्वतुरादेरनातुरादेश्च सर्वस्याधिकारः । किं तु ब्रह्मो पितरो तदणीं भार्गवोऽयमपर्यं च विद्या न अधिकारः । एवं क्षिया अपि गर्भिण्या बालापत्याया भर्त्राजन्तुजाताया वा नाधिकार इत्यादि श्लेषः । त्रिस्थली° p. 55.

1386. काश्यादिमरणाग्राह्यकरित्यत्र प्रयोजकत्वे पञ्चमी । तज्जन्यादात्मज्ञानादेव मोक्षोत्पत्तेः । ज्ञानेन विना मिथ्याज्ञाननिवृत्तेरसम्भवात् । 'अत्र हि जन्तोः...कृत्स्नारकं ब्रह्म ग्याचते' इति श्रुतेः । येषु काश्यां देहावसाने कश्चोपदेशश्चतेरस्तु ज्ञानापेक्षा न तु सर्वत्र । प्रयागमरणादौ विनैवात्मसाक्षात्कारमपेक्षोदयात् । ...तद्वसत् विना ज्ञानेन मिथ्याज्ञाननिवृत्तेरसम्भवात् । तीर्थध.

(Continued on the next page)

the most learned and renowned Pandit of his age steeped in all the lore of ancient India, make, in spite of the overwhelming weight of śāstric authority in favour of suicide at Prayāga, exceptions that surely appeal to reason, sentiment and common sense.<sup>1387</sup> Nārāyanabhaṭṭa probably followed traditions several hundred years older than his times. Alberuni in his work on India composed about 1030 A. D. says about religious suicide that 'it was resorted to by those who are tired of life, who are distressed over some incurable disease, some irremovable bodily defect or old age or infirmity. This however no man of distinction does, but only vaiśyas and śūdras. Burning oneself is forbidden to brāhmanas and kṣatriyas by a special law. Therefore these if they want to kill themselves do so at the time of an eclipse in some other manner or they hire somebody to drown them in the Ganges.' (tr. by Sachau, vol. II. p. 170). The Tri. S. S. provides that a man desirous of committing religious suicide at Prayāga should first perform a prāyaścitta,

(Continued from the last page)

p. 313; the passage of the जाबालोपनिषद् is: अविमुक्तं वै कुक्षेत्रं देवानां देवयजनं सर्वेषां भूतानां ब्रह्मसदनम्। तस्माद्यत्र कश्चन गच्छति तदेव मर्येत तदविमुक्तमेव। इदं वै कुक्षेत्रं देवानां...सदनम्। अत्र हि जन्तोः प्राणैर्भूतकर्ममाणेषु चन्द्रस्तारकं ब्रह्म व्याचष्टे येनास्त्ववसीदृत्वा मोक्षीभवति।'. In the Bhau Daji collection of mss. at the Bombay Asiatic Society there is a ms. called अविमुक्तनिवृत्तिसार (cat. No. 1047) which contains 15 verses and comments thereon intended to explain the purport of the Jābālopaniṣad passage quoted and also some other passages from the same. In this work कुक्षेत्र occurring in जाबालोपनिषद् is explained as 'कुस्तिरावयसीति कुक्ष पादं तस्य क्षेत्रमात् इति कुक्षेत्रं पापमाशनमित्यर्थः' and देवयजनं as ब्रह्मोपास्तिस्थानम्.

1387. काम्यमन्त्रश्च मरणम्। अत्र तु सर्ववर्णानामधिकारः। गङ्गावा. p. 305 and तीर्थचि. p. 47. It is a most remarkable thing that the treatment of प्रयागमरण in both these works is word for word the same, except that the तीर्थचि. quotes the verses न वेदवच्छता from the पञ्चपुराण while the गङ्गावा. quotes them from the मत्स्य. It appears probable that the तीर्थचि. borrows from the गङ्गावा. since वाचस्पति appears to have been a younger contemporary of Vidyāpati who helped विश्वासदेवी in composing गङ्गावा. Both were closely connected with the several kings and queens of the कामेश्वर dynasty of Mithilā and it is difficult to assert with confidence who borrows from whom. In New I. A. vol. VII. at p. 53 Prof. G. C. Basu while describing a newly found ms. of a work called ज्वालिनीकृतपञ्चिनी ascribed in the colophon to विद्यापति states that that work mentions the द्वैतानिर्णय of वाचस्पति. So it is not unlikely that विद्यापति helped विश्वासदेवी by taking a part from the तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 739-740, Journal of Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XVI, New I. A. vol. VII pp. 49 ff, I. H. Q. vol. XX. (1944) pp. 211 ff for the date and works of विद्यापति and H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 404-405 for the date of वाचस्पति.

should perform his own śrāddha upto the offering of pinda if he has no relative entitled to perform it, should fast that day, should make a saṅkalpa next day preceded by a writing (to inform people of his desire to die in that way) and enter the holy waters contemplating on Viṣṇu. On his death, his relatives have to observe śāuca only for three days (and not for ten) and on the 4th day the śrāddhas of the 11th day are to be performed for him.<sup>1388</sup>

The psychological background behind the religious suicide at Prayāga and other places is not difficult to realise. Centuries of philosophical thought had made a very deep impression on the minds of all people that the soul has to submit to a never-ending cycle of births and deaths. Ancient scriptures had offered a release in two ways viz. by *tattvajñāna* and by suicide at a tirtha. Death had no great terror for the pilgrim who submitted to various inconveniences and privations ungrudgingly. If one is determined to put an end to *saṁsāra* by taking one's life, what nobler environment could have been imagined or indicated than at Prayāga, where two mighty rivers flowing from the sacred Himālaya unite and carry on unceasingly their work of fertilizing the land and bringing prosperity and solace to millions of needy and anxious people?

While on this topic of religious suicide, it would not be out of place to briefly refer to the discussion in the digests about the meaning of the statement in the purāṇas that those who die at Prayāga are not born again (e.g. *Mataya* 180. 71 and 74). The answer is foreshadowed in the *Matsyapurāṇa* itself (182. 22-25) which <sup>1389</sup> says: At the time of death, when the vital

1388. ब्रह्मः शीघ्रं स्मृत्युत्तमः प्रत्याख्यातमिच्छति क्रियः। आत्मानं घातयेद्यस्तु भुवःस्य न-  
शनादिभिः। तस्य शिरात्रमाशोचं द्वितीये त्वस्थिसञ्चयम्। तृतीये तु कंठं कृत्वा चतुर्थे आहूतमा-  
चरेत्॥ अत्रि 218-219 q. by मेधाः on मनु V. 89. कल्पः (on आशोच p. 87) quotes  
these slightly differently and remarks वैधे तु देहस्याग्रे ब्रह्मः...माशोचं कर्तव्या चोदक-  
क्रिया इति वचनाद्भयं योदकादिक्रिया.

1389. The स्कन्दपुराण, काशी has the following verses which repeat what the Matsya (182. 22-25) says viz. Śiva whispers into the right ear of a man dying at Kāśī the knowledge of *brahma* that will save his soul. ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नाभ्यया जन्तवः काञ्चिद्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये क्षेत्रे प्रयागे वा तत्पुण्यजः॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीरस्थितिभूमिनाम्। दिशामि तारकं यान्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात्॥ chap. 32, verses 115-116; साक्षाम्भोको न चंतासु पुरीषु श्रियभाविणि। स्कन्द, काशी 8.3 (अगरय tells लोपासुद्धा). The मत्स्यः verses are: अन्तकाले मनुष्याणां क्षिप्तमानेषु मर्मेषु। बाधुना पर्यमाणानां स्मृतिर्नैवोपजायते। अविमुक्ते ह्यन्तकाले भक्तानामीश्वरः स्वयम्। कर्मभिः पर्य-  
माणानां कर्णजायं प्रपच्छति। मणिकर्णौ त्यजन्द्दहं गतिमिष्टां ब्रजेश्वरः। ईश्वरमेतितो याति द्रुमापामकुतात्मभिः॥ 182. 22-25. The words अन्तकाले ... जायते refer to the general rule. The verses अविमुक्ते state the special case of death in Avimuktā. The त्रिशुली p. 297 quotes these verses and reads अविमुक्ते त्वन्तकाले.

parts of the human body are being shattered, memory must fail a human being that is about to be pushed on (to another body) by the vital breath (when it leaves the mortal coil). But at the time of death in Avimukta (Vārāṇasi) Lord (Śiva) himself whispers (higher knowledge) in the ears of his devotees that are about to be pushed (into new bodies) by (accumulations of their actions). A man dying near Manikarnikā pool reaches the desired goal; he being guided by the Lord reaches the goal which is difficult of attainment by those whose minds are not pure.' In the Kāśikhapada it is expressly stated that mokṣa does not directly result in these cities (viz. Kāśī &c.). But in spite of these warnings the popular belief fostered by the literal meaning of hundreds of Purāṇa passages is that mokṣa results from dying at Prayāga or in Kāśikṣetra.

The practice of religious suicide has a very respectable antiquity. In the 4th century B. C. Kalanos, the Indian Gymnosophist from Taxila who had accompanied Alexander from India, burnt himself alive on a funeral pyre at Sousa, when being over 70 years old, he was afflicted with a malady that made life more and more burdensome. Vide J. W. McCrindle's 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great' (New Edition 1896) pp. 46, 301, 386-392. Strabo informs us of a gymnosophist from India named Zarmanochegas of Broach who accompanied an embassy to Augustus Caesar at Athens and consigned himself to flames (vide 'Invasion of India by Alexander' p. 389). Hiouen T'sang (Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' vol. I. pp. 232-234) refers to suicide at Prayāga. The Jains, while on the one hand they laid the greatest emphasis on 'ahimsā' (non-injury), encouraged religious suicide (called 'Sallekhanā') in certain cases<sup>1390</sup>.

Some of the works, viz. the Kāśimṛti-mokṣa-vicāra of Suresvara (pp. 2-9), the Tristhalisetu (pp. 50-55) and the Tirthaprakāśa (pp. 313-318) discuss at some length how mere death (either involuntary or voluntary) in Vārāṇasi or Prayāga would lead to mokṣa. Considerations of space prevent a complete statement of their views. Their arguments are briefly as follows:—Karma is of three kinds, viz. *sañcita* (collected in former births), *prārabdha* (that has begun to

1390. Vide I. A. vol. II. p. 322 'Jain Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola', where some verses are quoted from the Ratnakaraṇḍa of which the following one may be noted: उपसर्गे दुर्मिते जरसि रुजायां च निष्पतिकारे । धर्माच्च तत्कृमिचनमाहुः सत्तेजनामार्थाः ॥

operate by giving the soul the present body) and *kriyamāṇa* (to be done in this body and in future). The Upaniṣads and the Gīṭā<sup>1391</sup> declare that, just as waters do not stick to a lotus leaf, so evil deeds do not cling to a man who knows this (knowledge of *brahma*), that the fire of knowledge reduces to ashes all *karma* and that *mokṣa* results from the realization of the Supreme Spirit (Vedānta-sūtra IV. 1. 13). From this it follows that a man who has realized the Highest Reality will not be affected by the acts done by him after realization and his accumulated actions (*sañcita*) will be destroyed by that realization. The present body in which the soul realizes *brahma* was due to that part of his *karma* which had begun to operate. When the present body perishes in the case of a man who has realized *brahma* he attains final release, since no actions remain for producing effects. To the man who dies a natural death in Benares is given at the time of death the Tāraka (saving) mantra. The Matsyapurāṇa says:<sup>1392</sup> those who enter fire according to the rules in Avimukta (i. e. Benares) enter the mouth of Śiva and so also those determined devotees of Śiva who die by fast in Benares do not return (to this world) even after millions of *kulpas*. Therefore all those who die in any way at<sup>1393</sup> Benares receive Grace from Śiva after their death. That leads to *tattvajñāna* (correct spiritual knowledge) which leads to *mokṣa*. In rare passages it is expressly stated that *mokṣa* cannot<sup>1394</sup> be immediately secured

1391. यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न श्लिष्यन्त एवमेवंविदि पापं कर्म न श्लिष्यत इति । छा. उप. IV. 14. 3; भिषते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः । क्षीयन्ते चारय कर्माणि तस्मिन् हृदे परावरे ॥ मुण्डकोपनिषद् II. 2. 8; यथैधांसि समिद्धोऽग्निर्भस्मसारकुर्वतेऽर्जुन । ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसारकुर्वते तथा ॥ भगवद्गीता ॥ IV. 37.

1392. अग्निवेशं ये कुर्तुर्विमुक्ते विधानतः । प्रविशन्ति सुखं ते मे निःसन्दिग्धं वरामने ॥ कुर्वन्मयज्ञानं ये तु मज्जकाः कृतनिश्चयाः । न तेषां पुनरावृत्तिः कल्पादिशततरपि ॥ मत्स्य. 183. 77-78 q. by कल्पतरु on तीर्थे p. 21.

1393. 'ज्ञानादेव तु कैवल्यम्' इत्यादि श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यो ज्ञानाभावे मोक्षाभावोऽप्येव-  
राकष्यस्वरूपदिहसारकादेवात्रात्मज्ञानोत्पत्तिः । तदुक्तं काशीखण्डे । ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते मान्यथा  
अन्तवः कश्चित् । ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितभागिनाम् । विशामि तारकं मास्ते मुच्यन्ते ते  
तु तत्कामात् । विस्मयली० p. 292 which quotes काशीखण्ड 32. 115-116. Similar  
statements occur in काशीखण्ड 21. 98 विपत्तानां च जन्तूनां यत्र विम्वेश्वरः स्वयम् । कर्णे  
आये प्रकुर्वते कर्मनिर्मूलनक्षमम् ॥ and काशीखण्ड 61. 117-118, 64. 98. The गरुडपुराण  
(विम्वेश्वर, 6. 60-61) says 'तीर्थराजस्ततः काशी महादेवो दयामिधिः । श्रुतानां यत्र जन्तूनां  
कर्णे जपति तारकम् ॥'.

1394. साक्षात्प्रेमो न चैतादृश पुरीषु विद्यमानिनि । स्कन्द, काशी 8. 2 (अगरय to  
लोपाहृता) । तारकः प्रणवः तारयतीति तारः स्वार्थे कप्रत्ययः । संसारसागराणुत्तारकं तारकं  
च तद् ब्रह्म इति तारकं ब्रह्म उच्यते । काशीश्रुतिमोक्षाविचार p. 3.

(by dying) in these cities. The Tāraka-mantra is variously explained. According to Suresvara, Tāraka-mantra is the mystic syllable *om* which is a symbol of *brahma* as stated in the Tai. Up. (I 1.8 *Om-iti brahma*) and the Gītā (8, 13 *Om-ityekākṣaram brahma*). The Tri. S. gives another explanation besides this. According to Rāmatapanīya Upaniṣad and <sup>1395</sup> the Padmapurāṇa the mantra is 'śrī-Rāma-Rāma-Rāmeti.'

There are several sub-tirthas that fall under Prayāga. The most important of them is the famous Vata (banyan tree) called Aksaya-Vata (the imperishable Vata). The Agni (111. 13) states 'if a man dies at the foot of the Vata and in the Saṅgama he goes to the city of Viṣṇu'. Special reference is made to abandoning one's life at the foot of the Vata. The Kūrma<sup>1396</sup> says 'He, who abandons life at the foot of the Vata, passes beyond heavenly worlds and goes to the world of Rudra'. The following are the sub-tirthas of Prayāga and only references are given to the works in which they are described : (1) the two Nāgas called Kambala and Aśvatara which according to some are on the spacious (vipula) bank of the Jumnā and according to others on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Vanaparva 85.77, Matsya 106. 27, Padma, Ādi 39. 69, Agni 111. 5, Kūrma I. 37. 19), (2) Pratiṣṭhāna on the eastern side of the Ganges, being the same as the Sāmudra-kūpa (Vanaparva 85.77, Matsya 106. 30, Kūrma I. 37.22, Padma, Ādi. 43, 30; Vanaparva 85. 114 appears to suggest that Pratiṣṭhāna is another name of Prayāga; (3) Sandhyāvata (Matsya 106. 43, Kūrma I. 37.28, Agni 111. 13); (4) Hamsaprapatana to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna and to the east of the Ganges (Matsya 106. 32, Kūrma I. 37. 24, Agni 111. 10, Padma, Ādi 39. 80 and 43. 32; (5) Koṭitirtha (Matsya 106. 44, Kūrma I. 37. 29, Agni 111. 14, Padma, Ādi 43. 44; (6) Bhogavatī, the Vedī of Prajāpati to the north of Vāsuki (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106.46, Agni 111. 5, Padma, Ādi 39. 79 and 43. 46; (7) Daśāśvamedhaka (Matsya 106. 46, Padma, Ādi 39. 80); (8) Urvaśipulina, suicide at which

1395. रामतापनीये तु श्रीराममन्त्र एव तारकशब्दार्थ उक्तः। सुमुखोर्देहिने कर्णे यस्य कल्याणि वा स्वयम्। उपदेशयति मन्मन्त्रं स सुखो भविता शिवः। एते तु श्रीशब्दपूर्वकश्चिरादुक्ते रामशब्द एव तारकतयोक्तः। सुमुखोर्मणिकर्ण्यन्तरर्षेदकनिवातिनः। अहं दिशामि ते मन्त्रं तारकं ब्रह्मवाचकम्। श्रीरामरामरामेति एतत्तारकमुच्यते॥ त्रिरथली० p. 291.

1396. बहूल्लं समभिरेव यस्तु प्राणान् परित्यजेत्। स्वर्गलोकानतिक्रम्य बहूलोकं न गच्छति। कूर्म. I. 37.8-9 q. by तीर्थवि० p. 48. The same is एव, आदिशब्द 43.11 (reads सर्वलोकान्).

led to <sup>1397</sup> various rewards quoted below (Matsya 106. 34-42, <sup>1398</sup> Padma, Ādi 43. 34-43, Agni 111. 13, Kūrma I. 37. 26-27); (9) Rṇapramoocana, on the northern bank of Yamunā and to the south of Prayāga (Kūrma I 38. 14, Padma, Ādi 44. 20); (10) Mānasa on the north bank of the Ganges (Matsya 107. 9, Padma, Ādi 44. 2, Agni 111. 14); (11) Agnitīrtha on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Matsya 108. 27, Kūrma I. 39. 4, Padma, Ādi 45. 27); (12) Virāja on the north bank of Yamunā (Padma, Ādi 45. 29); (13) Anaraka <sup>1399</sup> to the west of Dharmarāja (Kūrma I 39. 5).

The Purāṇas lay down that if a man starts on a pilgrimage, but dies on the way to Prayāga he reaps great benefits even without reaching it, provided he dies remembering Prayāga. The Matsyapurāṇa (105. 8-12) asserts: <sup>1400</sup> A man whether in his own country or house or after leaving his country dies in a forest, while remembering Prayāga, he still secures the world of Brahma; he reaches a world where the

1397. उर्वशीपुलिने सुष्ये विपुले हंसपाण्डुरे। परित्यजति यः प्रणाञ्च कृणु तस्यापि वत्सलम् ॥ वटिर्बसहस्राणि वटिर्बसहस्रानि च । संध्यते पितृभिः सार्धं स्वर्गलोके नराधिप ॥ उर्वशी तु महा पश्येत्स्वर्गलोके नरोत्तमः । पूज्यते सततं पुत्रः सविन्धर्वकिन्नरैः ॥ ततः स्वर्गत् परित्यजः क्षीणकर्मा विप्रच्युतः । उर्वशीसहस्रानां तु कन्यानां लभते शतम् ॥ मध्ये नारीसहस्राणां बहूनां च पतिर्भवेत् । वृक्षग्रामसहस्राणां भोक्ता भवति धूमिपः ॥ काञ्चिद्विपुराण्येन सुमोक्षी मतिवृद्धयते । शुक्त्वा तु विपुलाभोगांस्तत्तीर्थं लभते पुनः ॥ सुक्लान्धरधरो नित्यं नियतः संयते-  
शिवः । एकं कालं तु सुखानो मासं भूमिपतिर्भवेत् ॥ सुवर्णालङ्कतानां तु नारीणां लभते शतम् ।

पुष्पिण्यामलङ्कृतायां महाभूमिपतिर्भवेत् ॥ धनधान्यसमायुक्तो वाता भवति नित्यतः । शुक्त्वा तु विपुलाभोगांस्तत्तीर्थं लभते पुनः ॥ मत्स्य. 106. 34-42 = पद्म, आदिखण्ड 43. 34-42 with some variations. The first two verses are कूर्म I. 37, 26-27 and all occur नारदीय (उ.) 63. 140-149.

1398. It may be noted that the rewards promised for suicide at Urvāśipulīna are sex pleasures and secular benefits like becoming a king or governor. Even suicide at the Saṅgama is promised similar pleasures of the flesh and of kingly power and riches in Matsya 105. 1-12.

1399. In मत्स्य. 108. 29 we read तीर्थं निरञ्जनं नाम यत्र देवाः सवासवाः which appears to be a misreading. पश्चिमे धर्मराजस्य तीर्थं त्वनरकं स्मृतम्. कूर्म. I. 395.; the अग्नि 111. 14 mentions a तीर्थं called वानरक (or वासरक acc. to some mss.) but that seems to be a misreading of त्वनरकं (तु + अनरकं). मत्स्य. 108. 27 तीर्थं तु नरकं स्मृतम् seems to be a misreading for त्वनरकं. Several tīrthas called अनरक are known. Vide पद्म, आदि 27.56 and list.

1400. देशस्थो यदि वारण्ये विदेशस्थोऽपि गृहे । प्रयागं स्मरमाणोऽपि यस्तु प्राणान् परित्यजेत् ॥ अङ्गलोकः नवाभ्योति वदन्ति ऋषिपुङ्गवाः । सर्वकामफला वृक्षा मही यत्र हिरण्यमी । क्षययो नूनयः सिद्धास्तत्र लोके स गच्छति ॥ क्षींसहस्राहते रम्ये मन्वाकिण्यास्तदे सुभे । मोक्षते ऋषिभिः कार्यं कुर्वतेनेह कर्मणा ।...ततः स्वर्गात्परिभ्रष्टो जम्बूद्वीपपतिर्भवेत् ॥ मत्स्य. 105. 8-11 q. by गङ्गाधरः p. 310; verses from क्षींसहस्राः are quoted from कूर्म by विश्वामि-  
p. 25.



trees yield all desires, where the earth is full of gold and where there are sages and *munis* and *siddhas*; he dwells on the bank of the Ganges full of thousands of women and enjoys the company of sages; when he comes down from heaven he becomes the lord of Jambūdvīpa.

At most famous tirthas the pilgrim has to perform śrāddha. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (chap. 85) mentions about fifty-five sacred places which are fittest for śrāddha. The Kalpataru (on tirtha), the Gaṅgāvākyaṇī, Tir. C. and other digests quote several verses from the Devipurāṇa, the gist of which is as follows : Śrāddha should be performed at tirthas, but there is no offering of *arghya* and no *āvāhana* (since pītṛs are deemed to be always present at tirthas, as the Kāśīkhanda says) nor is the entering of the thumb of the invited brāhmaṇa into the food served done, nor is there the question about the brāhmaṇas being satiated, nor *vikāra*.<sup>1401</sup> If one is unable to follow the complete procedure of śrāddha one should merely offer pīṇḍas made from barley meal or may offer *saṃyāva* (cake of wheat flour fried with ghee and milk), rice boiled in milk, the cake of sesame (after the oil is extracted) or jaggery.<sup>1402</sup> It should not be allowed to be seen by dogs, crows and vultures, it may be offered at any time after the pilgrim reaches the holy place. A śrāddha performed at a holy place gives great satisfaction to pītṛs. Some of the works such as the Tristhalisetusārasaṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji provide that after performing a pārvanaśrāddha at a tirtha and after making offerings of pīṇḍas to one's ancestors one should offer a single pīṇḍa to one's other relatives with the following mantra : 'Here I offer pīṇḍa to deceased persons of my father's family, and of my mother's family and to the deceased relatives of my guru and of my father-in-law, to those men of my family

1401. अर्चमावाहनं चैव द्विजाङ्गुष्ठनिवेशनम् । वृत्तिपथं च विकिरं तीर्थस्नात्वे विवर्जयेत् ॥ q. by त्रि. से. सा. स. p. 18; देवाश्च पितरो यस्मादङ्गुष्ठं सर्वदा स्थिताः । आवाहनं विसर्गं (गर्भश्च ?) तेषां तत्र ततो न हि ॥ काशीखण्ड 28.9; तीर्थे स्नात्वं प्रकुर्वीत पञ्चाक्षरेण विशेषतः । आमाक्षरेण द्विरप्येव कण्डमूलफलैरपि ॥ सुमन्तु q. in त्रि. से. सा. स. p. 20.

1402. सकामिः पिण्डदानं तु संयायेः पापक्षेपेन तु । कर्तव्यदुषिभिर्निर्द्धं पिण्याक्षेपेन दुष्टेन च । स्नात्वं तत्र तु कर्तव्यमर्चमाहनमजितम् । अर्चनासमयकालानां मेव दृष्टिहस्तं च यत् । स्नात्वं तत्पैत्रिकं शोकं पित्र्याणां शान्तिकारकम् ।... कालेवाप्यध्वाऽकाले तीर्थे स्नात्वं तथा नरैः । शान्तेन सदा कार्यं कर्तव्यं पितृवर्जणम् । पिण्डदानं च तच्छस्तं पितृणामतिवृत्तम् । विलम्बो मेव कर्तव्यो न च विघ्नं समाचरेत् । पञ्चपुराण V. 29. 212-218, q. by पृथ्वीचन्द्रोद्धार folio 135b and 136a. The same verses are quoted from देवीपुराण by कण्व on तीर्थ p. 10, तीर्थचि. pp. 10-11, ब्रह्मवा. p. 129. Vide स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6. 58-60 for some of the verses and भारद्वाज (उत्तर) 52. 41-42 for last two verses.

who were devoid of sons or wives and so who would lose the benefit of the pinḍa (to be offered by the son or wife) and in the case of whom all rites after death have ceased, those who were blind from birth or were cripples, those who were malformed or died in the womb; to all these, whether known or unknown to me, may this (pinḍa) reach inexhaustively'! (Vāyu 110. 51-52). After this he should offer another pinḍa for his servants, slaves, friends, dependents, pupils, persons who conferred obligations on him, cattle, trees and those with whom he came in contact in other lives (Vāyu 110. 54-55). If a person is ill or has not the time to go through this elaborate procedure, then he should make a saṅkalpa that he would perform śrāddha and should offer a single pinḍa with the mantra (in Vāyu 110. 23-24) 'I offer this pinḍa to my father, grand-father, great-grand-father, to my mother, father's mother, grandfather's mother, to my maternal grandfather and to the latter's father and grandfather. May it reach them inexhaustively'!

The Anuśāsana-parva, the Kūrmapurāṇa, Nāradya (uttara) 63. 19-20 and 36-38 and others highly praise bathing at the *saṅgama* in the month of Māgha<sup>1403</sup>. Men of all castes, women and those born of mixed unions can take this bath; śūdras, women and men of mixed castes should not repeat any mantra but should bathe silently or with the word 'namaḥ' (Tri. S. p. 39). Similarly, the Padma, Kūrma, Agni and other Purāṇas wax eloquent over a bath for three days in Māgha saying that it is equal to the gift of three crores of cows.<sup>1404</sup> There is great divergence as to exactly what three days are meant, as pointed out by the Tri. S. p. 33. The various views are: the three days are the passage of the sun into Capricornus, Rathasaptamī and the full moon day of Māgha; the three consecutive days including the 10th of the bright half of Māgha; the first three days of Māgha; the three consecutive days from the 13th day of the bright half of Māgha; any three days in Māgha.

1403. वृक्षतीर्थसहस्राणि षष्टिकोट्यस्तथापराः। समामृच्छन्ति माघ्यां तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ॥ अनुशासन 25. 36-37; षष्टितीर्थसहस्राणि षष्टितीर्थशतानि च। माघमासे गमिष्यन्ति गङ्गा-यमुनसङ्गमे॥ कूर्म I. 38. 1; मत्स्य 107.7 is very nearly the same.

1404. गवां कोटिपदानाद्यत् त्रयहं स्नानस्य तत्फलम्। प्रयागे माघमासे तु एवमाहुर्मनी-विजिः॥ अग्नि. 111.10-11; गवां शतसहस्रस्य सम्यग्दत्तस्य तत्फलम्। प्रयागे माघमासे तु त्रयहं स्नानस्य तत्फलम्॥ पद्म, आदि 44. 8, कूर्म I. 38.2.

## CHAPTER XIII

### KĀŚĪ

There is hardly any city in the world that can claim greater antiquity, greater continuity and greater popular veneration than Banaras. Banaras has been a holy city for at least thirty centuries. No city in India arouses the religious emotions of Hindus as much as Kāśī does. To the Hindu mind it represents great and unbroken traditions of religious sanctity and learning. It is a miniature of Hindu life through the ages in all its great complexities and contradictions. Not only Hinduism with its numerous sects has flourished here for numberless centuries, but the principles of Buddhism, one of the great religions of the world, were first proclaimed here by Śākyamuni after he received Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā under the Bodhi tree. Thousands of verses are found in the epics and purāṇas about Banaras. Several volumes have been written about Banaras during the last hundred years.<sup>1405</sup> It would be impossible to do justice here to this vast mass of literature on Banaras. I shall briefly deal with the important topics relating to Banaras. In olden times the name was spelt as Benares, but recently as Banaras, which will be retained here (except in quotations).

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to dwell, however briefly, on the ancient history of Banaras. The Śatapatha Br. quotes <sup>1406</sup> a Gāthā which states that Śatanika, son of Satrājī, carried away the sacred sacrificial horse of the Kāśīs, as Bharata did in the case of the Satvats. In Śat. Br. XIV. 3. 1. 22 king Dhṛtarāstra Vicitravīrya is called Kāśya. In the Gopatha Br. we have <sup>1407</sup> the combination Kāśī-Kośalāḥ. The

1405. Among modern works in English dealing with Banaras the following may be mentioned: 'Benares, a handbook for the visitors' by J. Ewee (Calcutta, 1886), 'The sacred city of the Hindus' by M.A. Sherring with a learned Introduction by Dr. F.E. Hall (London, 1886) and 110 photographs; 'Benares, the sacred city' by E. B. Havell (1903) with many fine illustrations; 'History of Benares' by Prof. A. S. Altekar (1937) with a few diagrams and photographs.

1406. तदेतद्वाचयामिगीतम् । शतानीकः समस्तासु मेधेयं सात्राजितो हयम् । आदत्त यज्ञं काशीनां भरतः सत्यतामिवेति । शतपथब्रा. XIII. 5.4.21.

1407. विचारी ह वै काशन्धिः कश्यपस्याध्वर्युणस्य पुत्रो मेधावी मीमांसकोऽनूचान आस । स ह स्वेनातिमानेन मातुषं वित्तं मेयाय । तं मातोवाच । त एवेतद्वचनबोधंस्त इममेव कुपयन्नादे-  
वद्वचनमर्थेषु काशीकौशलेषु...उदीच्येववचनमवृण्ति । गोपथ, पूर्वभाग 2.9.

Cambridge History of India (vol. I. p. 117) remarks that in the Brāhmaṇa period Kāśī, the capital of the Kāśis, was situated on the Varanāvati. In the Br. Up. (II. 1. 1) and the Kauṣītaki<sup>1408</sup> Up. (IV. 1.) there is the story of the proud Bālāki Gārgya going to Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, with the assurance that the former would expound *brahṃa* to the latter. In Pāṇini IV. 2. 116 Kāśī heads a *gaṇa* (Kāśyādibhyas-than-ithau). Under Pāṇini IV. 2. 113 we get the form 'Kāśiyāḥ.' It is remarkable that in the Sarvānukrama the ṛṣi of Rg. X. 179. 2 is stated to be Pratardana Kāśirāja. In *tarpaṇa*, the Hir. Gr. (II. 8. 19. 6) mentions Kāśīśvara along with Viṣṇu and Rudraskanda (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 244). Divodāsa figures frequently in the Rgveda. In Rg. I. 130. 7 Indra is said to have conquered ninety cities for Divodāsa, while in Rg. IV. 30. 20 it is stated that Indra gave 100 cities of stone to Divodāsa. From these Vedic references it may be surmised that in later works like the Epics and the Purāṇas Divodāsa was naturally credited with the founding of the most sacred city in India. In the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 4 on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 54 (vol. II. p. 223) we find the illustration 'Kāśī-Kosalīyāḥ.' The Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 413) furnishes the interesting information that there is a difference in the price of cloth manufactured at Kāśī and that manufactured at Mathurā, though the length and breadth of the piece of cloth be the same. This shows that even so early as the 2nd century B. C. Kāśī was famous for the fine qualities of its cloth, as now.<sup>1409</sup> From the above passages it is clear that Kāśī was the name of a country long before the Śatapatha Br. was composed and it remained so till the 2nd century B. C. (the date of Patañjali). We have a parallel example. Avanti is the name of a country as shown by Pāṇ. IV. 1. 176 (striyām-avanti-kuntī-kurubhyas-ca) and by the Meghadūta (Prāpyāvantīn-udayana—), but Avanti or Avantikā is also the name of Ujjayīni (as in the well-known verse 'Ayodhyā...Avantikā'). Fa Hien (399 to 413 A. D.) is said to have arrived at the city of Vārāṇasī in the kingdom of Kāśī (Legge's tr. p. 94). This shows that about 400 A. D. Kāśī was still the name of the district and Vārāṇasī was its capital. But from the reference in the Mahābhāṣya it appears that Kāśī had then become the name of the city (and was also

1408. इतवालाकिर्हीद्वानो गार्ग्य आस सहीवाचाजातशत्रुं काश्चं ब्रह्म ते प्रवाणीति।  
बृह. उप. II. 1.1.

1409. इह समाने आवामे विस्तारे पटस्त्वान्वयो भवति काशीकस्यास्यो माधुरस्यः। ब्रह्म-  
सामय, vol. II. p. 413 (on Pāṇ. V. 3.35).

the name of the country). In the *Anuśāsana-parva* (chap. 30) it is said that Haryaśva, the grand-father of Divodāsa, was king of the Kāśis <sup>1409</sup> and was harassed and killed by the Vitahavyas in the *Doab* between the Ganges and Jumna. Haryaśva's son was Sudeva who was crowned king of Kāśi (verse 13, Kāśirājas bhyasicyata) and he also met the same fate as his father did. Then Divodāsa, son of Sudeva, became king of the Kāśis and founded Vārāṇasī thickly populated with men of all varṇas on the northern bank of the Gomati. This legend shows that Kāśi was the ancient name of a kingdom and the ancient belief was that Vārāṇasī was founded as the capital of the Kāśis by Divodāsa. In the *Udyogaparva* also Divodāsa is said to be the ruler of Kāśis.<sup>1410</sup>

The *Harivamśa* (I. chap. 29) has a long but rather confused story about Divodāsa and Vārāṇasī.<sup>1411</sup> It deals with the dynasty of Āyus, one of the sons of Aila. One of the descendants of Āyus was Śunahotra who had three sons, Kāśa, Śala and Gr̥tsamada. From Kāśa arose a branch called Kāśayaḥ. Dhanvantari, a descendant of Kāśa, was king of the Kāśis (verse 22). Divodāsa was great-grandson of Dhanvantari. He killed 100 sons of Bhadrāsreṇya, who first was Lord of Vārāṇasī. Then Śiva sent his *gana* Nikumbha to destroy Vārāṇasī which had been occupied by Divodāsa. Nikumbha cursed it to be devastated for a thousand years. When it became devastated it came to be called Avimukta and Śiva resided there. It was again re-established (verse 68) by Durdama, a son of Bhadrāsreṇya, whom, because he was a child, Divodāsa had not killed. Then Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, took it from Durdama. Ajarka, grandson of Divodāsa and king of Kāśie, again established Vārāṇasī. This legend may contain some germs of truth, viz. that Vārāṇasī had become devastated several times and had often changed hands. The *Vāyupurāṇa* (chap. 92) and the *Brahmapurāṇa* (chap. 11) also contain the same legends of Dhanvantari, Divodāsa, and Ajarka and the vicissitudes of Vārāṇasī.

1409 a. कसिष्वपि सुपो राजन् दिवोदासपितामहः । हर्षश्च इति विरुपाक्षो बभूव  
अक्षतां वरः ॥ अनुशासन 30 10.

1410. महावीर्यो महीपालः काशीनामीश्वरः बभूव । दिवोदास इति कथातो भैमसेनिर्ज-  
रायिका ॥ उद्योग 117.1.

1411. सौदेवस्य काशीको दिवोदासोऽप्यविष्यत्...वाराणसीं महातेजा निर्ममे शङ्क-  
शतनाम् ॥ विमलाचलसम्भाषां वेदश्रुतमाकुलाह । नैकाग्र्योऽवधर्षी सङ्क्षुब्धविभाषणाह ।  
वङ्गाया उत्तरे कृते वनास्ते राजसत्तम । गोमत्या क्षितिजे कुरुं शङ्कस्येवामरापतीह । अनुशासन  
30. 15-18.

In the *Mahābhāṣya* Patañjali states (vol. I. p. 380,) that Vārāṇasī is alongside of Gaṅgā and on Pāṇ. IV. 3. 84 (vol. II. p. 313) he informs us that traders call Vārāṇasī Jitvarī.

Ancient Buddhist works show that Banaras was, in the times of Buddha (5th Century B. C. at the latest), a great and famous city like Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa and Kauśāmbī (vide *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, S. B. E. vol. XI p. 99 and *Mahāsudassanasutta*, *ibid.* p. 247). The very fact that Buddha attained Enlightenment at Gayā (which was an out of the way place and on the borders, if at all, of Āryāvarta), thought it necessary to travel hundreds of miles from Gayā and preach his doctrines at Banaras in the Deer-park and set rolling the wheel of the kingdom of Dharma at that place, clearly indicates that Banaras had then become a very holy place and was in the centre of all Aryan activities and culture (vide S. B. E. vol. XI p. 153 and vol. XIII p. 90, *Mahāvagga*, S. B. E. vol. 17 p. 21). King Brahmadatta of Banaras figures in many *jātaka* stories. Hardly any part of the *jātaka* tales can be placed earlier than the 3rd century B. C. But it may be admitted that Banaras was well-known as the capital of Brahmadatta kings several centuries before Christ. The *Matsyapurāṇa* 273, while enumerating hundreds of kings bearing the same surnames, states that there were 100 Brahmadattas and 100 Kāśīs and Kuśas.<sup>1412</sup> But the very fact that Brahmadattas are separately mentioned from the Kāśīs largely reduces the value of this piece of information. The ancient Jain works also speak of Banaras and Kāśī. In the *Kalpasūtra* it is said that Arhat Pārśva was born in Banaras in the month of Caitra on the 4th day of the dark fortnight (S. B. E. vol. XXII p. 271) and that when Mahāvira died the 18 confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala along with other kings of the Licchavis and Mallakis instituted an illumination on the day of the New Moon (*ibid.* p. 266). Aśvaghoṣa appears to identify Vārāṇasī with Kāśī when he says in his *Buddhacarita* 'Having entered Vārāṇasī, the Jina (Buddha) illumining the city with his light filled the minds of all the inhabitants of Kāśī with excessive interest.'<sup>1413</sup> The *Buddhacarita* further speaks of Buddha as having gone under the shadow of a tree near Vanārā (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p.

1412. कलमेकं धर्तराज्ञा कर्णवर्जितमेकयाः। सतं वै महादत्तानां वीरानां कुर्याः कलम्।  
सतः सतं च वज्रालाः सतं काशिकुलादयः॥ मत्स्य. 273. 72-73.

1413. वाराणसीं प्रविष्ट्वा च जाता सम्भासयस्मिन्। चकार काशीदेशीयाद् कीदृका-  
कास्तचित्तः॥ बुद्धचरित 15. 101.

169), which is probably the Varanā. It is thus clear that Vārāṇasī and Kāśī had become synonyms at least sometime about the first century A. D. In the Vāyupurāṇa 45.110 *Kāśī-kośalāḥ* figures among the countries of Madhyadeśa.

In the Viṣṇupurāṇa we have the story of Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva who challenged Kṛṣṇa and asked the latter to surrender his *Cakra* and other symbols. He was helped by the king of Kāśī. The combined armies of Pauṇḍraka and Kāśīrāja attacked Kṛṣṇa who killed Pauṇḍraka and cut off Kāśīrāja's head (with his discus) which fell in the city of Kāśī. His son performed austerities, propitiated Śaṅkara and secured from him a *Kṛtyā* (ogress) which entered Vārāṇasī. Kṛṣṇa's discus in pursuit of her burnt the whole of Vārāṇasī together with its king, his servants and citizens. In this account from the Viṣṇupurāṇa (V. 34) the names Kāśī, Vārāṇasī and Avimukta are employed as synonyms (verses 14, 21, 25, 30, 39). The same legend occurs in the same words in Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 207 and is briefly referred to in Sabhāparva, chap. 14.18-20 and chap. 34. 11.

From the above-mentioned accounts in the Epic and Purāṇas about Kāśī and Mahādeva, various conclusions<sup>1414</sup> have been drawn by writers, viz. that Mahādeva was a god of the non-Aryans, that Banaras was a centre of non-Aryan worship for a long time after the advent of the Aryans and that the people of Banaras, though they ultimately turned to the Aryan religion, were more interested in the philosophic speculations of the Upaniṣadic age. I dissent from most of these conclusions. We are on most unsafe ground as regards these conclusions. None of the extant Purāṇas can claim to be older than the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Most people in India lived and even now live a humdrum, placid and unattractive life in which there is nothing to satisfy the ordinary man's appetite for the mysterious, the unusual and the horrible. The purāṇas contain stories that may be divided into several classes and that satisfied the above-mentioned cravings of the common man. Many of the

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1414. Vide, for example, Prof. A. S. Altekar's 'History of Benares,' pp. 2-7. The Nāradiya (uttara, chap. 29) states that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Saiva-kṣetra; is there any real historical basis here? If any historical conclusion is to be drawn from this statement of the Nāradiyapurāṇa it would be exactly the opposite of what Prof. Altekar has drawn, viz. that the non-Aryans scored a cultural victory over the Aryans at Banaras.

legende contained in the purāṇas were meant for the entertainment of common people, just as even in these days millions in Western countries read with relish detective stories and crime club fiction. Some *paurāṇic* legends had a serious purpose in view viz emphasizing religious or philosophical dogma or moral values and standards and were clothed in a supernatural garb to make them striking and effective. Only a few legends have some historical basis, but the latter is evidently smothered in a mass of exaggerations and prejudices for or against a hero, or a caste, class, tribe or family. It is hardly fair to draw far-reaching historical conclusions from heterogeneous materials in the purāṇas about the conditions of things that prevailed several hundreds or thousands of years before they were compiled. The purāṇas often speak of the quarrels and bickerings among high gods and sages. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 30.65 speaks of a fight between Indra and Kṛṣṇa. Was Kṛṣṇa a non-Aryan god originally? Gaṇeśa's left tooth was shattered by the missile of Paraśurāma who comes to fight with Rāma, both being supposed to be *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. The sage Bhṛgu curses Viṣṇu, Gautama curses Indra, Māṇḍavya curses Dharma (vide for all these, Brahmāṇḍa II. 27. 21-25).

In several purāṇas Kāśī or Vārāṇasī has been lauded and described at great length. Vide Matsya 180-185 (411 verses), Kūrma 1.31-35 (verses 226), Lingapurāṇa (pūrvabhāga, chap. 92, verses 190), Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 33-37, verses 170), Agni 112, Skanda, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 6 ff., Nāradiya (uttara, chap. 48-51). The Kāśīkhaṇḍa alone has about 15000 verses<sup>1415</sup> on Banaras and its sub-tirthas. In the Padmapurāṇa the sages are said to have asked Bhṛgu five questions, viz. what is the greatness of Kāśī, how it is to be understood, who should resort to it, what is its extent (or boundaries) and by what means it (Kāśī) can be secured. In the Skandapurāṇa,

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1415. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall (Introduction to Sherring's work p. XXXII n. 3) criticizes Dr. Wilson for holding that the greater part of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa is anterior to the first attack on Banaras by Mahmud of Gazni and holds that it is later than the Gaznvide invader. Dr. Hall advances hardly any convincing reasons. The work of Alberuni is definite that Sultan Mahmud of Gazni had not spread his depredations as far as Banaras (vide Sachau, vol. 1 p. 22): 'This is the reason why Hindu Sciences...have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places.' The Kalpataru on Tīrtha quotes about one hundred verses on Vārāṇasī



Kāśikhanda<sup>1416</sup> (chap. 26.2-5) the following questions are asked, viz. from what time this holy place Avimukta became highly famous, how it received the name Avimukta, how it became the way to *mokṣa*, how the pool of Maṇikarnika became an object of worship to the three worlds, what was there formerly (when) the Ganges was not there, how it came to be called Vārāṇasī, Kāśī, Rudrāvāsa, how it came to be Ānandakānana (the forest of bliss) and then Avimukta and Mahāśmaśāna (the great cemetery).

Banaras has been known for centuries under five different names viz. Vārāṇasī, Kāśī, Avimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna. The Kāśikhanda states that Śaṅkara first called it Ānandakānana and then Avimukta.<sup>1417</sup>

(Continued from the last page)

from the Skandapurāṇa and holds the latter work to be as authoritative as the Matsyapurāṇa, Liṅgapurāṇa and other Purāṇas. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara was composed about 1110 A. D. (vide Prof. Aiyangar's Introduction to Tīrthakāṇḍa pp. XVIII-XIX). Therefore a century or two at least before 1100 A.D. there existed a Skandapurāṇa, part of which contained a eulogium of Banaras. Unfortunately the present printed Kāśikhanda of the Skanda does not agree with the quotations from the Skanda given by the Kalpataru. A curious state of things is divulged as regards the quotations from Skanda in the Kalpataru. For example, on pp. 36-37 of the Kalpataru on Tīrtha, about 19 verses are quoted from Skanda which occur verbatim in the Liṅgapurāṇa, chap. 92. 120-142 (with the addition of some half verses). Similarly, on p. 44 of the Kalpataru three verses are quoted from Skanda, which are the same as Liṅga. 92. 87-89. On p. 42 Kalpataru quotes one verse about Goprekāśvara from Skanda which is quoted from the Liṅgapurāṇa by Tri. S. p. 171. Some of the Purāṇas say that the Skanda has 81101 verses (Matsya 53. 42-43). But the Skanda printed at the Venkatesvara press contains several thousand verses more. It appears that there were different recensions of the Skanda. The Tri. S. quotes verses from specific chapters of the Kāśikhanda which are generally found in the printed work. Vide p. 193 (for chap. 30), 190 (for chap. 32), p. 144 (for chap. 34), p. 160 for chap. 45, p. 154 for chap. 49, pp. 157 and 200 for chap. 61 etc.

1416. किं माहात्म्यं कथं वेद्यं सेव्या कैश्च विज्ञोत्तम। परिमाणं च तस्याः किं केनोपायेन लभ्यते॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 72; अविमुक्तमिदं क्षेत्रं कदाचन्य भुवस्तले। परं प्रथितमापन्नं मोक्षदं चाभवत्कथम्॥ कथमेवा त्रिलोकीड्या गीयते मणिकर्णिका। तत्रासीत्किं पुरा स्वामिन् यदा नामरनिम्नगा॥ वाराणसीति काशीति वद्वामस इति प्रभो। अवाप नामधेयानि कथमेतानि सा पुरी। आनन्दकाननं रम्यमविमुक्तमनन्तरम्। महादमशानमिति च कथं खयातं शिखिध्वज॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26. 2-5.

1417. अस्यानन्दवनं नाम पुराकारि पिनाकिना। क्षेत्रस्यानन्दहेतुत्वादविमुक्तमनन्तरम् स्कन्द, काशी० 26.34 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 89 (reads निरन्तरं).

A few words must be said about the derivation and significance of these words as gathered from the Purāṇas and other works. And first comes Kāśī. It is derived from the root *kāś* 'to shine.' The Skandapurāṇa <sup>1418</sup> says that the city of Kāśī became famous by that name because it sheds light on (the way to) nirvāṇa (final release) or because that indescribable refulgence, viz. God Śiva shines forth there. The name Vārāṇasī is derived in several Purāṇas from the names of two streams Varanā <sup>1419</sup> (modern Bārnā) and Asi, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city. From the passages quoted below from the Skandapurāṇa (Kāśī-khaṇḍa) it appears that Asi is the correct form of the name of the river. The names most frequently used in the Purāṇas are Vārāṇasī and Avimukta. In the Jābālopaniṣad <sup>1420</sup> the words Avimukta, Varanā and Nāsī are brought together in an esoteric sense. "Atri asked Yājñavalkya: how is one to know the unmanifested Self? Yājñavalkya explained that he was to be worshipped in Avimukta, since the self is centered in Avimukta. Then a question was asked: in what is Avimukta centered or established? The reply is that Avimukta is established in the midst of Varanā and Nāsī. Varanā is so called because it

1418. काशीतेऽत्र यतो ज्योतिस्तदनाख्येयमीश्वरः । अतो नामापरं चास्तु काशीति प्रथितं विभो ॥ स्कन्द, काशीः 26.67 q. by त्रिस्थलीः p. 88; प्रापयामास तां गङ्गां देवीपिः पुरतश्चरन् । निर्वाणकाशनायत्र काशीति मथिता पुरी । स्कन्द, काशीः 30.5; काशी ब्रह्मेति विख्यातं तद्विभो जगद्भूतः । अविमुक्तं तदेवाहुः काशीति ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ q. by त्रिस्थलीः p. 88.

1419. वरणायास्तथा चास्या मध्ये वाराणसी पुरी । यत्र, आदि 33.49, कूर्म I. 31.63 (reads हस्या); वरणासी नदी पावतावच्छृङ्खलदी (छुण्कनदी?) तु वै । मत्स्य 183.62; अस्मिन् वरणा यत्र क्षेत्ररक्षाकृती कृते । वाराणसीति विख्याता तद्वारण्य मन्त्रमते । अस्मिन् वरणायाश्च सङ्गमं प्राप्य काशिका । स्कन्द, काशीः 30. 69-70; वरणा च नदी नासी मध्ये वाराणसी तयोः । अग्नि. 112.6. नासी appears to be a misreading for चासी. In काशीखण्ड 30.18 there is a pun on the word अस्मि (a sword, the river) 'अस्मि महासिख्यां च प्राप्य सम्मतिखण्डनीम् ।'; दक्षिणोत्तरदिग्भागे कृत्वास्मि वरणां सुराः । क्षेत्रस्य मोक्ष-निक्षेपरक्षानिर्हृतिमायुः ॥ क्षेत्रस्य पश्चादिग्भागे तं देहलिबिनायकम् । काशीखण्ड 30. 20-21; वरुणा (वरणा?) च असी चापि द्वे नद्यौ सुरवस्तुभे । अन्तरालं तयोः क्षेत्रं मध्ये (वध्या?) न विशते कश्चित् । पद्म V. 14.191. वध्या means हत्या. The रामनपुराण, after stating that काशीक्षेत्र is between वरणा and आसी (3.28 ff) contains a poetic description of वाराणसी with श्लोका quite in the style of Bāṇa 'तारावणे कुलीनत्वं मेधे वृत्तच्युतिर्विभो' (v. 38).

1420. अथ हैनमग्निः पप्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्यम् । य एषोऽनन्तोऽप्येक आत्मा तं कथमहं विजानीयामिति । तद्वोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः । सोऽविमुक्त उपारयः । य एषोऽनन्तोऽप्येक आत्मा सोऽविमुक्ते प्रतिष्ठित इति । सोऽविमुक्तः कास्मिन् प्रतिष्ठित इति । वरणायां नार्यां च मध्ये प्रतिष्ठित इति । का वै वरणा का च नासीति । सर्वाग्निद्वयकृतान्द्वोषान्वारयतीति वरणा भवति । सर्वाग्निद्वयकृतान्द्वोषाणां नाशयतीति तेन नासी भवतीति । कतमञ्चास्य स्थानं भवतीति । ध्रुवोऽर्ध्वाणस्य च यः सन्धिः स एव धोलोकस्य परस्य च सान्धिर्भवतीति । जाबालोप- 2nd para.

wards off all faults due to the senses and Nāśi destroys all sins due to the senses. Then a question is asked: what is its location (sthāna)? The reply is that it is the conjunction of the eyebrows and the nose i. e. the upāsana (contemplation) of Avimukta is to be made as located in the span between the eyebrows and the root of the nose." Here it will be seen that Varanā and Nāśi are the names (and not Varanā and Asi). The Vāmanapurāṇa employs the form Asi (15.50-53). The same is the case with the Padma.

The name Avimukta has generally been explained as derived from the negative particle 'na' (for which 'a' is substituted) and vimukta (forsaken). Many Purāṇas say that the holy place is so called because it was never forsaken by Śiva (sometimes both Śiva and his consort).<sup>1421</sup> In the Liṅgapurāṇa another derivation is suggested:<sup>1422</sup> "avi means 'sin'; that holy place is devoid of sin". The Kāśikhaṇḍa (39.74) states that originally the *kṣetra* was called Ānandakānana and then Avimukta because though Śiva went to stay on Mandara mountain he did not leave it entirely but left his *liṅga* there.

Vārāṇasī is very dear to Śiva, it gives him joy and therefore it is called Ānandavana or Ānandakānana.<sup>1423</sup> It is also styled Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna for various reasons. As a belief was entertained by all people that death in Banaras freed a man from *saṃsāra*, and as the thoughts and aspirations of pious Hindus ran in the direction of dying on the sacred soil of Banaras, the old and decrepit crowded therein and persons seriously ill got themselves removed or were removed to the banks of the Ganges when about to die and were cremated there. Cremation of corpses is always seen on the Manikarpikā *ghāt* near the Ganges. A śmaśāna (cemetery) is considered impure but Banaras with the sacred Ganges was purest in spite of being always the cremation ground for thousands in a year.

1421. मुने प्रलयकालेपि न तत्क्षेत्रं कदाचन । विमुक्तं हि शिवाय्यां यदविमुक्तं ततो विदुः ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26.27 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 89; लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) 92. 45-46 विमुक्तं न मया यस्माद्यमोदयते वा कदाचन । मम क्षेत्रमिदं तस्मादविमुक्तमिति स्मृतम् ॥ almost the same verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 48.24: विदे मत्स्य. 180.54 and 181.15, अग्नि. 112.2 and लिङ्ग I. 92. 104.

1422. अविशब्देन पापस्तु बेदोक्तः कथयते द्विजैः । तेन लुक्तं मया जुष्टमविमुक्तमतोच्यते ॥ लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध) 92.143.

1423. यथा प्रियतमा देवि मम त्वं सर्वसुन्दरि । तथा प्रियतरं जितम्मे सदानन्दकामनम् ॥ काशीखण्ड 32.111: अविमुक्तं परं क्षेत्रं नानुनां मुक्तिदं सदा । सेवेत सततं धीमान् विशेषा-न्मरणान्तिके ॥ लिङ्ग I. 91. 76.

The Skanda says: <sup>1424</sup> 'śma' means a corpse and 'śāna' means 'lying down'; when the end of the world comes, the great elements lie here as corpses and therefore this place is called Mahāśmaśāna." The Padmapurāṇa <sup>1425</sup> makes Śiva say: 'Avimukta is a famous cemetery: becoming the Destroyer (or the Time Spirit) I being here destroy the world'. Matsya very frequently speaks of Vārānasi as Śmaśāna. The Kāśikhanda states: if a man after reaching the great cemetery dies there by fate he has never again to lie in the cemetery (i. e. he is not born again).

Although generally Kāśī, Vārānasi and Avimukta are used as synonyms in the Purāṇas, in some passages a distinction is made between these as to extent. The passages quoted above (in note 1419) show that Vārānasi is bounded by the Varanā and Asi on the north and south, <sup>1426</sup> the Ganges on the east and the shrine of Vināyaka in the west. Ain. A. (vol. II p. 158) remarks that Benares is a large city situated between the rivers Barnā and Asi and that it is built in the form of a bow of which the Ganges forms the string. The Matsyapurāṇa <sup>1427</sup> states: 'that kṣetra is two *yojanas* and a half east and west and half a *yojana* broad north and south; out of this Vārānasi extends up to the dry river (viz. Asi)'. The first part appears to deal with the entire Kāśikṣetra which according to the Padmapurāṇa <sup>1428</sup> comprised the tract covered by a circle the radius of which was the line joining Madhyameśvara-linga

1424. इमं शब्देन ज्ञातः शोकः ज्ञानं ज्ञानलुप्यते। निर्वृत्तान्ति इमं ज्ञानार्थं मुने शब्दार्थ-  
कोविदाः। महात्मस्य च भूतानि मलयं समुपास्थिते। शरतेत्र शवां सूत्वा इमं ज्ञानं तु ततो महत्।  
इत्यम्, काशी. 30. 103-4; वाराणसीति काशीति वज्रावास इति द्विज। महात्मज्ञानमित्येवं  
शोकसामान्यज्ञानम्। *ibid* 30. 111.

1425. इमं ज्ञानमेतद्विख्यातमविष्कमिति श्रुतम्। कालो भूत्वा जगदिदं संहारय्यत्र  
हृत्पदरे। पद्म. I. 33. 14; परं गुह्यं समाख्यातं इमं ज्ञानमिति संज्ञितम्। मत्स्य. 184. 5; इमं ज्ञान-  
मिति विख्यातमविष्कृतं शिवालये। मत्स्य. 184. 19; क्षेत्राणामुत्तमं चैव इमं ज्ञानार्थं तथैव च।  
मत्स्य. 184. 26; *vide also* मत्स्य. 182. 6; महात्मज्ञानमासाद्य यच्च वैवाहित्ययते। पुनः  
इमं ज्ञानं ज्ञानं न क्वापि लभते पुनः। काशीखण्ड 31. 130.

1426. वसिष्ठोत्तरयोर्नद्यो वरणासि च पूर्वतः। जाह्नवी पश्चिमे चापि पाशपाणिर्गणेश्वरः॥  
पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिशली p. 100, तीर्थप्र. p. 175.

1427. द्विषो जनमपार्थं च तत्क्षेत्रं पूर्वपश्चिमम्। अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं वसिष्ठोत्तरतः  
इत्युक्तम्। वाराणसी तदीया च वायव्यपुरुषादी (हृत्कमदी?) तु वे। एष क्षेत्रश्च विस्तारः शोकः  
क्षेत्रेण धीमता॥ मत्स्य. 184. 50-52.

1428. मध्यमेश्वरमारुह्य यावदेहलिबिन्दवम्। एवं संस्थाप्य तद्विष्णुं भ्रामयेन्मण्डलाकृति।  
तत्र या आपति रेखा तन्मध्ये क्षेत्रमुत्तमम्। काशीति यद्विष्णवेक्षस्तत्र मुक्तिः गतिरिति॥ काश्यां ह  
परमं क्षेत्रं विशेषफलसाधनम्। वाराणसीति विख्यातं तन्मार्गं मण्डपानि वः॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड q.  
by त्रिशली p. 100, तीर्थप्र. p. 175.

with the shrine of Dehali-Gaṇeśa. The Matsyapurāṇa (in chap. 183.61-62) makes it two yojanas in extent. Agni 112. 6 also does the same. But that is only approximate. The actual distance covered by a yojana varied. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 145-146 n. 185. Rhys Davids in 'Numismata Orientalia' (London, 1877) after examining 30 passages from Pāli texts comes to the conclusion that a yojana was equal to about 7 or 8 miles. Avimukta is said to be that part of the holy place which is represented by a radius of 200 *dhanus* (i. e. 800 *hastas* or about 1200 feet) in all four directions from the shrine of Viśveśvara.<sup>1429</sup> There was no unanimity on the extent of Avimukta. In Kāśikhanda Avimukta<sup>1429a</sup> is said to be five *krośas* in extent. But there Avimukta appears to stand for Kāśī. The innermost<sup>1430</sup> circle in the holy Kāśīkṣetra is defined as that between Gokarṇeśvara to the west, the mid stream of the Ganges to the east, Bhārabhūta to the north and Brahmeśvara to the south. A few more passages on the extent of the sacred place of Banaras may be cited here in one place. The Lingapurāṇa<sup>1431</sup> says: 'this kṣetra is declared to be four *krośas* (in extent) in the four directions and also one yojana'. The Nāradiyapurāṇa<sup>1432</sup> puts the extent thus '(The kṣetra) extends over two *yojanas* and a half from east to west and is half a yojana wide from north to south; god Śambhu declared the extent of the kṣetra between the rivers Varuṇā and Asi (which latter is) a dried-up stream.' In the Pādmapurāṇa<sup>1433</sup>

1429. विश्वेश्वराख्यतुर्विधु धनुःसतयुगोमितम् । अविसृक्ताभिर्ध क्षेत्रं मुक्तिस्तत्र न संशयः । पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थलीः p. 101, तीर्थचि. p. 175. A धनुः is equal to four हस्तः. Vide note 1337 above.

1429 a. अविसृक्तं महाक्षेत्रं पञ्चकोडापरिमितम् । ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं तद्वेकं हि ज्ञेयं विश्वेश्वराभिर्धम् ॥ काशीखण्ड 26. 31.

1430. गोकर्णेशः पश्चिमे पूर्वतश्च नङ्कामध्यमुखरे भारद्वाजः ॥ बह्मोद्यानी दक्षिणे संपादिहस्त-युगोक्तं भवनं विश्वमर्तुः । पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थलीः p. 101; काशीखण्ड (74. 45-46) is similar 'पूर्वतो मणिकर्णेशो बह्मोद्या दक्षिणे स्थितः । पश्चिमे चैव गोकर्ण भारद्वाजस्त्वयोत्तरे' इत्येतदुक्तं क्षेत्रमविसृक्तं महाकलम्'.

1431. अतुःकांक्षं अतुर्विधु क्षेत्रमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम् । बांजनं विजि चार्वाङ्गि धृष्टकावेऽसुत-प्रदम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्धे, 92. 99-100, तीर्थचि. p. 340 and त्रिस्थलीः p. 103 quote this verse as from स्कन्द.

1432. द्वियोजनमपार्धं च पूर्वपश्चिमतः स्थितम् । अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरतः स्थितम् ॥ वचनासी नदी यावदसिः क्षुण्कनदी क्षुमे । एष क्षेत्ररय विस्तारः योक्तो देवेन शम्भुना ॥ नारदीय (अनुर chap. 48. 18-19).

1433. पञ्चकोडापरमाणेन क्षेत्रं वर्तं मया तव । क्षेत्रमध्याद्यद्या नङ्कामभिष्यति सरिद्धरा । त्वेन सा महती पुण्या दुरी इह भविष्यति । पुण्या चोदङ्कली नङ्का पञ्च प्राची सरस्वती । उदङ्कली योजने द्वे मण्डली आङ्कली नदी ॥ पद्म (सुद्धिखण्ड 14. 194-196).

Brahmā is supposed to have said to Rudra 'I have given you a kṣetra of the extent of five krośas; when the best of rivers, Gāṅgā, will flow through this kṣetra, the city will be great and holy; the Ganges, as it flows northwards (in Banaras) for two yojanas, will be holy'. If in any texts there be any differences between the extents of Avimukta, it must be supposed that there is an option; <sup>1434</sup> (or, as the Tir. C. suggests, the differences refer to different *kalpas* i. e. ages). It is clear that Vārānasi was that strip of land, the four boundaries of which were the Ganges to the east, Asi to the south, the shrine of Dehali-Vināyaka to the west and the river Varanā to the north. In the 7th century Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, notes that Banaras was 18 *lis* (about 3½ miles) in length and about 5 or 6 *lis* (a little more than a mile) in breadth. This makes it clear that the city was then bounded as now by the Varanā and Asi. Vide Beal's B. R. W. W. (vol. II p. 44).

Verses laudatory of the greatness and uniqueness of Vārānasi literally run into thousands. All that can be done here is to set out a few characteristic verses. The Vanaparva observes: <sup>1435</sup> a person coming to Avimukta and resorting to the sacred place becomes free from the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder by merely seeing the (image of the) Lord of gods (i. e. Viśveśvara) and if he dies there he secures *mokṣa*. The Matsyapurāṇa <sup>1436</sup> contains many striking passages about the unique greatness of Banaras: "Vārānasi is always my most secret place; it is always the cause of mokṣa for all beings. Mokṣa may be effected in Prayāga or in this city because I have taken it under my protection; this place is greater than even Prayāga, the foremost among tīrthas. All the sins <sup>1437</sup> that a man may have

1434. अत्र लेङ्गस्कान्दालोचनया कृत्तिवासमध्यमेऽवरयोश्चतुर्विधु योजनमित्तम-  
विमुक्तम् । पात्रे तु विष्णवेऽवरात्मर्तो धनुःशतद्वयमितम् । तथा चात्र परिमाणविकल्पः ।  
त्रिस्थलीः p. 103.

1435. अविमुक्तं समासाद्य तीर्थसेवी कुरुहह । दर्शनाद्वेदेवरय मुच्यते ब्रह्महत्याया ॥  
प्रणामस्तुभ्य तत्रैव मोक्षं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ वनपर्व 84. 79-80.

1436. इदं शुद्धतमं क्षेत्रं सदा वाराणसी मम । सर्वेषामेव भूतानां हेतुर्मोक्षस्य सर्वदा ॥  
मत्स्य. 180. 47 q. by तीर्थकल्पः p. 12 (reads जन्तूनां for भूतानाम्). This is the  
same as लिङ्ग, पूर्णार्थ 92. 38; प्रयागे च भवेन्मोक्ष इह वा मत्परिग्रहात् । प्रयागादपि तीर्थो-  
न्मयादिदमेव महत् स्मृतम् ॥ मत्स्य. 180. 56-57 quoted by तीर्थकल्प. p. 13 with some  
additions. It explains 'इदमेव महत्स्मृतमित्यल्पायासेनैवात्र मोक्षप्राप्तेः'. This is also  
लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्णार्थ 92.48.

1437. अन्तान्तरसहस्रेण वत्पापं पूर्णसाञ्चितम् । अविमुक्तं प्रविष्टस्य तत्सर्वं व्रजति क्षयम् ।  
... बाह्याणां क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वै वर्णसङ्कराः । कुमिल्लेच्छाश्च ये चाप्ये सङ्कीर्णाः पापयोगिनः ।  
कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता अविमुक्ते क्षण्ड मिथे । अन्धार्थमोल्लिखः सर्वं ललाटाका हवश्चजाः । शिवे  
मम दुरे देवि मोक्षन्ते तत्र मानवाः ॥ मत्स्य. 181. 17-21 = पद्म. I. 33. 17-20, q. by तीर्थकल्पः  
p. 15. The verse बाह्याणां occurs in जादवीय (उत्तर 48. 51-52).

accumulated in thousands of past lives are destroyed the moment he enters Avimukta; brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, persons born of mixed marriages, worms, *mlecchas* and others born of low mixed unions, insects, ants, birds and beasts, when they succumb to death in course of time all find happiness in my auspicious city, all being endowed with a crescent of the moon on their heads, with a (third) eye on their forehead and have a bull as their conveyance." A person,<sup>1438</sup> even though his mind may be addicted to pleasures of sense and though he may have given up devotion to *dharma*, if he dies in this place (Banaras) he does not again enter upon the path of *samsāra* (the cycle of births and deaths); a man concentrating his mind for thousands of past lives may secure Yoga; but by dying (in Banaras) he secures the highest mokṣa in this very life. Even if a man be a sinner<sup>1439</sup> or a rogue or irreligious he becomes free from all sins if he goes to Avimukta. Other women,<sup>1440</sup> that act as they like and are intently devoted to enjoyments, when they die here by lapse of time secure the highest worlds. In this world mokṣa<sup>1441</sup> cannot be secured by men without the (practice of) Yoga; but in the case of those who reside in Avimukta Yoga and mokṣa are both secured. For planets,<sup>1442</sup> lunar mansions and stars there is the danger of falling (from the sky) in course of time but there is no fall for those who die in Avimukta. Whatever<sup>1443</sup> evil actions may have been committed by an evil-minded man or woman, knowingly or unknow-

1438. विश्वासकचितोऽपि एकधर्मरतिनरः। इह क्षेत्रं नृतः सोऽपि संसारं न पुन-  
र्विदेत् ॥...जन्मान्तरसहस्रेषु पुञ्जं योगमवाप्स्यत्। तमिहैव परं मोक्षं मरणादधिगच्छति॥  
मत्स्य. 180. 71 and 74. इह क्षेत्रे—refer to Banaras and इह means अस्मिन् जन्मनि.  
These two verses occur in लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 92. 63 and 66 and काशीखण्ड 86. 122  
is similar to the first verse.

1439. यदि पापे यदि शठे यदि बाधार्थिको नरः। मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो ह्यविमुक्तं  
ब्रजेच्छति॥ मत्स्य 183. 11, q. by तीर्थकल्प. p. 18. पञ्च (I. 33. 38) has the first half  
and reads the second half as वाराणसीं समासाद्य पुनरिति सकलं कुलम्।

1440. अथा वाः कामचारिण्यः क्षियो भोगपराधनाः। कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता मच्छन्ति  
परमां वसिम्॥ मत्स्य 184. 36.

1441. न हि योगाद्वते मोक्षः प्राप्यते ह्यविमानवैः। अविमुक्ते निवसतां योगो मोक्षश्च  
सिद्ध्यति॥ मत्स्य 185. 15-16 q. by तीर्थकल्प. p. 17.

1442. ग्रहलक्ष्मणारणां कालेन पतनाद्भयम्। अविमुक्ते वृत्तानां तु पतने नैव विद्यते॥  
मत्स्य 185. 61 = काशीखण्ड 64.96 (reads कालेन पतने भ्रमम्).

1443. अज्ञानाज्ज्ञानतो वापि क्षिया वा पुनरेव वा। वक्तिकिञ्चिद्गुणं कर्म क्लृते चैव  
कुञ्जिना॥ अविमुक्तं प्रविश्य तत्सर्वं मत्स्यज्ञानेन॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 33-34; वर  
काशीपुरीवासी म्लेच्छोऽपि हि क्षुभापतिः। नाश्वस्त्यो वीक्षितोपि स हि मुक्तेर्भाजनम्॥ काशी.  
85.18.

ingly—all those are reduced to ashes when he enters Avimukta. Even a *mleccha* resident in Kāśī is better, since his future will be blissful, but not one residing elsewhere, though he may be a *dikṣita*, because he will not be a recipient of *multī*."

In some passages a mystic flavour is imparted to Vārāṇasī and the rivers. For example, the Kāśīkhaṇḍa says that Asi is the Idā nādi, Varāṇā is the Pīṅgalā nādi, Avimukta is suṣūmnā and Vārāṇasī is all the three.<sup>1444</sup> The Līṅgapurāṇa, however, puts the matter somewhat differently. It holds that Asi (the dried-up river), Varāṇā and Matsyodarī (i. e. Ganges) are respectively the Pīṅgalā, Idā and Suṣūmnā.

It is time now to turn to the individual sacred spots in Banaras. It is stated in some of the Purāṇas<sup>1445</sup> that at every step in the Kāśīkṣetra there is a holy place and that there is not even as much space as a sesamum seed in Kāśī which has not a *līṅga* (emblem of Śiva). As a matter of fact the Kāśīkhaṇḍa names 64 līṅgas in chap. 10 alone. But one must look to the tīrthas that are specifically named. Hiouen Tṣang says that there were one hundred temples at Banaras in his day and he speaks of a temple where the copper image of Deva Maheśvara was a little less than 100 feet high (vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II. pp. 44-45). Unfortunately, the fanatical zeal and ruthlessness of Moslem rulers demolished almost all Hindu temples at different times from 1194 to about 1670 A. D. Mosques and mausoleums were erected on their sites, and the materials of the temples thus razed were used in constructing mosques and for serving as breakwaters &c. Kutubdin Aibak destroyed about 1000 temples in 1194 A. D. (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol. II. p. 222). Alauddin Khilji boasted that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Banaras alone (vide Sherring p. 31, Havell p. 76). About 1585 A. D. Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa re-established the temple of Viśvanātha with the help

1444. सद्गोवाचेति जाबालिराकणेऽसिखिडा मता। वरणा पिङ्गला नाडी तदन्तस्त्व-  
विष्णुकम्॥ सा सुषुम्णा परा नाडी त्रयं वाराणसी त्वसी॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 5.25; compare  
नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 22-23; पिङ्गला नाम या नाडी आग्नेयी सा प्रकीर्तिता। शुष्का सरिच्च  
सा ज्ञेया लोलाकौ यत्र तिष्ठति॥ इडानाम्नी च या नाडी सा सौम्या संप्रकीर्तिता। वरणा नाम  
सा ज्ञेया केशाणे यत्र संस्थिताः॥ आर्या मध्ये तु या नाडी सुषुम्णा सा प्रकीर्तिता॥ मत्स्योदरी  
च सा ज्ञेया विष्णुं तत्प्रकीर्तिता॥ तिङ्गपुराण q. by तीर्थचि. p. 341, त्रिस्थली० pp.  
78-79.

1445. तीर्थानि सन्ति भूयांसि काश्यामत्र पदे पदे। न पञ्चनदतीर्थस्य कोट्यंशेन समा-  
न्यपि॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 59. 118; तिलान्तरापि नो काश्यां भूमितिङ्गं विना कश्चित्। काशी-  
खण्ड 10. 103.



of Raja Todarmal<sup>1446</sup>. Even this temple was desecrated. The following passage from the Ma-A'sir-i-A'lamgiri quoted by Elliot and Dowson ('History of India,' vol. VII p. 184) is instructive: "It reached the ears of his Majesty, the protector of the faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan and Benares, but especially in the latter foolish brāhmanas were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools and that students and learners, Musalmans as well as Hindus, went there even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. 'The Director of the Faith' consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship. On the 15th Rabiū-lākhīr (i. e. December 1669) it was reported to his religious Majesty, leader of the Unitarians, that in obedience to order, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Bishnath at Benares."

A mosque, which still exists, was built on the site of the Viśveśvara temple by Aurangzeb, who even changed the name of Banaras to Muhammadabad. The result is that, as stated by Sherring (p. 32), it would be difficult to find twenty temples in the whole of Banaras of the age of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A. D.). Many of the temples were built by the Maratha Chiefs and *Sardars* and during the British occupation many more were built. Prinsep calculated in about 1828 that there were in the Banaras city proper 1000 Hindu temples and 333 mosques; a more recent estimate puts the figures at 1454 temples and 272 mosques (Sherring<sup>1447</sup> pp. 41-42).

Viśveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal and most holy temple in it (vide n. 1429 a). It is prescribed that every resident of Kāśī must every day bathe in the Ganges and visit the temple of Viśveśvara (vide Tri. S. p. 214). After Aurangzeb pulled down the temple of Viśvanātha, there was no shrine of Viśvanātha in Benares for over a hundred years. The *linga* was probably removed from place

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1446. Vide Altekar pp. 47-48 and Introduction to my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha p. VIII (Poona, 1926), where I cite a verse from the Dānahrāvali-prakāśa of Divākarabhaṭṭa, a daughter's son of Nīlakaṇṭha, who was the grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

1447. Havell (p. 76) remarks that there are 1500 temples and that smaller shrines or images in niches of walls or the like are countless,

to place as the vicissitudes of the times required and the pilgrims performed parts of the worship (such as *namaskāra* and circumambulation) at the site of the image, but they could not perform other portions of the worship such as bathing the image with Ganges water<sup>1448</sup>. The present temple of Viśvanātha was built in the last quarter of the 18th century by *Devi Ahalyābāi* Holkar (Altekar, p. 57). The Tri. S. p. 183, while on the question of the appearance (*prādurbhāva*) of Viśveśvara, observes that there is no blemish in the case of the Viśveśvara-linga due to the touch of the untouchable, that every day Viśveśvara removes it by a bath in Manikarnikā at dawn and the worship offered by Himself and quotes a verse of the Sanat-kumāra-saṁhitā in support<sup>1449</sup>. What the Tri. S. means is: Generally great care is taken about *lingas*. All and sundry are not allowed to touch them but in the case of the Viśveśvara-linga any one, even a great sinner, may worship it and pour Ganges water over it. Whether Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa meant that even the so-called untouchables might touch it is not clear.

It appears that Vācaspati<sup>1449a</sup> holds that Avimukteśvara linga is the same as Viśvanātha, but both the Tristhaṭi-setu (p. 296) and Tir. Pr. (p. 187) reject this idea. The Skandapurāṇa (Kāśī, 10. 93) mentions Viśveśvara and Avimukteśvara as separate *lingas*. Besides worshipping Viśvanātha, every pilgrim to Benares has to visit the five tīrthas<sup>1450</sup> (Pañcatīrthi). According to the Matsyapurāṇa the five essential tīrthas in the Ānandakāṇana of Viśveśvara are Daśāśvamedha, Lolārka,<sup>1450a</sup>

1448. अत्र यद्यपि विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गं किञ्चिदपनीयतेऽन्यदानीयते च कालवशात्पुष्पै-  
स्तथापि तत्स्थानस्थिते यस्मिन्कर्त्तुमश्विष्युजादि कार्यम्।.....यद्यापि स्लेष्ठाविदुष्टराजवशा-  
त्तस्मिन्स्थाने किञ्चिदपि लिङ्गं कदाचित् स्यात् तदापि मक्षिणानमस्काराद्याः स्थानधर्मा  
भवन्त्येव। तावदेव च नित्ययात्रासिद्धिः। स्नापनादयस्तु साधिष्ठाना न भवन्तीति निर्णयः।  
त्रिस्थली- p. 208; vide also तीर्थपत्रिका p. 219 (which states that there is no  
sāstric authority for this, but only usage of śiṣṭas).

1449. विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गोऽसृष्टयस्पर्शनिबन्धनो दोषो नास्ति प्रत्यहं तेनैव पूजया तज्जिरा-  
करणात्। तदुक्तं तत्रैव (सनत्कुमारसंहितायाम्)। ब्राह्ममुहूर्ते मणिकर्णिकायां स्नात्वा समाराधयति  
स्वमेव। असृष्टयस्पर्शविशोधनाय कलौ नराणां कृपया हिताय॥

1449 a. अविसृक्तश्मशानोभयसंज्ञके क्षेत्रे शिवस्थापितमविसृक्तेश्वरं लिङ्गं विश्वनाथ-  
नाम्ना लोकप्रसिद्धम्। तीर्थचि. p. 360.

1450. The Pañcatīrthi has received the highest judicial notice in  
*Maharani Hemanta Kumari v. Gauri Shankar* 68. I. A. 53 at p. 57.

1450 a. Lolārka is only one of the shrines of the Sun in Kāśī; vide  
Kāśīkhaṇḍa 10.83 (Lolārka-mukhya-sūryāśmā ca prañamya ca punaḥ punaḥ)  
and 46. 45-46, where the shrines of the twelve *Ārkas* in Kāśī are enumerated  
as लोलार्क, उत्तार्क, साम्बादित्य &c.

Kesava, Bindumādhava and Maṇikarnikā.<sup>1451</sup> In modern times the five essential tirthas called Pañcatirthī are the confluence of the Asi with the Ganges, the Daśāśvamedha ghāt, Maṇikarnikā, the Pañcagaṅgā ghāt and the confluence of the river Varanā (called Bārṇā by the common people) with the Ganges. This is based on the Kāśikhapṇḍa.<sup>1452</sup> The shrine of Lolārka is situated at the confluence of the Asi (the southern boundary of Banaras) with the Ganges. The Kāśikhapṇḍa<sup>1453</sup> furnishes a popular etymology for the name Lolārka, viz. that the mind of the Sun on seeing Kāśī became agitated. The Asi is a tolerably wide stream (about 40 feet) in the rainy season, but is dry at other times. The several gigantic ghats with their flights of stone steps are a grand sight at Banaras. The Ganges while passing by Banaras takes a great sweep so that its mighty current flows in a northerly direction (that is towards the Himālaya) and is therefore held to be peculiarly holy here. The Daśāśvamedha-ghāt has been famed for centuries. Jayaswal's interpretation of the epithets applied to the Bhāraśivas in Vākātaka grants should be accepted viz. the Bhāraśivas were an imperial dynasty, were crowned with the holy waters of the Ganges and took their ceremonial baths on the Ganges at the end of ten Āśvamedha sacrifices, on account of which the Daśāśvamedha-ghāt<sup>1454</sup> at Banaras was so named (Jayaswal's 'History of India' 150 A. D.-350 A. D. p. 5). In order to realize the grandeur of Banaras on the side of the river one must be at

1451. तीर्थानां पञ्चकं सारं विश्वेशानन्दकानने। दशाश्वमेधं लोलार्कः केशवो चिन्मू-  
माधवः। पञ्चमी तु महाभेदा मोक्षयते मणिकर्णिका। एभिस्तु तीर्थैर्वैश्वं वप्यते शिवमुक्तकम् ॥  
मत्स्यः 185. 68-69.

1452. प्रथमं चास्मिन्भेदे तीर्थानां प्रवरं परम् । ततो दशाश्वमेधाख्यं सर्वतीर्थनिवे-  
दितम् । ततः पादोदकं तीर्थमादिकेशवसंनिधौ । ततः पञ्चनदं पुण्यं स्नानमात्रादप्यौघम् ।  
एतेषां पञ्चतीर्थानां चतुर्णामपि सत्तमः । पञ्चमं मणिकर्ण्याख्यं मनोवयवशुद्धिदम् । पञ्चतीर्थी  
नरः स्नात्वा न देहे पाञ्चभौतिकम् । गृह्णाति जातुचिन्तादयं पञ्चारूपो वाभिजायते । काशी०  
106.110 and 114 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 261, which explains 'यदि देवग्रहणं तदा  
पञ्चारूपः शिव एव भवति कर्मनिबन्धनो देहो नास्तीति भावः.'

1453. तत्पार्कस्य मनो लोलं यदासीत्काशिशर्त्तने । अतो लोलार्क इत्याख्या काश्य  
आता विवस्वतः ॥ लोलार्कस्त्वस्मिन्भेदे दक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थितः ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 46. 48-49.  
The shrine of लोलार्क is referred to in E. I. vol. V. p. 117 of Vikrama era  
1208 (1151 A. D.), a grant of गोविन्दचन्द्र of Kanoj.

1454. 'असंभारसंनिवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्भवमशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजर्वाणां पराकमा-  
धितभागीरथ्यमलजलमूधाभिषिक्तानां दशाश्वमेधावभूयस्मानानां भारशिखानां महाराजश्रीभव-  
नागदीहिजस्य...' E. I. vol. III. p. 258 (Dudia plates of प्रवरसेन II) and Fleet's  
Gupta Inscriptions (Chammak plate of प्रवरसेन II) p. 236 and p. 245  
(Siwani plate of the same king).

the Daśāśvamedhaghāt at dawn. For the eulogy of Daśāśvamedha, vide Kāśīkhaṇḍa 52. 83 ff. and Tri. S. p. 159. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa says that formerly the tirtha was called Rudrasaras, but as Brahmā performed ten Aśvamedhas there it came to be called Daśāśvamedha (chap. 52. 66-68). The Manikarnikā (also called Mukti-kṣetra) pool is the very centre of the religious life of Banaras and <sup>1455</sup> is the most holy among all the Banaras tirthas. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa gives a phantastic story of its origin (in chapter 26 verses 51-63 quoted in Tri. S. pp. 145-146): Viṣṇu dug with his discus a puṣkarinī, filled it with the perspiration from his own body and performed severe austerities on its bank for 1050 (or 50000) years. Śiva came there and being pleased shook his head and an ear-ornament studded with jewels fell into the pool, which thenceforward came to be called Maṇi-karnikā. The word is <sup>1456</sup> derived in two ways in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa. Śiva who is like the wish-yielding jewel whispers in the ear (karnikā) of good men the Tāraka mantra at the time of death. The extent of Manikarnikā north to south is said to be 105 *hastas* i. e. about 160 feet (Kāśīkhaṇḍa 99. 54). In modern times the waters of the Manikarnikā pool become foul and fetid because it is shallow (two or three feet deep), because hundreds of pilgrims cast into it flowers and money by way of worship and because the priests stir the waters with their hands and feet to find the coins dropped by pilgrims. Our methods of worship must be changed. The flowers and gifts should be placed on the banks of the pool and then taken away by the priests. The Tri. S. p. 147 mentions several mantras (two of which are set out below) to be recited when contemplating on Maṇikarnikā <sup>1457</sup>. Near the Maṇikarnikā pool is the temple of Tārakesvara so named from the belief that Śiva will whisper the mantra called *tāraka* in the ear of

1455. तत्र तारकलतीर्थवरिष्ठः श्रीमन्मणिकर्णिकाया महेष्वा। त्रिस्थली० p. 142; तत्रापि सर्वतीर्थानामुत्तमा मणिकर्णिका। नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 66.

1456. शुकाकुण्डलयातेन तवाहितनयामपि। तीर्थानां परमं तीर्थं मुक्तिकेशमिहास्तु वै॥ काशी० 26. 66, q. in त्रिस्थली० p. 146; संसारविघ्नस्तमगिरत्र परमात् तारकं तज्जन-कर्णिकायाश्च। शिष्याभिधत्ते तद्विघ्नकाले तद्विघ्नसौ मणिकर्णिकाश्च॥ मुक्तिलक्ष्मीमहापीठ-मणिसत्त्वरणाज्योः। कर्णिकेशं ततः प्रादुर्या जना मणिकर्णिकाश्च॥ काशीखण्ड 7. 79-80 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 148. In the 2nd verse मणि means ओष्ठ and the compound is dissolved as मणिव्यासौ कर्णिकाश्च, the meaning being that मणिकर्णिका is the jewel among मुक्तिकेश and it is as it were the कर्णिका of the lotus-like feet of मोक्षलक्ष्मी.

1457. तथा कैवं मन्त्रः। ओं ऐ ह्रीं श्रीं ह्रीं ओं मं मणिकर्णिके नमः। ओम्। इति। तथा कैवं मन्त्रः। ओं मं मणिकर्णिके यन्नात्मिके नमः। इति। त्रिस्थली० p. 147. The second मन्त्र is based on काशीखण्ड 61. 97.

the dying man brought to the sacred pool<sup>1457a</sup> (vide Kāśikhanda 7.78, 25. 72-73 and 32. 115-116). The Pañcagaṅgā *ghāt* is so called because it is supposed that five rivers, viz. the Kiraṇā,<sup>1458</sup> Dhūtapāpā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, meet here (though four of them are invisible). This is very highly eulogised and it is said in the Nāradyapurāṇa and the Kāśikhanda (59. 118-133) that when a man takes a bath in the Pañcanada he is not born again in a body made up of the five elements. It is said that this confluence of five rivers had different names viz. Dharmanada, Dhūtapātaka, Bindutīrtha and Pañcanada in Kṛta and the following Yugas respectively. The Kāśikhanda in chap. 59 deals with the confluence of five rivers and gives phantastic legends as to why the rivers were called Kiraṇā (59. 108-113) and Dhūtapāpā (59. 101-106). The river Varanā is the northern boundary of Vārāṇasī and the end of the *ghāṭs* on the northern side is reached at the confluence of the Varanā with the Ganges. That the *ghāṭs* have been there for at least a thousand years can be proved from copperplates and inscriptions. The Gāhadvāla rulers of Kanoj (of whose times at least 55 copperplates and 3 inscriptions on stone were issued during the period 1097 to 1187 A. D.), being devotees of Viṣṇu, several times made grants at the Ādi-Keśava *ghāt*. Vide J. R. A. S. for 1896 p. 787 (king Madanapāla's grant on the occasion of a Sun-eclipse after Mahārājñī Pṛthvīśrikā took a bath), I. A. vol. 19 p. 249 (grant of Govindacandra in *śamvat* 1188 i. e. 1131 A. D.), E. I. 14 p. 197 (Candrādityadeva, who having bathed at Ādikeśava-ghaṭṭa<sup>1459</sup> at the confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā

1457 a. ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नाम्मया जन्तवः कश्चित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये केचि प्रयागे वा सन्तुल्यजः ॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम् । दिशाभि तारकं गन्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणम् ॥ काशीखण्ड 32. 115-116; vide also काशीखण्ड 86. 48 and नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 56, 59-62.

1458. किरणा धृतपापा च पुण्यतोषा सरस्वती। गङ्गा च यमुना चैव पञ्च नद्यः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ अतः पञ्चनदं नाम तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् । तत्राहोतुं न शुद्धियाद्देहितां पात्रभौतिकीम् ॥ अस्मिन्पञ्चनदीनां तु सङ्गमिधौषधेदने। स्नानमात्राकरो याति भित्त्वा ब्रह्माण्डमण्डपम्... कृते धर्मनदं नाम त्रेतायां धृतपापकम् । द्वापरे चिन्दुतीर्थं च कलौ पञ्चनदं स्मृतम् ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 51. 15-18 and 35-36 and काशीखण्ड 59. 115-117 (reads देहं वा पात्र-भौतिकम्) and 136.

1459. देवभीमदाविकेशवदक्षिणमूर्ती ... अद्याक्षततुतीयायां युगाविर्षयि ... आदि-केशवपदे स्नात्वा... पातुर्वैवस्य पूजां विधाय... पितृपिण्डयज्ञं. मिथश्च उपरि लिखितयामाः... गोक्षणकुशपूतकरतलोदकपुरं... प्रवृत्ताः । E. I. 14 p. 197 at p. 198. For अक्षयतुतीया as one of the four युगावितिथिः vide n. 841 above. That there were several images of Keśava is expressly stated by the काशीखण्ड 10.82 (आदिकेशवमुखाश्च केशवा-भरितोऽयं च). Prof. Altekar observes (p. 28) that the Ādikeśava-ghaṭ, once a royal favourite, is now in a dilapidated condition and is rarely visited by pilgrims.

and Varanā bestowed on 500 brāhmanas 30 villages on the Aksayya-trītiyā of *saṃvat* 1156). Those rulers made grants at other ghāts and sacred spots also. For example, E. I. vol. IV. pp. 97 ff. (21 copperplates of Gāhaḍvālas, of which H in *saṃvat* 1178 speaks of the grant of a village after a bath at the Kapālamocana-ghaṭṭa at Banaras where the Ganges flows towards the north; grant L. p. 114 of *saṃvat* 1197 made on a queen taking a bath at the ghaṭṭa of god Vedēśvara in Avimuktakṣetra; grant S. mentions god Kṛttivāsa; grant U. is made to the temple of Lolārka by Jayacandra in *saṃvat* 1233), E. I. vol. VIII p. 149 (five copperplate grants of Govindacandra in *saṃvat* 1207 i. e. 1156 A. D. after a bath at Koṭitirtha on Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti). The Kāśi-khaṇḍa promises Varuṇa-loka to those charitable people that build stone ghāts on the sacred rivers <sup>1460</sup>.

One of the most meritorious of all pilgrimages is the Pañcakrośī by road. Lakṣmīdhara in his section on Tirthas in the Kṛtyakalpataru apparently takes no notice of it. The length of the Pañcakrośī road is about 50 miles and there are hundreds of shrines on the road. Taking Maṇikarnikā as the centre the whole road describes an irregular semicircle round the city of Banaras with a radius of five krośas (about ten miles) and hence it is called pañcakrośī. The word 'pañcakrośī' occurs very often in the Kāśikhaṇḍa (as in chap. 26, verses 80 and 114, chap. 55. 44). This pilgrimage may be very briefly described as follows:—The pilgrim starts from the Maṇikarnikā-ghāt and going along the bank of the Ganges arrives at the confluence of the river Asi with the Ganges and halts for the day at a village called Khāṇḍava about six miles from Maṇikarnikā. The 2nd day's march (for eight or ten miles) ends at the village called Dhūpacandī where he offers worship to the goddess of that name. On the 3rd day the pilgrim walks 14 miles to the village Rāmeśvara. On the 4th day he walks eight miles and reaches the village Śivapura. On the 5th day he walks 6 miles and reaches the village Kapiladhārā, where the pilgrim offers oblations to his pits. On the 6th day he walks from Kapiladhārā to Varanāsaṅgama and thence to Maṇikarnikā, a distance of six miles. It is the practice for pilgrims to scatter grains of barley from Kapiladhārā to Maṇikarnikā. The pilgrim bathes, pays *dakṣiṇā* to the priest and then goes to the temple of Śakṣi-Vināyaka who is supposed to bear witness to the pilgrim's having performed the Pañcakrośī-yātrā.

1460. बह्मसुण्यतद्विषयविर्षयवन्ति शिलादिभिः । तोयाधिमुखसिद्धयर्थं ये नरास्तेष्वभोजिनः स्तब्ध, काशी. 12. 59.

There are numerous other sub-tirthas in Banaras, some of which may be briefly noticed here. The Jñānavāpi may be mentioned first. The story of its origin is narrated in the Kāśikhanda, chap. 33. The Tri. S. (pp. 148-150) refers to it. It is said that when Śiva (Īśāna) saw the Viśveśvara-līṅga a desire arose in him to bathe with its cool water. He dug a *kunḍa* with his trident to the south of the temple of Viśveśvara and with the water therefrom he bathed Viśveśvara-līṅga and Viśveśvara granted the boon that the tirtha would be superior to all tirthas and that, as Śiva is knowledge (verse 32), the tirtha would be called Jñānoda or Jñānavāpi. One of the most popular and the most frequented temple is that of Durgā. In chap. 72 (verses 37-65) of the Kāśikhanda there is a Durgāstotra called Vajra-pañjara which is referred to in Tri. S. p. 161. There is a temple of Bhairavanātha about a mile to the north of the temple of Viśveśvara. He is the *Kotwal* or police Magistrate of Kāśī and wields a stone cudgel (of enormous thickness). His *vāhana* is a dog. Vide Kāśikhanda, chap. 30, for Bhairava. There are many temples of Gaṇeśa. The Tri. S. (pp. 198-199) names 56 Gaṇeśas and indicates their locations, following Kāśikhanda, chap. 57.59-115 (*ṣaṭ-pañcāśad-Gajamukhān-etān-yaḥ saṁsmariṣyati*). In Kāśikhanda (57.33) the name Dhundhi applied to Gaṇeśa is derived from the root 'dhudhi' in the sense of 'searching' (*anvesane dhudhir-ayam prathitostī dhātuḥ*). Compare the Marathi verb *dhundane*.

The Tri. S. discusses at some length (pp. 98-100) the question whether sins committed in all past lives are destroyed by entering Kāśī or whether it is only the sins committed during the present life that are destroyed. Some hold the view that sins committed in this life only are destroyed by visiting Kāśī and by bath in the various sacred spots the sins of previous lives are destroyed. Others hold that by entering Kāśī the sins of all past lives are destroyed, but bath at various sacred spots brings about only the cessation of the tendency to sin in different lives. Nārāyanabhaṭṭa puts forward several other views and says that wise men should hold the view that appears proper.

Many of the purāṇas lay down rules about how one dwelling in Kāśī should act. The injunction is that in Kāśī one should not commit the slightest sin, since the punishment is far more heavy. The Matsya (chap. 185. 17-45) and Kāśikhanda, chap. 96, narrate the story of Vyāsa, who while wandering about for alms in Kāśī, did not secure alms and

being hungry and angry was on the point of cursing Kāśī in the words quoted below <sup>1461</sup> when Śiva coming to know his mind assumed the form of a householder, gave him the best of food and ordered Vyāsa not to enter Kāśīkṣetra as he was an irritable man, but allowed him to do so on the 8th and 14th *tithis* only. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa 96. 12-80 and 119-180 speak at great length about how one residing in Kāśī should conduct himself.

Some miscellaneous matters in connection with Banaras may be set out here. Vārāṇasī being a great tīrtha, śrāddha for the benefit of ancestors should be performed there and if it is not possible to perform a śrāddha with all details, at least offerings of pinḍas should be made.<sup>1462</sup> The construction of *maṭhas* for those who practise penance there and endowing them with means for their maintenance are highly eulogized.<sup>1463</sup>

In the 12th century A. D. there was a Kapālamocanaghāt<sup>1464</sup> situated on the Ganges. In a grant published in E. I. vol. IV p. 110 dated *saṃvat* 1178 (1122 A. D.) the Emperor Govindacandra bestowed a village on a brāhmaṇa named Vyāsa after bathing at the Kapāla-mocanaghāṭa in Banaras where the Ganges flows to the north. The story of Kapālamocana-tīrtha is narrated in the Matsya-purāṇa, chap. 183. 84-103 and a reference is made to it in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 33. 116.

It may be noted that in the Lingapurāṇa, pūrvārdha, chap. 92 verses 67-100, in Padma,<sup>1464a</sup> Ādikhaṇḍa, chap. 34-37,

1461. तीर्थं काशीर्धत्तां यातुं नगरं क्षापयाम्यहम् ॥ मा भूत्विषीदेषी विद्या मा भूत्विषीदेष धनम् । मा भूत्विषीदेषं सकृद्यं व्यासो वाराणसीं क्षापय ॥ आविष्टो जिवसतां जनानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् । चित्तं सुजामि सर्वेषां येन सिद्धिर्न विद्यते ॥ मत्स्य 185. 21-23, q. by कल्प-०० तीर्थ (p. 28). The verse मा भूत् is काशीखण्ड 96. 125.

1462. मनुष्यैः पिण्डदानादि कार्यमन्त्रागतैः सदा । पिण्डदानं च तत्रैव सुपुत्रैः कार्यमावरात् । सुपुत्रास्तैः पित्राणां तु भवन्ति सुखदायकाः । q. by चित्रधरी. p. 129.

1463. मठानपि तपस्विभ्यः कारयेत्स्वात्र योऽर्पयेत् । जीवन्मोक्षायसंयुक्तान् सोऽपि सर्वकलाञ्जयः ॥ q. by चित्रधरी. p. 133.

1464. Dr. Altekar (pp. 28-29) notes that at present a *ghāt* and a tank near the Rajaghat station is known by the name Kapālamocanaghāt, that there exists a temple near this tank dedicated to Kapālamocaneśvara and that the god must have been removed from the original place to the present habitation at some time during the last 700 years.

1464 a. Kūrma I. 32. 3-29 about Omkāra and other Liṅgas are the same as Padma I. 34. 1-25 (with some half verses omitted) and Kūrma I. 33 is taken over bodily in Padma I. 35 and Kūrma I. 34. 2-16 are the same as Padma I. 37. 1-19 (with a few additions).



Kūrma I. 32. 1-12 and I. 35. 1-15 (tirthas) and in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 10. 86-97, chap. 33, chap. 53. 27 ff., chapters 55, 58 and 61 numerous lingas and tirthas of Banaras are named. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 73. 32-36 (quoted by Tri. S. pp. 264-265) mentions 14 of these as Mahālingas, viz. Omkāra, Trilocana, Mahādeva, Kṛttivāsas, Ratneśa, Candreśvara, Kedāra, Dharmesha, Vireśvara, Kāmesha, Viśvakarmesvara, Maṇikarpiśa, Avimukta, Viśveśvara. It is provided in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 73. 39 that *yātrās* of these main lingas should be celebrated every month from the 1st tithi onwards. In Kāśīkhaṇḍa 73. 45-48 there is another series of fourteen great lingas different from those in chap. 73. 32-36. Fourteen āyatanas are named in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 73. 60-62.<sup>1464b</sup> Twelve out of these are specified as lingas in Lingapurāṇa I. 92.67-107. In Kāśīkhaṇḍa chapters 83 and 84 are enumerated about 125 tirthas of Banaras. In chap. 94. 36 of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa 36 principal lingas are referred to (14 Omkāraḍi, 8 Dakṣeśvaraḍi and 14 Śaileśaḍi). From considerations of space the other lingas and tirthas are not mentioned here. But out of all these Viśveśvara is said to give quick results.

It is laid down that every one residing in Kāśī must repair every day to the Ganges, take a bath in the Maṇikarṇikā and visit Viśveśvara.<sup>1465</sup>

What happens if a person commits sins outside Kāśī, comes to Kāśī and then dies, or if a resident of Kāśī commits sins in Kāśī but dies either at Kāśī or outside it? The Tri. S. after quoting several verses from the Kāśīkhaṇḍa, Padma-purāṇa and Brahmapurāṇa states the following conclusions (p. 268). Sins committed elsewhere are destroyed by coming to Kāśī.<sup>1466</sup> He who residing in Kāśī is always addicted to sins becomes a *piśūca* (goblin) for thirty thousand years, again dwells in Kāśī, secures highest knowledge and then obtains

1464 b. शैलेशः सद्यमेकेशश्च स्वर्तीनो मध्यमेश्वरः । हिरण्यवर्भ ईशानो गोमेको वृषभ-  
ध्वजः । उपशान्तेशो ज्येष्ठो निवासेश्वर एव च । ह्युक्तो व्याघ्रलिङ्गश्च जम्बुकेश चतुर्वज्रश्च ।  
ह्यने चतुर्दशैतानि महात्म्यायतनानि वै ॥ काशीः 73. 60-63 q. by. चिरस्थली० p. 263.

1465. यात्राद्वयं प्रयत्नेन कर्तव्यं प्रतिवासरम् । एका स्वर्गतरङ्गिण्यास्ततो विन्वेशितुः  
परा ॥ काश्यां लिङ्गान्यनेकानि काश्यां तीर्थान्यनेकशः । तथापि सेव्यो विन्वेशः स्नातव्या  
मणिकर्णिका ॥ काशीखण्ड 100. 101 q. in चिरस्थली० p. 266.

1466. अन्यत्र विहितं पापं मध्येकाशीमिरिक्षणात् ॥ काश्यां कृतानां पापानां दास्येयं  
तु यातना ॥ काशीखण्ड 33.115. Vide also काशीः 75.22 'काश्यां तु परकृतं पापं  
तत्प्रेक्षाचपदप्रदम् ।'.

*mokṣa*. Those who being residents of Kāśī commit sins have not to undergo the tortures of Yama whether they die in Kāśī or elsewhere. Those who after committing sins in Kāśī die there will be punished by Kālabhairava. Those who die elsewhere (after committing sins in Kāśī) first undergo torments inflicted by the *ganas* of Śiva called Yāma, then undergo torments inflicted by Kālabhairava for thirty thousand years, are then born as mortal men, then die in Kāśī and secure release (from *samsāra*) at the end.

It is remarkable that the Kāśīkhanda<sup>1467</sup> states that a little to the north of Kāśī, Viṣṇu assigned a place for his residence called Dharmakṣetra and that there Viṣṇu assumed the form of Buddha. This is a clear reference to Sārnath about five miles by road to the north of Banaras, where Buddha delivered his first sermon. The general rule for ascetics is that for eight months they must move from place to place and may spend the four months of the rainy season or two months in one place; but this rule is abrogated where ascetics enter Banaras and it is laid down that they should not leave Kāśī at all.<sup>1467a</sup>

The Kāśīkhanda remarks 'For devotees of Śiva who are full of faith there is, even in great calamities, no other remedy except the water of the feet of the image of God. Incurable diseases even, whether affecting the body outside or inside, are got rid of by the touch with faith of the water of (washing the image of) the deity.' This reminds one of the miraculous cures believed to have been effected by the water of a pool at Lourdes in the first years of this century<sup>1467b</sup>.

It would be far beyond the scope of this section to dilate upon the great traditions of learning associated with the name of Banaras. It is sufficient to refer to Alberuni (vol. I, p. 173) who observed that Banaras and Kashmir were the

1467. किञ्चिद्विद्यायुद्धीरुषा च गत्वा देवेन चक्रिणा। स्वस्थिरयै कल्पितं स्थानं धर्मक्षेत्रमितीरितम्॥ ततस्तु सोमं रूपं शिवाय धीपतिः स्वयम्॥ ch. 58.71-72.

1467 a. अष्टौ मासा विहारस्य यतीनां संयतात्मनाम्। एकत्र चतुर्षु मासान् मासौ वा निवसेयुः। अपिभुक्ते प्रविष्टानां विहारस्तु न विद्यते।... मोक्षो ह्यसंशयस्तत्र पञ्चत्वं तु गतरस्य वै॥ मत्स्य 184. 32-34 q. by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p. 24. The same verses (with slight variations) are स्कन्द, काशी. 86. 112-113. The general rule for an ascetic is stated in विष्णुपुराण III, 9. 28 'एकरात्ररिपतिग्रामे पञ्चरात्ररिपतिः पुरे'.

1467 b. अज्ञावतां स्वभक्तानामुपसर्गे महर्षयः। नोपायान्तरमस्त्येव विनेशचरणो-  
वृक्कम्॥ ये व्याधयोऽपि दुःसाध्या बहिरन्तः शरीरगाः। अज्ञयेशोवकस्पर्शानि नश्यन्त्येव  
नामयथा॥ काशीखण्ड 67. 82-83.

'high schools of Hindu Sciences,' to *Ain. A.* vol. II, p. 158 'from time immemorial it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan' and to *Kāśikhanda*, chap. 96. 121 that states that Kāśī is the home of learning (*vidyānām sadanam Kāśī*). Vide Prof. Altekar's 'History of Benares' pp. 23-24 and *I. A.* vol. 41 pp. 7-13 and 245-253 for some learned families of Banaras.

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## CHAPTER XIV

### GAYĀ

Gayā occupies a unique place in the hearts of all pious Hindus even in these days. Hundreds of pages have been written about the history, the antiquities, the architectural remains of Gayā, the sacred places in and round about Gayā, the śrāddha rites performed in Gayā and about *Gayāwals* (the priests of Gayā). It is not possible to deal with this vast mass in this work. But it is impossible not to say a few words about the many conflicting views on certain important matters put forward by scholars for about three quarters of a century. Those who are deeply interested in the history and antiquities of Gayā should carefully read the following books and papers; Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's 'Buddha-Gayā' with 51 plates (1878); General Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' with 31 plates at the end (1892); L. S. S. O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Gayā, vol. XII and J. A. S. B. for 1903 LXXII, No. 3, pp. 1-11 on 'Gayāśrāddha and Gayāwals'; Indian Antiquary, vol. X pp. 339-340 for a Chinese Inscription at Buddha Gayā dated in a Chinese date corresponding to 1033 A. D. and pp. 341-347 for Inscriptions at Gayā, one of which is engraved in a temple of the Sun near a tank 'Dakṣiṇamānasa' near the Viṣṇupada, dated 1813 years after Buddha's Parinirvāṇa; Indian Antiquary, vol. 16 pp. 63 ff Inscription of Yakṣapāla, son of Viśvāditya, which records the building of a temple for certain images in the 15th regnal year of the Pāla king Nayapāladeva who died in 1045 A. D., edited by Kielhorn; Dr. Benimadhav Barua's 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' in two volumes (1934) with plates; Journal of Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 24 (for 1938) pp. 89-111 where Dr. J. C. Ghose deals with 'the antiquity of Gayā.' Some of the remarks of Dr. Ghose are most unwarranted and cannot be accepted, such as holding 'maganda' in 'Pramagandasya' in Rg. III, 53. 14 as identical with Magadha and the explanation of 'udantyāḥ' in the Ait. Br. as 'people of sunrise.' Among medieval digests Gayā is dealt with in Kalpataru on Tirthas pp. 163-174, Tirtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati pp. 268-328, Tristhaḥśetu of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa pp. 316-379, Tirthaprakāśa pp. 384-452, Tirthendu-śekhara pp. 54-59, Tristhaḥśetu-sāra-saṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji pp. 36-38.

The most important work on Gayā relied upon in such works as the *Tristhali-setu* and in modern times is the *Gayā-māhātmya* that occurs at the end of the *Vāyupurāṇa* (chapters 105-112 of the *Ānandāśrama* ed.). Scholars differ about the antiquity of these chapters. Rajendralal Mitra assigned the *Gayā-māhātmya* to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. O'Malley was inclined to hold that the legend of *Gayāsura* was invented in the 14th or 15th century, principally on the ground that the *Gayāwals* profess the *Vaiṣṇava* faith established by *Madhvācārya*<sup>1468</sup> and acknowledge as their spiritual head the *mahant* of *Hari Narasimhapura*; vide J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII (1903) p. 4. To my mind there is hardly anything in this. The *Gayāwals* are notorious for their indolence, dissoluteness and ignorance and they are a dying race. O'Malley himself notes in the paper mentioned above (at p. 8) that originally the families of *Gayāwals* were 1484, that in Buchanan Hamilton's time they numbered about 1000, that in 1893 a *Gayāwal* counted 128 families, that in the census of 1901 there existed only 168 males (as pure *Gayāwals*) and 153 females. *Gayā* is a place sacred to *Viṣṇu* and if the *Gayāwals* had to turn in medieval times for support to some great *ācārya* they would naturally choose to align themselves with the *Vaiṣṇava ācārya* *Madhva* rather than with *Śaṅkara*. Dr. Barua, after an elaborate examination of the several items of evidence, holds that the *Gayā-māhātmya* is not earlier than the 13th or 14th century A. D. (vol. I, p. 64 of '*Gayā and Buddha Gayā*'). From considerations of the space at my disposal I cannot examine in detail his arguments. His conclusion is vitiated mainly for two reasons. He relies too much on the dubious and unconvincing argument from silence. He examines the account of *Gayā* that appears in the *Vanaparva* and compares it with the fuller account in the *Gayā-māhātmya* and arrives at the rather startling conclusion 'The *Gayā* proper as known to the Epic (the *Mahābhārata*) is essentially a place sacred to *Yama Dharmarāja*, *Brahmā* and *Sivaśūlin*, and *Viṣṇu* and *Vaiṣṇavism* has no place in it either as a name or as an idea. Except

1468. There is conflict about the dates of *Madhvācārya*'s birth and death. The *Uttarādi-maṭha* records give śaka 1040 (1118 A. D.) and śaka 1120 (1198 A. D.) as the dates of his birth and death respectively. This is said to conflict with the date given in *Madhva's* महाभारतसत्यविनिर्णय viz. that he was born in शकवर्ष 4300. In a paper published in the *Journal of the Annamalai University*, vol. III for 1934 pp. 245 ff. the correct dates are said to be 1238 A. D.-1317 A. D.

Brahmayūpa, Śivaliṅga and Vṛṣabha there is no reference to any structural erection nor any iconic suggestion'. In order to show how this conclusion is not at all justified the references to Gayā in the Epic and other Sanskrit works will have to be set out and compared with each other and with the Gayāmāhātmya. The second reason that vitiates Dr. Barua's conclusion is the wrong interpretation that he puts on verse 12 of the Inscription edited by Kielhorn in I. A. vol. 16.

I shall now turn to the name Gayā and references to it or similar names from the Rgveda downwards. A Gaya, son of Plati, is the reputed author of two hymns of the Rgveda (X. 63 and X. 64). In Rg. X. 63. 17 and X. 64. 17 we have the words 'astāvi jano divyo Gayena' (the divine host was praised by Gaya). So Gaya was a proper name applied to a composer of Rgvedic hymns. In the Rg. the word Gaya has several other senses, which are not material here. In the Atharvaveda (I. 14.4) Gaya appears to be a wonder-worker or a sorcerer along with Asita and Kāśyapa. Even in the Vedic Saṁhitās Asuras, Dāsas and Rākṣasas are credited with tricks and magic. Vide Rg. VII 99.4, VII 104.24-25 and Atharva IV. 23. 5. It is not difficult to imagine how a sorcerer Gaya could have been transformed into Gayāsura later on. Proceeding further, the Nirukta<sup>1469</sup> while explaining 'idam Viṣṇu-vi cakrame tredhā nidadhe padam' (Rg. I. 22. 17) gives two very interesting interpretations, one explaining the verse as a natural phenomenon and the other explaining it from geographical or legendary points of view 'He (Viṣṇu) puts down his foot in three ways. According to Śakapūṣi, Viṣṇu plants his foot on the earth, in mid air (sky) and heaven; according to Aurnavābha, on Samārohaṇa, on Viṣṇu-pada and on Gayaśiras.' Whatever the Vedic verse may mean, it is clear that two interpretations had arisen several centuries before Christ and if the usual dates about Buddha's *nirvāṇa* are accepted Aurnavābha and Yāska both flourished before Buddha. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII pp. XXII-XXIII for Buddha's *nirvāṇa* being placed at 483 B. C. according to Ceylonese chronicle, while some western scholars would place it between 429-400 B. C. <sup>1470</sup> Gayaśiras is named in the Vanaparva (87.

1469. त्रेधा निधत्ते पदम् । पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरोरसे-इति और्णवाभः । निरुक्त 12. 19.

1470. The Nirukta is placed not later than at least 500 B. C. by most Sanskrit scholars. Aurnavābha is earlier than the Nirukta. Vide History of

11, 95, 9), in the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra 85.4 (in the form Gayāśīrṣa), Vāmanapurāṇa (22.20 as the eastern *vedi* of Brahmā), Skanda I. 2, 13.21 and even in the Buddhist books such as the Mahāvagga (I 21. 1, S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134) in which last it is said that after having dwelt at Uruvelā, Buddha accompanied by a thousand *bhikkhus* went to Gayāśīrṣa (which is the Pali equivalent of Gayāśīrṣa). Traditions of Gaya as a king of the territories round about Gayā are mentioned in Jaina and Buddhist works. The Uttarādhyayanasūtra (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 86 and note 3 there) states that he was son of king Samudravijaya of Rājagṛha and became the 11th Cakravartin. The Buddhacarita of Āśvaghoṣa states that Buddha visited the hermitage called a city of the royal sage Gaya, that the saint (future Buddha) fixed his dwelling on the pure bank of the Nairanjana river (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 132, Canto XII. 87-88) and p. 193 (chap. XVII. 8 of the same work) and that Buddha went to the hermitage of Kāśyapa at Gayā called Uruvilvā. The same work (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 192) speaks of Dharmāśāṭṭhī where dwelt 700 ascetics whom Buddha helped to enter *nirvāṇa*. Viṣṇupada occurs in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra 85.40 as a holy place very fit for śrāddha. In my opinion at least Aurnavābha held that in a particular region there were three places on which according to the legends current in his day the foot-prints of Viṣṇu's foot could be seen<sup>1471</sup>. Two of

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Sanskrit literature by Winternitz, vol. I p. 69 (English tr.). Scholars are not agreed about the exact location and extent of Gayāśīrṣa. Rajendralal in 'Buddha-gayā' p. 19 says 'Gayāśīrṣa is not the Brahmayoni hill but a low spur of it to the north-east about a mile in area forming the site of the old town of Gayā. This Gayāśīrṣa is the most sacred spot in Gayā.' Dr. Barua (vol. I, p. 246) 'Gayā proper is still sandwiched between the Phalgu and a small set of hills containing some 25 hill-tops with Gayāśīrṣa or Gayāśīrṣa (Brahmayoni) in the south-west &c.'. Both are, however, agreed that Gayāśīrṣa is part of the ancient Gayā region. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII. p. 134 n. 1 about Cunningham's view that *गयाशीरस* is the *ब्रह्मयोनि* hill near Gayā.

1471. I am not unmindful of the fact that in the Iron Pillar Inscription of a king called Candrar at Meherauli (nine miles south of Delhi) the last verse reads *तेनारं गणितारं सुमिपतिना ... यक्षुर्विष्णुपदे गिते भगवतो विष्णोर्भजः स्थापितः* (Gupta Inscriptions, No 32 at p. 141). This shows that near Delhi there was a hill called *विष्णुपद*. But there is nothing to show that there was a place called *गयाशीरस* near it. Hence *विष्णुपद* and *गयाशीरस* being taken together point out to Gayā. The Inscription is undated but looking to the characters it would not be far wrong to assign it to a period near Samudra-

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these, Viṣṇupada and Gayāsiras are well-known; hence it would not be unreasonable to hold that 'Samārohaṇa' is a place and has to be located somewhere near the other two. Samārohaṇa means 'mounting up' or 'ascending'. This word probably refers to the ascent of the hill that rises up from the river Phalgu. It is also possible that it is the same as the Udyanta hill echoing with the warbling (of birds).<sup>1472</sup> I therefore hold that at least 600 years before Christ (and hence even before Buddha) there was a tradition about Viṣṇu's footprints in at least two well-known places viz. Viṣṇupada and Gaya-siras (both in Gayā). Even if some other work does not mention any one of these it does not follow from mere non-mention that that spot was not so named or did not exist.

Let us now turn to the Vanaparva. Dr. Barua mainly relies on Vanaparva 84. 82-103 and 95. 9-29. But some preliminary remarks must be made before the two passages are examined.

The Nāradiyapurāṇa (uttara, 46. 16) states that Gayāsiras extends from Krauñcapada to Phalgutīrtha.

Vanaparva chapter 82 sets out Pulastya's replies to Bhīṣma's question about tīrthas. First comes Puskara (verses 20-40), then Jambumārga, Tandulikāśrama, Agastyasaraḥ, Mahākālā, Kotitīrtha, Bhadravata (Sthānutīrtha), Narmadā, Prabhāsa and several other tīrthas (not in any particular order but selected at random). In chap. 83 Kurukṣetra is described at some length.

Before discussing the most important passage of the Vanaparva (viz. 84. 82-103) we must see what precedes the description of Gayā. Dr. Barua and many of those that have written on this passage have not carefully considered the implications of verses 1-81 of chapter 84 and also of the following chapters. In Vanaparva 84. 1-81 the author makes Dhaumya name

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gupta. Therefore Viṣṇu's footprint existed on a hill near Delhi in the 4th century A. D. There is no sound reason advanced why it could not have existed at Gayā about the same time or even earlier. Besides in the Rām. 11. 68.19 a विष्णुपद south of the river विपाका is mentioned.

1472. Dr. Barua regards नीलनादित in Vanaparva 84. 93 as the name of a peak (vol. I. p. 246). But this appears to be wrong. It is an adjective of उद्यन्तं (पर्वतं) that immediately precedes. I have not come across any peak called नीलनादित in any other work and Dr. Barua does not cite any other text in support of his view. उद्यन्त would mean 'the hill of sunrise,' not necessarily for the whole of Āryāvarta but in the place where both विष्णुपद and नयसिरस् were situated.



about 57 holy places (including such famous ones as Naimiṣa, Śakambhari, Gaṅgādvāra, Kanakhala, the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Kujāmṛaka) and then comes to speak of the sacred spots in Gayā.<sup>1473</sup> It is therefore clear that the intention of the author is not to speak exhaustively about any tirtha. For this reason some tirthas are described twice in the Vanaparva. For example Naimiṣa is very highly praised in chap. 84. 59-64 and again in chap. 87. 6-7. The same happens with regard to Gayā in 85.82-103 and 87.8-12. We cannot at all presume

1473. The verses relating to गया in वनपर्व 84 are set out in full here :  
 ततो गयां समासाद्य ब्रह्मचारी समाहितः । अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति कुलं चैव ससुन्दरेत् ॥ तत्राक्षयवदो  
 नाम त्रिषु लोकेषु विभुतः । तत्र दत्तं पितृभ्यस्तु भवत्यक्षयमुच्यते ॥ महानद्यामुपस्थस्य तर्पयेद्  
 पितृदेवताः । अक्षयान्मयात् लोकान् कुलं चैव ससुन्दरेत् ॥ ततो ब्रह्मसरो गत्वा धर्मारण्योपशो-  
 भितम् । ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति प्रभातमेव शर्वरीम् ॥ ब्रह्मणा तत्र सपतिं दूयभेष्टः समुच्छ्रितः ।  
 दूयं यदक्षिणीकृत्वा वाजयेयफलं लभेत् ॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र धेनुकं लोकविभुतम् । एकरायो-  
 वितो राजन् प्रपच्छेत् तिलधेनुकाम् ॥ सर्वपापविशुद्धात्मा सोमलोकं ब्रजेद् भुवम् । तत्र चिह्नं  
 महाराजकथापि तुमहद् भुङ्क्ष्व । कपिलायाः सवत्सायाश्चरन्त्याः पर्वते कुतम् । सवत्सायाः  
 पद्मानि स्म दृश्यन्तेऽद्यापि भारत ॥ तेषूपस्थस्य राजेन्द्र पदेषु ह्यपसत्तम । यत्किञ्चिद्ब्रह्म कर्म  
 तत्प्रणयति भारत ॥ ततो युधवर्तं गच्छेत्स्थानं देवस्य धीमतः । स्त्रायीत भस्मना तत्र अभिगम्य  
 हृषध्वजम् । ब्राह्मणेन भवेद्धर्णिं व्रतं द्वादशवार्षिकम् । इतरेषां तु वर्णानां सर्वपापं प्रणयति ॥  
 उद्यन्तं च ततो गच्छेत् पर्वतं गीतनादितम् । सावित्र्यास्तु पदं तत्र दृश्यते भरतर्षभ ॥ तत्र  
 सन्ध्यामुपासीत ब्राह्मणः संज्ञितव्रतः । तेन ह्यपास्ता भवति सन्ध्या द्वादशवार्षिकी ॥ योनि-  
 द्वारं च तत्रैव विभुतं भरतर्षभ । तत्राभिगम्य हृष्येत पुरुषो योनिस्तुङ्गदात् ॥ कृष्णकुण्डादुभो  
 पक्षौ गयायां यो वसेच्चरः । पुनार्यासत्तमं राजन् कुलं नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ एहया... हृषस्तुजेत् ॥  
 ततः कल्प्सु ब्रजेद्वाजन् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप । अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति सिद्धिं च महतीं ब्रजेत् ॥ ततो  
 गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र धर्ममयं समाहितः । तत्र धर्मो महाराज त्रितयमास्ते पुषिष्ठिर ॥ तत्र कूपोदकं  
 कृत्वा तेन रमातः शुचिस्तथा । पितृदेवास्तु सन्तर्प्यं शुकपापो विभं ब्रजेत् ॥ पतङ्गरयाश्चमस्तत्र  
 महर्षेर्भाषितात्मनः । तं शविश्याश्वमं श्रीमच्छमशोकविनाशनम् । गवामयनयज्ञस्य फलं प्राप्नोति  
 मानवः । धर्मं तत्रानिर्वाह्यं वाजिमेधमश्वमात् ॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र ब्रह्मस्थानमनुत्तमम् ।  
 तत्राभिगम्य राजेन्द्र ब्रह्मणं पुरुषर्षभ ॥ राजह्वयान्श्वमेधायां फलं विन्दति मानवः । ततो  
 राजहृद् गच्छेत् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप ॥ वनपर्व 84, 82-104. These verses are q. in the  
 तीर्थस्थ. pp. 275-277 (except three), त्रिस्थलीसेतु pp. 321-323. It may be  
 noted that the Padmapurāṇa, Ādikhaṇḍa, chap. 38 (verses 2-19) contains  
 verbatim and in the same order the verses about Gayā in the Vanaparva 84,  
 82-99 except that a word is changed here and there. There is hardly any  
 doubt that one borrows from the other. Good grounds have been advanced  
 by Mr. M. V. Vaidya in his paper 'Tirthayātrā in the Āraṇyakaparvan and  
 the Padmapurāṇa' in the Kane Festschrift pp. 530-537. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar  
 in the volume of Indian and Eastern studies presented to Prof F. W. Thomas  
 pp. 19-28 in his paper on 'Cosmographical episode in the Mahābhārata and  
 the Padmapurāṇa' has shown that chapters 80-83 of the Vanaparva are taken  
 over by the author of the Padmapurāṇa in chapters 10. 5 to chapter 39.120.

from the manner in which tirthas in Gayā are named and described that the writer of Vanaparva (chap. 84. 82-103) meant to be exhaustive as regards the holy spots in Gayā or the legends about Gayā. This conclusion is very much strengthened by the fact that in the Anusāsanaparva three sacred spots in Gayā are mentioned which do not occur in Vanaparva 84. 82-103 viz. 'In Gayā a man becomes purified in Āsmapṛṣṭha (the same as Pretasīlā), on the hill Niravinda and of even a third brāhmaṇa murder in Krauñcapadī'.<sup>1474</sup> These three, Āsmapṛṣṭha, Niravinda and Krauñcapadī, are in addition to those sacred spots that are mentioned in Vanaparva 84. In Vāyu 109. 15 a hill Aravindaka is said to be a peak of the Śilāparvata and Nāradya (uttara 47. 83), Vāyu 108. 75 and Nāradya (uttara 46. 16) mention the hill Krauñcapada (Muṇḍa-pṛṣṭha was so called). Therefore it is clear that three important sites in the Gayāmāhātmya are mentioned by the Anusāsanaparva.

It was unfortunate that Dr. Barua confined his attention on the question of the antiquity of Gayā to merely three works viz. the Vanaparva chapters 84 and 95, the Agnipurāṇa chap. 114-116 and the Vāyupurāṇa chapters 105-112. He did not care to investigate all the other Purāṇas nor did it strike him that the explanation of three *padas* of Viṣṇu furnished by Aurṇavābha probably referred to spots around Gayā alone. Other Purāṇas such as Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 38. 2-21), Garuḍa I chapters 82-86, and the Nāradya (uttara chap. 44-47) contain much that concerns Gayā and all of them have many verses in common. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata (published by the B. O. R. I., Poona) reads 'sāvitrām padam' (chap. 82.81) for 'sāvitrīyāstu padam' of the Bombay edition. The reading of the critical edition is supported by numerous and ancient Mss. Further, the printed Padmapurāṇa (in Ādikhaṇḍa 38. 13) reads 'Sāvitrām padam' and thus lends support to the reading adopted in the critical edition. The words 'sāvitrām padam' may be taken to mean the foot-print of Viṣṇu (Savitrī). Dr. Barua goes very much further than the facts warrant when he says that there is no reference in the Vanaparva to any structural erection or iconic suggestion. It is clear that there must have been an image of Dharma, since the Vanaparva speaks of

1474. अश्मपृष्ठे गयायां च निरविन्दे च पर्वते । तृतीयां क्रौञ्चपदां च ब्रह्महत्यां विष्णुपदे ॥ अनुशासन 25. 42. नीलकण्ठ explains 'अश्मपृष्ठे पेतशिलायां एकां ब्रह्महत्यां त्रयोपां निरविन्दे सुखगन्धर्वाग्ने द्वितीयां ब्रह्महत्यां निरत्य क्रौञ्चपदीति सर्वेषां विष्णुपदा-दीनानुपलक्षणं तेषु तृतीयां ब्रह्महत्यां सकृदुपां गत एव विष्णुपदे प्रती भवति'.

the pilgrim to Gayā having to touch Dharma (Dharmam tatā-bhi-saṁsprēya). Besides, there is a reference to the footprints of a cow with a calf and to 'Sāvitra pada'. All these would surely be things that have an 'iconic suggestion'. Moreover, Dr. Barua forgets for the moment that, according to the Chinese traveller Fa Hien who visited India between 399-413 A. D., the Gayā of the Hindu faith was 'all emptiness and desolation' (vide Legge's translation p. 87). It is possible that Gayā might have suffered from earthquakes before 400 A. D. (as it is a region that is liable to severe earthquakes even in modern times) and therefore no structural erection of the ancient city of Gayā (to which ancient Pāli works and the Lalitavistara p. 311 refer) might have been left in Fa Hien's day. Gayā appears to have passed through several vicissitudes. Some centuries before the Christian era it was in existence and was a flourishing town. By 400 A. D. it had been reduced to desolation. But in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsaang notes that the Hindu Gayā was a town with 1000 brāhmaṇa families (vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II p. 113). Later on when Buddhism waned and vanished, Gayā came to comprehend even Buddhist remnants, since the Vāyupurāṇa speaks of Gayā as extending from Pretaśilā to Mahābodhi tree (a distance of about 13 miles, according to Mitra p. 19).

Dr. Barua has also misunderstood verse 12 of the inscription at Gayā edited by Dr. Kielhorn in I. A. vol. 16 p. 63 ff. The verse<sup>1475</sup> set out below may be translated as follows: That wise (prince Yaśapāla) caused to be constructed a temple for the images of Maunāditya and the other gods (mentioned in it), he dug up the famous Uttaramānasa lake and established a sattra (charity house for food) near the Akṣaya (vata). This inscription of the reign of Nayaṣāla was

1475. मौनदित्यसहस्रलिङ्गकमलार्घ्यद्वीपनारायणद्विसोमेश्वरकल्पाद्यभयजिज्ञासुद्विषाह-  
यानां कृती । स यासादमचीकरद् दिग्विदां केदारदेवस्य च ख्यातस्योत्तरामानसस्य  
जननं सर्वं तथा चाक्षये ॥ verse 12 of the inscription of prince (Narendra)  
यक्षपाल son of विश्वादित्य edited in I. A. 16 at p. 65. Kielhorn translated 'this  
wise (prince) caused to be built a temple of the inhabitants of heaven  
called Maunaditya...He likewise had the famous Uttaramānasa tank dug and  
established a sattra (hall of charity) to last forever'. Dr. Kielhorn is  
wrong in his translation 'to last forever.' Dr. Barua read सयासाद्व as one  
word and connects that one word with दिग्विदां (vol. I. p. 62n). One fails  
to understand how दिग्विदां (genitive plural) is to be construed with यासाद्व  
which according to Dr. Barua's construction is only part of a compound  
word.

engraved about 1040 A.D. Dr. Barua thought that Uttaramānasa was dug up at that time and therefore Uttaramānasa tank is taken to be not older than 1040 A. D. and that it and many of the sacred spots must have been later and the Gayā-māhātmya which speaks of Uttarmānasa must be much later than the 11th century A. D. But Dr. Barua is entirely mistaken in this. If a tank was dug up for the first time at the time of the inscription, it is impossible that it should have been called 'khyāta' (famous). The tank can become famous some centuries after it was dug. Uttarmānasa tank is mentioned as a sacred spot in Vāyupurāṇa 77. 108 (which verse is quoted about 1110 A. D. in the Kalpataru on tirtha at p. 168), Vāyu 82. 21, Agni 115. 10. Therefore Uttaramānasa tank was well known at least in the 8th or 9th century A. D. What the inscription means is either that the famous tank had silted up and so it was dug up or that it was made longer, broader and deeper in about 1040. That is all.

In my opinion the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyu, chap. 105-112), though possibly later than the main text of the Vāyupurāṇa, cannot be placed so late as the 13th or 14th century A. D. It is really a patch-work from many sources of earlier times such as the Vanaparva, Anuśāsanaparva, Padma I. 38, the Nāradiya (uttara) chap. 44-47. Several verses and half verses of it are repetitions (such as the half verse 'Gayāyām akṣayam śrāddham japahomatapāmsi ca' Vāyu 108. 35 and Vāyu 82.43 quoted as from Vāyu in Kalpataru on tirtha p. 167, and Vāyu 110. 29-30 are the same as Vāyu 105.37-38. So also Vāyu 82. 31-33 are the same as Vāyu 110. 51-53. Dr. Barua does not notice that in chap. 82 of the Vāyu (20-24) several sub-tirthas of Gayā are expressly mentioned viz. Brahmakuṇḍa, Prabhāsa, Pretapārvata, Uttaramānasa, Udici, Kanakhala, Dakṣināmānasa, Dharmāranya, Gadādhara, Mataṅga; so also chap. 77. 97-108 mention Gṛdhrakūṭa, hermitage of Bharata, Mataṅgapada, Muṇḍa-prṛṭha and Uttaramānasa. Many of the verses occurring in the Gayāmāhātmya are found quoted in the Smṛticandrikā <sup>1476</sup>

1476. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 346 for the date of the Smṛticandrikā.

The verses ब्रह्मकुण्डं...चतुर्विधा (vide note 1484) and ब्रह्महत्या...हिनस्वति (वायु. 105.13) are नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 44. 20 and 22; Vāyu 110. 63-64 are equal to नारदीय, उत्तर, 45. 64-66; Vāyu 110. 63-64 are the same as Nāradiya (uttara) 45.64-66; Vāyu 108.13-16 are the same as नारदीय (उत्तर) 45.2-4. Vāyu 110. 4-5 are the same as Vanaparva 82.9-10. गरुडपुराण (I.

(Continued on the next page)

(about 1150-1225 A. D.) on Śraddha and Āsaucha (without name) as briefly exemplified below. I think that the Gayāmāhātmya is to be assigned to some date between the 7th and 10th centuries A. D.

Having disposed of the question of the date of the Gayāmāhātmya and the references to the sacred spots in Gayā in Vanaparva chap. 84, it is necessary to see how Gayā is spoken of in the other parts of the Mahābhārata and the smṛtis. In the Vanaparva itself references to Gayā occur in chap. 87 and chap. 95. Vanaparva, chap. 87, starts by saying that going towards the east (from Kāmyaka-vana where the Pāṇḍavas dwelt for some time) the pilgrim would come to the Naimiṣa forest and the Gomati river. Thus it is said that in the east there is a holy hill called after Gayā and a holy pool called Brahmasaras; then comes a famous verse<sup>1477</sup> 'one should desire to have many sons if even

(Continued from the last page)

85. 2-22) contains most of the verses of Vāyu 110. 34-60. The notes below in this Gayā section will show that the Nāradiya and the Gayāmāhātmya contain scores of verses in common.

The स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (University of Mysore edition) on आशीच has towards the end a section on गयामाहात्म्ये, several verses of which occur in वायु. A few verses are cited by way of illustration. The first two verses (स्मृतिच. p. 194) though ascribed to आविपुराण are almost the same as वायु 110. 2-3; the verses योगचार... बभूव (in स्मृतिच. on आशीच p. 199) are almost the same as वायु. 111. 35 and 37; स्मृतिच. p. 197 the verse मकरे वर्तमाने तु is the same as वायु 105. 48 and स्मृतिच. p. 199 the verse वा सा वेतरणी नाम is वायु 105. 44.

The Tirtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati quotes many verses from the Gayāmāhātmya of the Vāyupurāṇa. Vācaspati's literary activity lies between 1450 to 1480 (or 1500 AD at the latest). He treats the Gayāmāhātmya as on the same level as the other purāṇas. This position could not have been attained by the Gayāmāhātmya in a century or two. Therefore it must be much earlier than 1300 AD. A few examples of the citations of the Gayāmāhātmya by Vācaspati may be indicated here. On pp. 285-286 the तीर्थचि. expressly quotes from the वायव्य verses 18, 19, 26 of वायु. 105; वायु. 110. 2-3 are quoted as from वायु. in तीर्थचि. p. 7; on pp. 280-283 numerous verses are quoted from वायुपुराण which are (with slight variations) the same as वायुपुराण 108. 13-23, 28-30; on pp. 284-285 from वायुपुराण are cited वायु. 110. 9-15 and 19-20, 56-59; तीर्थचि. pp. 288-293 quote from the वायुपुराण 110. 17, 21-24, 30-32, 34-55; तीर्थचि. pp. 298-301 quote वायु. 111. 1-22 (with additions and variant readings); similarly the वृक्षचिन्तोदय on वायु and त्रिपुलीशेष्ट quote about 300 verses from गयामाहात्म्य and the त्रिपुली. (pp. 356-359 &c.) several times refers to the explanations of verses from गयामाहात्म्य given by his predecessors. But space does not allow me to go into this subject at greater length.

1477. एतस्या बहवः दुष्टा परोक्षोपि भयां ब्रजेत् । वजेत वाय्वमेवेन नीलं वा  
वृक्षस्तुजेत् ॥ महानदी च तत्रैव तथा नयतिरे दुष्टः । वज्रास्ते कीर्त्यते विवेकस्त्वकारणो बहः ॥

(Continued on the next page)

one (of whom) goes to Gayā, or performs the Asvamedha sacrifice or lets loose a *nila* bull' (the pitrs may be gratified). Then Vanaparva chap. 87 goes on to refer to the holy river (mahā-nadi) Phalgu, the hill Gayāsiras, the Akṣayya Vata, where food offered to pitrs becomes inexhaustible. In Vanaparva 95 mention is made of Brahmasaras (where Agastya went to Dharmarāja i. e. Yama, verse 12), of Akṣayavata (v. 14) which is an imperishable place of worship and where the fruit (of offerings made) is inexhaustible; it further states that king Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas,<sup>1477a</sup> performed a sacrifice in which food and fees in plenty were distributed (verses 18-19). Vas. (XI. 42) states: when a man goes to Gayā and offers food his ancestors become delighted like agriculturists that rejoice when there is good rain and pitrs become (really) *putrin* (having a son) on account of such a son. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra, chapter 85,<sup>1478</sup> mentions by name about 55 holy places that are most proper for śrāddha among which those connected with Gayā are Gayāsīras, Akṣayavata, Phalgu, Uttaramānasa, Matangavāpi, Viṣṇupada, and winds up by quoting three verses as *gāthās* sung by pitrs. Yāj. I. 261 states that whatever a man gives while in Gayā leads to inexhaustible rewards. Atri-smṛti (55-58) refers to a son's going to Gayā for the benefit of the pitrs, to a bath in Phalgu and *tarpana* of pitrs in the river, to seeing Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) at Gayā and to Gayāsīrṣā. Śāṅkha (14. 27-28) refers<sup>1479</sup> to several tīrthas (one being Gayā) the offerings made at which

(Continued from the last page)

यत्र वृत्तं पितृभ्योऽन्नमक्षयं भवति प्रभो। सा च पुण्यजला तत्र फलपुनामा महानदी ॥ वनपर्व 87. 10-12; राजर्षिणा पुण्यकृता गयेनानुपमद्यते। नमो गयशिरो यत्र पुण्या चैव महानदी॥... अक्षियज्ञेन सहता यन्नाक्षयवदो महान्। अक्षये देवयजने अक्षयं यच्च वै फलम् ॥ वनपर्व 95. 9-14. The verse एहं यथा० occurs in numerous works such as the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85 (last verse), the मत्स्य. 22. 6, वायु. 105. 10, कूर्म. II. 35. 12, पद्म. I. 38. 17 and V. 11. 68, नारदीय (उत्तर 44. 5-6).

1477 a. It is to be noted that the Rāmāyaṇa I. 32.7 states that Dharmāranya was founded by Asūrtarayas (probably a variant of Amūrtarayas), a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.

1478. कुलेऽस्माकं स जन्तुः स्याद् यो न दद्याज्जलाजलीन् । नदीषु बहुतीयास्तु शीतलास्तु विशेषतः ॥ अपि जायेत सांस्माकं कुले कथिक्वरोत्तमः । गयाक्षिर्बं वदे जाह्नवं यो नः कुर्यात् समाहितः ॥ एहं यथा...स्थजेत् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 65-67. The verse अपि जायेत० is quoted in कल्पतरु ca तीर्थ p. 173.

1479. It is somewhat strange that Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddh' gayā' vol. I p. 66) read तीर्थं वामरकण्ठके in Śāṅkha and thought that Vāmarakaṇṭhaka was a holy place (instead separating as वा अमरकण्ठके).

become inexhaustible. The Likhita-Smṛti speaks<sup>1480</sup> of the importance of Gayā as follows: In whosoever name a piṇḍa is offered at Gayāśiras, whether for oneself or for another, that person, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven that man secures release (from *saṁsāra*). The Kūrmapurāṇa remarks that one should desire to have many sons so that if one out of them goes to Gayā on some other business and offers śrāddha, he thereby saves his piṭṛs and himself reaches the highest goal. The Matsyapurāṇa (22. 4-6) quoted by the Kalpataru (on tīrtha p. 163) speaks of Gayā as pitṛtīrtha and as the best among tīrthas where Brahmā himself dwells and also has the verse 'eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrāḥ'.

In the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyupurāṇa, chapters 105-112) there are about 560 verses. An attempt will be made here to give a brief summary of it and some of the important verses will be quoted. Chapter 105 is general and briefly indicates some of the main topics dealt with in the following chapters. It states that in Śvetavārāhakalpa Gaya performed a sacrifice and Gayā was named after him<sup>1481</sup>, that piṭṛs hanker after sons because the son that goes to Gayā saves the piṭṛs from hell<sup>1482</sup>. At Gayā a man should offer piṇḍas to his father and others and even to himself but without sesame; all the five mortal sins like brāhmaṇa-murder are removed by the performance of śrāddha at Gayā. A piṇḍa offered after uttering the name and gotra of the recipient by the son or any other person in Gayā leads that person to the imperishable *brahma*<sup>1483</sup>. Mokṣa is fourfold (i. e. results in four ways) viz. by knowledge of *brahma*, śrāddha at Gayā, death in (a fight for preventing) the seizure of cows and residence in Kurukṣetra and śrāddha at

1480. गयाशिरं तु यत्किञ्चिज्जाप्यं पिण्डं तु निवेद्य । नरकस्था विधं पाप्मि स्वर्गस्था मोक्षमाप्नुयुः ॥ आत्मनो वा परस्मादि गयाकूपे यत्स्ततः । यजाम्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं तं जयेद् ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् ॥ लिखितस्मृति verses 12-13; compare अग्नि 115. 46-47 शमीवृक्ष-प्रमाणेन पिण्डं दत्त्वा गयाशिरः । नरकस्थाः...माप्नुयुः ॥

1481. वायु. 105. 7-8, अग्नि. 114. 41 'नयेति चाकरोद्यानं ब्रह्म बभूवुस्त्रिणम् । गयादुरी तेन नाम्ना ॥' Both are quoted by त्रिरचली pp. 340-341.

1482. Here occurs the well-known verse एतव वा ब्रह्मः पुत्रः (वायु. 105. 10) q. in 2. 1477. A verse is quoted by the त्रिरचली p. 319 which defines what makes a son worthy of being so called: 'जीवतो वाच्यकरणात् ... विधिः पुत्रस्य पुत्रता ॥' (quoted above in note 832).

1483. आत्मजोऽप्यथो वापि गयादुरी वा वा । यजाम्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं तस्यैव ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् । नामगोत्रेऽस्तु चार्थं पिण्डपातननिवृत्ते । वायु. 105. 14-15; the half verse यजाम्ना ...शाश्वतम् is अग्नि 116. 29.

Gayā renders the others unnecessary <sup>1484</sup>. Śrāddha may be performed at Gayā at all times, even in an intercalary month, on the anniversary of one's birthday, or even when Jupiter and Venus are invisible or when Jupiter is in Leo. One should honour the brāhmanas (of Gayā) that were established there by Brahmā; when they are gratified all deities together with the pitrs are gratified. Tonsure <sup>1485</sup> and fast are to be observed at all tirthas except in Kurukṣetra, Viśālā, Virajā and Gayā. An ascetic <sup>1486</sup> (sannyāsin) should not offer pindas (at Gayā) but should merely exhibit (hold up) his staff and should put it down on Viṣṇupada. The (whole) Gayākṣetra is five krośas in extent and Gayāsiras is one krośa and all the tirthas of the three worlds are centered in these two <sup>1487</sup>. At Gayā one may offer (to pitrs) pindas by means of *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), boiled rice, barley flour, fruits and roots, the cake of sesame (after oil is extracted), sweetmeats or jag-gery with ghee or with curds alone or with invigorating honey. In a śrāddha at Gayā, the procedure consists in preparing <sup>1488</sup> a seat for the pindas, the offering of pindas, the sprinkling of water again (on the kuśa grass), giving fees and declaration of dinner (to brāhmanas); but there is no invocation of pitrs, no curtains for privacy and no blemish due to śrāddha being seen (by undesirable persons or animals). Those who desire to reap the full fruit of śrāddha performed at a tirtha (like Gayā) must give up passionate longings, anger and

1484. ब्रह्मज्ञानं गयाभाजं गोपहे मरणं तथा । वासः पुंसां कुक्षेत्रे मुक्तिरेवा चतुर्विधा ॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानेन किं कार्यं ... यदि पुत्रो गयां व्रजेत् ॥ गयायां सर्वकालेषु पिण्डं दद्याद्विचक्षणः । वायु. 105. 16-18; compare न कालादि गयातीर्थे दद्यात्पिण्डांश्च निरयशः । अग्नि. 115. 8. ब्रह्मज्ञानं...चतुर्विधा ॥—is also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.20. Both occur in अग्नि. 115. 3-4 and 5-6 (in reverse order) and the verse ब्रह्मज्ञानं occurs in वामनपुराण 33. 8.

1485. मुण्डनं चोपवासश्च ... विरजां गयाम् ॥ वायु. 105.25, q. in n. 1301 above where various readings also are noted.

1486. दण्डं प्रदक्षिणेद्भिर्धुर्या गत्वा न पिण्डदः । दण्डं न्यस्य विष्णुपदे पितृभिः सह हव्यते ॥ वायु. 105. 26 and नारदीय II. 45. 31 q. by ती. म. p. 390.

1487. पञ्चक्रोशं गयाक्षेत्रं कोशमेकं गयाशिरः । तन्मध्ये सर्वतीर्थानि त्रैलोक्ये यानि सन्ति वै । 105.29-30 and 106. 65 q. by त्रिरघली० p. 335, ती. म. p. 391; अग्नि. 115. 42 has the half verse पञ्चक्रोशं and also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.16. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tirthas as five krośas in extent.

1488. पिण्डासनं पिण्डदानं पुनः मत्स्यमेजनम् । दाक्षिणा चाजसङ्कल्पस्तीर्थभादेष्वयं विधिः ॥ नावाहनं न विष्णुधो न दोषो दृष्टिसम्भवः ।...अन्यत्रावाहिताः काले पितरो याम्ययुः प्रप्ति । तीर्थे सदा वसन्त्येते तस्मादावाहनं न हि ॥ 105. 37-39. The verses नावाहनं... दृष्टिसम्भवः, पिण्डासनं...विधिः are repeated in वायु. 110. 28-29.



avarice, observe celibacy, eat only one meal a day, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot), should speak the truth, should be pure and intent on the good of all beings. The famous river Vaitaraṇī has come down to Gayā; one taking a bath in it and donating a cow saves 21 generations in his family. One should go to the Akṣayavatā and gratify the (Gayā) brāhmaṇas. There is no spot in Gayā which is not a sacred place.<sup>1459</sup>

Chap. 106 narrates the story of Gayāsura. Gayāsura, a very powerful *asura* 125 *yojanas* in height and 60 *yojanas* in girth, performed severe austerities for thousands of years on the mountain called Kolāhala. The gods, anxious and tormented by his austerities, went to Brahmā for protection. Brahmā took them to Śiva who proposed to go to Viṣṇu. Brahmā, Śiva and the gods praised Viṣṇu, who appeared to them and said that they should, riding their respective conveyances, go to Gayāsura. Viṣṇu asked him why he practised severe austerities and said that the boon he would ask would be granted. He asked the boon that he should be purer than all the gods, sages, mantras, ascetics &c. The gods said 'let it be so' and left for heaven. All people who saw or touched Gayāsura's holy body went to heaven. The capital of Yama became deserted and so he went to Brahmā who took him to Viṣṇu who asked Brahmā to request Gayāsura to give his pure body for the purpose of a sacrifice. Gayāsura agreed and fell down on the earth towards the southwest with his head on the north on Kolāhala mountain and feet to the south. Brahmā collected materials and mind-born *ṛviks* (about 40 are named) and performed a sacrifice on the body of Gayāsura. That body, however, was not stable but moved and hence Brahmā asked Yama to place on Gayāsura's head a *śilā* (stone slab) that was in Yama's house. Yama did so; yet Gayāsura's body together with the *śilā* still moved. Brahmā asked Śiva and other gods to stand immoveable on the *śilā*. They did so and yet the body moved. Hence Brahmā went to Viṣṇu and requested him to make the body and *śilā* stable. Viṣṇu gave his own *mūrti* and though it was placed on the *śilā* it still moved. Then Viṣṇu sat on the *śilā* in three forms viz. Janārdana, Puṇḍarika and Ādi-Gaḍādhara, Brahmā in five forms (Prapitāmaha, Pitāmaha, Phalgviśa, Kedāra and Kanakeśvara), Vināyaka in the form of an elephant, the Sun in three forms, the Goddesses Lakṣmi (as Sītā), Gaurī (as Māṅgalā), Gayatrī

1459. गयामो न हि तत्स्थानं यत्र तीर्थं न विद्यते । वायु. 105. 46 = अग्नि. 116.28,

and Sarasvatī. As Gayāsura was made stable by the first Gadā (mace) wielded by Hari, therefore Hari was called *Ādigadādhara*.<sup>1490</sup> Gayāsura complained 'why am I deceived? I have given my pure body to Brahmā for the latter's sacrifice. Would I not have become stable at the mere word of Viṣṇu (why torment me with the mace?).' Then the gods asked him to choose a boon. He chose 'As long as the earth, mountains, the Sun, Moon and stars last, may Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and the other gods remain on the *śilā*! Let this sacred spot be known by my name. Let all tirthas be centered in the midst of Gayā which is five *krośas* in extent and in Gayāsiras which is one *krośa* and do good to people. May all the gods remain here in manifest forms (images &c.) and unmanifest forms (such as footprints &c.)! Those to whom *śrāddha* with *piṇḍas* is offered may go to the world of Brahmā and all grave sins like *brāhmaṇa*-murder be destroyed at once.' The gods said 'Let it be so.' Then Brahmā gave to the *brāhmaṇas* Gayā (with its extent of five *krośas*), 55 villages, well-furnished houses, desire-yielding cow and trees, a river flowing with milk, golden wells, heaps of food, but enjoined on them not to beg from any one else. But the *brāhmaṇas*, greedy as they were, performed a sacrifice for Dharma in *Dharmāranya* and begged him for fees. Then Brahmā came, cursed them and took away everything from them. When the *brāhmaṇas* bewailed that they had been deprived of everything and their livelihood should be provided for, Brahmā said that they would live on the charity of pilgrims to Gayā and those who would honour them would be honouring Brahmā.

Chap. 107 deals with the story of the *śilā*<sup>1491</sup> that was placed on the head of Gayāsura for making it stable. Dharma had a daughter called *Dharmavratā*. Dharma could not find a bridegroom worthy of her virtues and accomplishments and asked her to perform *tapas* for the purpose. She performed severe austerities (subsisting only on air) for ten thousand years. Marīci, one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā, once saw her and asked her to become his wife. *Dharmavratā* asked him to request her father Dharma. Marīci approached Dharma who

1490. वायु. 105. 60 mentions why Viṣṇu is called *आदिगदाधर* 'अद्यया गद्यया भीतो यस्मादेवैवः स्थिरीकृतः। स्थित इत्येव हरिणा तस्मादादिगदाधरः॥' q. by *विश्वली* p. 338. In वायु. 109. 13 also a similar derivation is given.

1491. The story of the *Śilā* is briefly narrated in the *Agnipurāṇa* also (chap. 114. 8-22), often using the very words that occur in the *Vāyupurāṇa*.

gave her in marriage to Marici, who took her to his hermitage and had one hundred sons from her. Once Marici being tired lay down for sleep and asked Dharmavratā to shampoo his feet. While she shampooed his feet Brahmā (her father-in-law) came there. She left off shampooing her husband's feet and got up to receive with honour her husband's father. In the meanwhile Marici awoke and not seeing his wife cursed her to be a śilā (stone slab) as she disobeyed his order by giving up the shampooing of his feet. She being innocent of any fault got angry and was about to curse Marici but said 'Mahādeva will curse you'. She, standing in the midst of Gārhapatya fire, performed *tapis* and Marici also did the same. The gods led by Indra got anxious as usual and went to Viṣṇu who asked her to choose a boon. She prayed that the curse pronounced by her husband be annulled. The gods said that Marici being a great sage the curse could not be annulled and asked her to choose some other boon. She said that she should be a śilā more holy than all rivers, sages and gods and that all tirthas should stand in the slab of stone, that those who would bathe in the tirthas on the śilā and offer pinḍas and śrāddha should be able to go to *brahmaloka*, that all holy rivers like the Ganges should always remain in her. The gods conceded what she prayed for and said that when she would become stable on the head of Gayāsura, they would all stand on the śilā.

Chap. 108 presents numerous divergences in the Mss. In the Ānandāsrama edition its contents briefly are: The śilā was placed on the head of Gayāsura and therefore there was union of two very holy objects, on which Brahmā performed Aśvamedha and when the gods came to receive their share of the sacrificial offerings the śilā said to Viṣṇu and others 'promise that you would remain on the śilā and would bring about the release of pitrs'. The gods agreed and they stayed on the śilā in the form of images and foot-prints. As the śilā was placed on the back of the head of the asura the hill was called Muṇḍaprsthā (lit. the back of the head) which gave Brahmāloka to pitrs. Then the chapter speaks of a hill called Prabhāsa, of Rāmatīrtha near the place where the great river (Phalgu) and Prabhāsa hill meet, the hermitage of Bharata, of Matangapada, of the *bali* to be offered to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the dogs of Yama, viz. Śyāma and Śabala, of the Udyantaka hill near the left of Śilā, of Agastya-kuṇḍa, and numerous other holy places such as Grdhrakūṭa hill, the her-

mitage of Cyavana, the river Punahpunā, Krauñca-pada, Janārdana on Bhasmakūṭa.

The story of Gayāsura has puzzled Mitra and subsequent writers. Mitra holds that nothing appears more absurd or stupid than the story of Gayāsura who, he emphasizes, is not a demon or a vicious monster, but a devout Vaiṣṇava ('Bodh-Gaya' pp. 15-16). The story of Gayāsura is not unique. The Purāṇas abound in stories that appear to modern minds absurd and puerile. Besides, there were several asuras like Prahlāda, Bāna (devotee of Śiva) and Bali (who was an exemplary and pious king and a worshipper of Viṣṇu) that were not monsters but good and devout persons, and yet fought with gods. For example, Kūrmapurāṇa (l. 16. 59-60 and 91-92) narrates that Prahlāda fought with Nṛsiṃha; the Padma (Bhūmikhaṇḍa 1.8) calls him a Mahābhāgavata but states that he first fought with Viṣṇu and entered Vaiṣṇavitānu; while Vāmanapurāṇa (chap. 7-8) speaks of his fight with Naranārāyaṇa. In Pali works (e. g. Aṅguttara-nikāya, part IV pp. 197-204) he is called Pahārāda and *asurinda* (asurendra). Vide Aṅguttara-nikāya (text) vol. IV p. 197. For Bali who was grandson of Prahlāda, a good king and a devotee of Viṣṇu, vide Brahma-purāṇa, chap. 73, Kūrma I. 17, Vāmana (chapters 77 and 92). For Bāna, son of Bali and the fight of Bāna helped by Śiva with Kṛṣṇa, vide Brahma chap. 205-206 and Viṣṇu-purāṇa V. 33. 37-38.

According to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra (in 'Bodh-Gaya' pp. 14. 18) the story of Gayāsura is an allegory of the vanquishing of Buddhism by Brahmanism. O' Malley thought (J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII part 3 p. 7 for 1904) that the Gayāsura legend represents an amalgamation or compromise of Brahmanism with the popular demonolatry which preceded Brahmanism. Dr. Barua criticizes both theories and appears to hold (vol. I. pp. 40-41) that the idea underlying the legend is to impress on people's minds the high sanctity of the Gayā range of hills along the western bank of the river Phalgu, that Gayā figures nowhere in Buddhism, that Gaya<sup>1492</sup> or Namuci or Vṛtra is represented as a demon of darkness and as an enemy of Indra and that the Vedic word Trivikrama and the interpretation of Aurnavābha are the nucleus of the legend of Gayāsura. From considerations of space it is not possible to discuss these

1492. It is not clear whence Dr. Barua derived his information that in the Veda Gaya is represented as a demon like Vṛtra. In the Rg. at least Gaya is not a demon like Vṛtra.

theories here. To my mind it appears that Gayā had become a famous *pīṭh* centuries before Christ and that the legend of Gayāsura is a *post facto* attempt to account for the sanctity of the place and the numerous shrines and holy places that had sprung up round Gayā.

Chap. 109 deals with the questions how Ādi-Gadādhara abided in manifest and unmanifest forms, how his *gadā* (mace) was produced and how the tirtha called Gadāloka became a destroyer of all sins. There was a powerful Asura called Gada, who, when Brahmā requested, gave up his bones to Brahmā. Viśvakarmā, at the desire of Brahmā, fashioned a wonderful mace out of the bones. In the times of Svāyambhuva Manu an Asura named Heti, son of Brahmā, performed severe austerities for thousands of divine years. He secured from Brahmā and other gods the boon that he could not be killed by gods, *daityas*, men or with such weapons as the discus of Kṛṣṇa and others. Heti conquered the gods and became Indra. The gods went to Hari and requested him to kill Heti. He asked for a powerful weapon and the gods gave him the mace manufactured from the bones of Gada and Viṣṇu killed Heti with the Gadā. This story about demon Heti is mentioned in Agni 114. 26-27 and Nāradiya (uttara) 47. 9-11. Hari is called Ādi-Gadādhara because<sup>1492a</sup> he was the first to wield that mace and stood on the *śilā* on the head of Gayāsura, supported by the Gadā, in order to make (the head of Gayāsura) stable. He shows himself in the form of hills viz. the Muṇḍapṛstha hill, the Prabhāsa and other hills. These and Akṣayavatā, Phalgu and other rivers are the non-manifest forms of Ādigadādhara. The Viṣṇupada, Rudrapada, Brahma-pada and other padas are the non-manifest and manifest forms of Gadādhara.<sup>1493</sup> The image of Gadādhara is purely a mani-

1492 a. Vide note 1490.

1493. The principal rivers, hills, padas are enumerated here in one place. Unless otherwise expressly mentioned the chapters and verses in this note refer to the वायुपुराण. The holy rivers are, कल्या often called महानदी (अग्नि. 115. 25), वृत्कुल्या, मधुकुल्या (these two, वायु 109. 17), मधुना (106. 75), अग्निशिरा (from उद्यन्त hill, 108. 59), कापिला (108. 58), वेतरणी (105. 44 and 109. 17), वेरिका (112. 30), आकाशगङ्गा (अग्नि. 116. 5). Some of these are mere streams. The sacred hills and peaks are; नपासिप (109. 36, अग्नि. 115. 26 and 44), मुण्डपृष्ठ (108. 12, 109. 14), वभास (108. 13 and 16, 109. 14), उद्यन्त (वनपर्व 84. 93, वायु 108. 59, 109. 13), वरमकुट (109. 15), जगदिन्दक (109. 15), मातकुट (111. 22, अग्नि 115. 25), धूमकुट (109. 15), वेतकुट (109. 15).

(Continued on the next page)

fest form. Asura Heti was killed by Viṣṇu and went to Viṣṇu-loka. When the body of Gayāsura was made stable Brahmā sang a hymn of praise to Viṣṇu who asked Brahmā to choose a boon. Brahmā said 'we (gods) shall not abide in the śilā without you, but shall remain therein together with you if you have a manifest form.' <sup>1494</sup> Viṣṇu said 'be it so' and Viṣṇu stood on Gayāśiras in the Adigadādhara form and as Janārdana and Puṇḍarikākṣa. Śiva also praised Viṣṇu (Vāyu 109. 43-50). The Vāyu speaks at several places of 'vyaktāvyakta' symbols of the deity (chap. 109. 20 and 43-45). What is meant is Viṣṇu is non-manifest in Phalgu, vyaktāvyakta in Viṣṇupada and manifest in images and statues (vide Tristhaḥṣetu p. 365, prati-māsvārūpi vyaktaḥ).

Chap. 110 deals with Gayāyātrā. To the east of Gayā is a great river (Phalgu). (If it is dry) one should dig a pit for water and take a bath, should perform *tarpana* and *śrāddha* according to one's own recension of the Veda, but without *arghya* (water for showing respect) and *āvāhana* (invoking). In the after-

(Continued from the last page)

आविपाल (109. 15), कौञ्जपाद (109. 16), रामशिला, मेतशिला (110. 15, 108. 67), नग (108. 28), ब्रह्मयोनि (नारदीय 11. 47. 54). The principal bathing places are: कल्हतीर्थ (111. 13, अग्नि. 115. 25-26 and 44), रामतीर्थ (108. 16-18), शिलातीर्थ (108. 2), गदाशैल (111. 75-76, अग्नि. 115. 69), वैतरणी (105. 44), ब्रह्मसरः (वनपर्व 84. 85, वायु 111. 30), ब्रह्मकुण्ड, (110. 8), उत्तरमानस (111. 2 and 22), दक्षिणमानस (111. 6 and 8), रुक्मिणीकुण्ड, मेतकुण्ड, निःक्षरा (निःक्षीरा) पुष्करिणी (108. 84), मतङ्गवायी (111. 24). The sacred sites are: पञ्चलोक, सप्तलोक, वैकुण्ठ, लोहवृण्डक (all four, in 109. 16), गोमन्थार (111. 35-37 where there were mango trees established by ब्रह्मा), धर्मारण्य (111. 23), ब्रह्मयूप (अग्नि. 115. 39 and वनपर्व 84. 86). The sacred trees are: अक्षयवट (वनपर्व 84. 83, 95. 14, वायु 105. 45, 111. 79-81, अग्नि 115. 70-73), आम्र near गोमन्थार (111. 35-37), यूधकूटवट (108. 63), महाशोधितवट (111. 26-27, अग्नि 115. 37). The verse about the mango tree is famous 'एको मुनिः कुम्भकुशामहस्त आम्रस्य मूले सलिलं दधानः। आम्रश्च सिकः पितरश्च वृत्ता एका क्रिया ह्यर्थकरी मसिद्धा॥' वायु. 111. 37, अग्नि. 115. 40, नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 7, पद्म, वृष्टिखण्ड 11. 77. There are several other तीर्थ, such as कल्हवीर्य, कल्हचण्डी, अङ्गारकेश्वर (all in अग्नि. 116. 29) which are not mentioned here.

The पद्म (stone slabs with foot prints thereon) are: वायु. 111. 46-58 mention 16 by name and refer to others generally. अग्नि. 115. 48-53 mentions at least 13. The पद्म mentioned by वायु are विष्णु, रुद्र, ब्रह्मा, कश्यप, दक्षिणाग्नि, शार्ङ्गस्य, आहवनीय, सप्य, आबसप्य, शक्र, अमरस्य, कौञ्ज, मातङ्ग, चर्ष, कातिकेय and गणेश. वायु. 111. 56 states that four out of these are most eminent viz. of कश्यप, विष्णु, रुद्र and ब्रह्मा. नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 27 states that विष्णुपद्म and रुद्रपद्म are superior, but ब्रह्मपद्म is superior to all.

<sup>1494</sup> Verses 2-3 and 4-5 of Vāyu 110 are quoted above in notes 1295 and 1264 respectively.

noon the pilgrim should go to the Pretasīlā, take a bath in the Brahmakupḍa, offer tarpaṇa to the gods and perform śrāddha of his sapinḍas on the Pretasīlā with the mantras set out in Vāyu (110. 10-12) and offer pinḍas to his ancestors. In Aṣṭakās, in Vṛddhisrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of death, one may offer a śrāddha separately to one's mother but on all other occasions with her husband.<sup>1495</sup> To the sapinḍas other than one's paternal ancestors he should offer śrāddha to the south (of the place where he offers to his father &c.) viz. should spread kuśas and once offer water mixed with sesame and should offer them a pinḍa made of barley flour and repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21-22). The pinḍas to be offered at Gayāsīras may be in size as<sup>1496</sup> big as one's closed hand, or an undried āmalaka (myrobalan) fruit or of the size of śaṃl leaves. By means of these he saves seven gotras viz. that of his father, of his mother, of his wife, sister, daughter, paternal aunt and maternal aunt. Water mixed with sesame and pinḍas are offered to all persons on the maternal grandfather's side, to all bandhus, to all infants, to persons cremated or not cremated, to persons that were killed by lightning or robbers or that committed suicide in various ways and to those who may be undergoing torments of Hells of various kinds and those who have become beasts or birds or insects or trees owing to evil deeds (Vāyu 110, verses 30-55). The verses of most comprehensive character about offering water have been cited in n. 1237 p. 550 and on pp. 616-617 above.

Chap. 111 deals with the order in which the several tīrthas are to be visited. The full pilgrimage lasts for seven days. In chap. 110 it has been stated as shown above that on entering Gayā, a pilgrim takes a bath in the P'halgu water, performs tarpaṇa and śrāddha, then on the same day he goes to the Pretasīlā (which is a part of the Sīlā as stated in Vāyu 108. 15) and performs a śrāddha there and offers pinḍas with boiled rice and ghee (Vāyu 110.15). On doing

1495. अष्टकासु च इहो च गयायां च सुतेहनि । मातुः आसं पृथक् कुप्यद्भ्यश्च पतिना सह ॥ वायु. ॥ 110. 17 q. in. तीर्थप्र. p. 389 (reads अष्टकासु), तीर्थप्र. p. 298.

1496. सुहिमाश्रममार्गं च आर्द्रामलकमात्रकम् । क्लीपवज्रमार्गं वा पिण्डं इष्या-  
त्पुष्पाक्षिरे ॥ उद्धरेत्सप्त गोत्राणि कुलानि सप्तहृद्धरेत् ॥ पितृमोहः स्वभार्यायां भगिण्यां पुत्रिद्वयस्य ।  
पितृव्यसुतापुत्र्यस्य सप्त गोत्राः यक्षीकृताः ॥ वायु. 110. 25-26. The विश्वली. p. 327  
explains 'अत्र मातृगोत्रं मातामहगोत्रम् । भार्यागोत्रं स्वहृद्गोत्रम् । भगिनीपुत्रिद्वयपितृव्यसु-  
मातृस्य सप्त गोत्राणि वस्तुले ता इत्यस्तद्वीर्यानि । एतेषामेव गोत्रायामेकोऽसं शतं कुलं  
लक्षणेन तत्तथाः पृथक् ॥'

this the persons for whom this is done become free from the position of *pretu*. It is stated (in Vāyu 108. 17-22) that one should bathe in the Rāmatīrtha which is near the place where Phalgu meets the Prabhāsa hill. By bath in Rāmatīrtha and offering of śrāddha and pinda there the persons for whom this is done become *pitr̥s* (being already free from *pretatva* by the śrāddha on *pretasīlā*). On a hill on the south of Pretasīlā one should offer a *balī* (food offered with kuśa, sesame and water) to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the two dogs Śyāma and Śabala. On the next day after entering Gayā (i. e. the 2nd day), the pilgrim should proceed to the Pretaparvata<sup>1497</sup> (Vāyu 110.8) and take a bath in the Brahmakuṇḍa and perform tarpana, śrāddha and giving of pindas mixed with sesame, ghee, curds and honey to his ancestors (father, grandfather &c.) with the mantras 'pitā pitāmahaścaiva' (Vāyu 110. 23-24). Then the pilgrim should offer on kuśas, water, sesame and pindas to persons related in various ways with the mantras 'asmat-kule mṛtā ye ca &c., (Vāyu 110. 34-55). He should then invoke the gods to be witnesses to the fact of his having come to Gayā and become free from the debt to the ancestors (Vāyu 110. 59-60). It is stated in Vāyu 110.61 that at all sacred spots in Gayā the offering of pindas should be done in the same way as at Pretaparvata<sup>1498</sup>.

On the third day of entering Gaya one has to perform Pūñcatīrthī rites<sup>1499</sup> (Vāyu 111. 1 ff.). The pilgrim first bathes in Uttaramānasa, offers tarpana to gods, gives water and śrāddha and pindas to his ancestors with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21-24). The fruit of this rite is the inexhaustible gratification of the *pitr̥s*. Then the pilgrim goes to the three tīrthas which constitute Dakṣiṇamānasa, viz. Udicitīrtha (on the north), Kanakhala (in the middle) and Dakṣiṇamānasa

1497. On प्लेपर्वत and ब्रह्मकुण्ड, the त्रिस्थली० p. 355 remarks 'प्लेपर्वतो गयावायव्यदिशि गयातो गव्यव्यधिकद्वरस्थः। ब्रह्मकुण्डे प्लेपर्वतमूल ईशानभावे।'.

1498. सर्वस्थानेषु चैवं दद्यात्पिण्डदानं तु नारदः। प्लेपर्वतमारभ्य कुर्यात्तीर्थेषु च क्रमात् ॥ बापु. 110. 61.

1499. The five तीर्थs are उत्तरमानस, उदीचीतीर्थ, कनखल, दक्षिणमानस and मल्ल. The त्रिस्थली० says (p. 360) that one has not to take a bath in each of these i. e. there are not five baths on this day. Phalgutīrtha is the same as Gayāśīras and is defined in बापु 111. 22 'नामकृदावृद्धकृदाधूपाहुत्तरमानसात् ।

एतद्व्याप्तिरः शोकं कल्युतीर्थं तदुच्यते ॥. The अग्निपु. (115. 25-26) differs 'नामा-ज्जनार्वाक्यादृष्टाञ्जोत्तरमानसात् । एत ... च्यते ॥. गुरु. I. 83. 4 is 'नामाज्जनां ... तदुच्यते ॥. The त्रिस्थली० p. 359 reads मुण्डपुष्टाज्जनाधस्ताकल्युतीर्थमनुत्तमम् ।.



(on the south). At each of these three there is a śrāddha. Then the pilgrim goes to the Phalgutīrtha, which is the best of all (Gayā) tīrthas. The pilgrim performs tarpaṇa and śrāddha with pinḍas on Phalgu. This śrāddha at Phalgu results in *mukti* for the performer and also for those for whose benefit it is performed (*muktir-bhavati kartṛṇām pitṛṇām śrāddhataḥ sadā*, Vāyu 110. 13). It is stated that Phalgu is Ādi-Gadādhara himself in a fluid form.<sup>1500</sup> By bath in Phalgu and seeing Gadādhara a man saves himself, ten ancestors and ten descendants. Then he worships Gadādhara by a bath with *pañcāmṛta* after bowing<sup>1500a</sup> to Vāsudeva, Saṅkaraṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Viṣṇu, Śrīdhara. On the 2nd day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. 4th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should repair to Dharmāranya which is so-called because Dharma performed a sacrifice there. Then the pilgrim should bathe in the Matāṅgavāpi (which is situated in Dharmāranya), then he should perform *tarpaṇa*, *śrāddha* and *pinḍadāna* at the well called Brahmatīrtha and also in the space between Brahma-tīrtha and Brahmayūpa; then bow to Brahmā and Dharmasvara.<sup>1501</sup> He should bow to the Mahābodhi tree (i. e. the sacred *pippala*) and perform śrāddha also underneath it. Agni 115. 34-37 and Nāradiya (uttara) 45. 104 refer to these tīrthas. On the third day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. on 5th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should bathe in Brahmasaras and perform śrāddha with pinḍas between the Brahmakūpa and the Yūpa (sacrificial post) raised by Brahmā when he performed a sacrifice. By this śrāddha the pilgrim saves his piṭṛs.<sup>1502</sup> He should go round the Brahma-yūpa and bow

1500. गङ्गापादोदकं विष्णोः कस्तुर्यादिगङ्गाधरः। स्वयं हि द्रवरूपेण तस्माद्गङ्गायिकं विदुः॥ वायु. 111. 16.

1500 a. Pañcāmṛta consists of milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar. With these the image of Gadādhara is to be bathed. Vide नारद (उत्तर) 43. 53 'पञ्चामृतेन च स्नानमर्चायां तु विज्ञिष्यते.'

1501. Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' vol. I. p. 22 note) holds that Dharma and Dharmasvara refer to Buddha, while O'Malley (in J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII for 1904 part 3, p. 5) takes Dharma to mean Yama. I am inclined to agree with O'Malley. Padma, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 11. 73, states that there are three aranyas for pinḍadāna viz. Puṣkarāranya, Naimiṣāranya and Dharmāranya.

1502. It may be noted that the three verses (Vāyu 111. 27-29) addressed to महाबोधितरु do not occur in जित्यली० p. 361, which gives two other verses instead viz. अलङ्कृतं हृदयं सर्वदा अलविष्यते। बोधितत्वाच्च वज्राय अश्वत्थाय नमो नमः॥ एकादशोत्ति वज्राणां बहुनामहमस्तथा। नारायणोत्ति देवानां वृक्षराजोत्ति पिप्लव॥. The जित्यली० remarks that in some mss. even these two are not to be found.

to Brahmā. There are mango trees near Gopracāra established by Brahmā. By watering a mango with water from the Brahmasaras the pitrs attain *mokṣa*. Here follows the verse ('eko munih' &c.) quoted above (n. 1493). Then a *bali* should be offered to Yama and Dharmarāja, then to the two dogs of Yama, then he should offer a *bali* to crows and then bathe (in Brahmasaras). This is briefly a summary of Vāyu 111. 30-40. Some of these details are mentioned by Agni 115. 34-40 and Nāradya (uttara) 46. Then on the 4th day of the Pañcatīrthi rites (i. e. 6th day from entrance into Gayā) the pilgrim should take an ordinary bath in the Phalgu and should then perform śrāddhas at the several *padas* on Gayāsīras which is near Phalgutīrtha. Gayāsīras extends from Krauñcapāda up to Phalgutīrtha. Śrāddha offered here (on Gayāsīras) becomes inexhaustible.<sup>1503</sup> Here Ādi-Gadādhara abides in the form of Viṣṇupada. By performing a śrāddha with piṇḍas on Viṣṇupada (which is a footprint on a slab deemed to be of Viṣṇu) the pilgrim saves one thousand families and takes them and himself to the blissful, inexhaustible and never-ending world of Viṣṇu. Then Vāyu 111. 47-56 deal with the rewards of śrāddhas performed at Rudrapada, Brahmapada and 14 other *padas* expressly named by it.<sup>1504</sup> 'For whomsoever by name a pilgrim offers a piṇḍa on Gayāsīras, that man, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven he secures *mokṣa*.'

On the 5th day of the Pañcatīrthi rites (i. e. the 7th day from entering Gayā), the pilgrim should bathe in the sacred place called Gadāloa.<sup>1505</sup> By performing śrāddha with piṇḍas at Gadāloa he takes his pitrs and himself to the world of Brahmā. Then at the Akṣayavaṭa he should perform a śrāddha

1503. कौञ्जपादोऽस्म्यतीर्थं यावत्साक्षाद्गयाशिरः । वायु. 111. 44. कौञ्जपाद is the hill कुण्डवृत्त as stated in वायु. 108. 75 'कौञ्जखण्डे हि मुनिमुण्डवृष्टे तपोऽकरोत् । तस्य पादाङ्कितो यस्मात्कौञ्जपादवस्ततः स्मृतः ॥'

1504. The विष्णुपदी p. 366 remarks that there is no separate śrāddha on Gayāsīras apart from the śrāddhas on Viṣṇupada and the other *padas*. गयाशिरसि यः पिण्डान्येवं नाम्ना तु निर्वपेत् । नरकरथा दिवं याति स्वर्गस्था मोक्षमाप्नुः ॥ वायु. 111. 73. Agni. 115. 47 has the latter half. Gayāsīras is the centre of Gayā and the most holy spot in it.

1505. This tīrtha was so called because Ādi-Gadādhara washed his mace in the water there after smashing the head of demon Heti with it. हेत्यसुरस्य वन्धीर्षं गदया तद् द्विधा कुतश्च । ततः प्रक्षालिता यस्मात्तीर्थं तच्च विष्णुपदे । गदालोलमिति कथारं सर्वेबाहुसमोत्तमम् । वायु 111. 75. गदालोल is in the stream of the river Phalgu.

and honour the (Gayā) brāhmanas established by Brahmā with offerings and food. When they are gratified gods together with pitrs become gratified.<sup>1506</sup> Then the pilgrim should bow to the Akṣayavata and worship it with a mantra and also bow to worship Prapitāmaha. Agni 115. 69-73 and Nāradya (uttara) chap. 47 also refer to these.

The Tristhaliṣetu (p. 368) remarks that the above are the fixed rites for seven days in Gayā, that other tirthas may be visited according to one's convenience if one stays in Gayā for half a month or a month; that the śrāddha at the Pretaśilā is to be the first and that at the Akṣayavata is to be performed at the end,<sup>1507</sup> and that although there is variation between the order in which tirthas are to be visited on the several days according to the Vāyupurāṇa, the Agnipurāṇa and other purāṇas, yet as the Vāyupurāṇa is most detailed as regards Gayā rites, the order therein should be followed and that one not knowing the order may visit the tirthas in any order<sup>1508</sup> except Pretaśilā and Akṣayavata. Gayāyātrā, chapter 112 of the Vāyupurāṇa, refers to king Gaya who performed a *yajña* and who got two boons, one about the restoration of the Gayā brāhmanas to favour and the other that Gayāpuri be named after him and who then went to Viṣṇuloka. Then it narrates the story of king Viśālā (verses 7-15) who being sonless performed pindadāna on Gayāśrīṣa and thereby saved his three ancestors, got a son and also himself went to heaven. Then another story is told (verses 16-20) of a deceased person, who was in the condition of a *preta*, offering one-sixth of his property to a trader and asking him to perform Gayāśrāddha with the rest of his wealth and who on account of śrāddha at Gayā became free from the condition of *preta*.<sup>1509</sup> Then verses 20-60 mention several other tirthas of Gayā such as Gayātrī-tirtha, Prāci-sarāvatī-tirtha, Viśālā, Leliḥāna, the

1506. Compare 'ये पुष्पाभूजयिष्यन्ति मयायामागता नराः । इत्यकाव्येर्धनेः आर्द्धे-  
स्तेषां कुलसप्तं ब्रजेत् । नरकात्स्वर्गलोकाय स्वर्गलोकात्परां गतिम् ।' अग्नि. 114. 39-40.

1507. संसारदुःखमन्त्रायामोक्षपापक्षयाय च । अक्षयवतद्वाचे च नमोक्षयवदाय वै ॥  
कलौ माहेश्वरा लोका येन तस्माद्गदाधरः । लिङ्गकवोऽभयसं च वन्दे जीमयितामहम् ॥ वायु 111.  
83-84; आर्द्धं वदन्ते कुर्याद् ब्राह्मणानां च भोजनम् । एकस्मिन् भोजिते विमे कोविर्भवति  
भोजिता । किं पुनर्बहुभिर्भुक्तेः पितॄणां दक्षमक्षयम् ।... वदं वदेश्वरं गत्वा दूजयेत् प्रयितामहम् ।  
अग्नि. 115. 71-73.

1508. ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि मयायात्रा महाकला । अग्नि. 115. 74 q. by त्रिस्तली-  
p. 368.

1509. Both the stories occur in अग्निपुराण 115. 54-63, नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.  
26-50, मद्ग. 1. 84. 34-43, and the first about king विजाल in वराहपुराण 7.12B.

hermitage of Bharata, Mundapṛstha, Akāśagaṅgā, Vaitaraṇī and other rivers and sacred places. It winds up by saying that six Gayās confer *mukti* (by worship and piṇḍadāna at them) viz. Gayāgaja, Gayāditya, Gayātrī (tirtha), Gadādhara, Gayā and Gayāsīras.<sup>1509a</sup>

The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 116. 1-34) has a long list of tirthas at Gayā that is quoted by the Tristhaḥsetu pp. 376-378, which are passed over here.

Though the number of tirthas at Gayā is very large, the majority of pilgrims do not visit them all. Visits to three places are absolutely necessary for every pilgrim to Gayā, viz. Phalgu river, Viṣṇupada and Akṣayaṇḍī, at all of which worship has to be done with milk, water, flowers, sandalwood paste, *tāmbūla*, lighted lamp and piṇḍas to ancestors have to be offered. The Viṣṇupada temple is built over the footprint of Viṣṇu on the rock to the west of the river Phalgu. The old town of Gayā was built round Viṣṇupada and it is the largest and most important temple in Gayā. The footprint (about 16 inches in length) deemed to be God Viṣṇu's is inside an octagonal basin plated with silver. Pilgrims of all castes (except untouchables) surround the basin and cast their offerings inside the basin, though for a substantial payment the priests clear out all people, shut the door for a minute or two and allow a very orthodox or a rich person to make his offerings without being disturbed by anyone else. There are 45 *vedis* (or sacred places) at which the leisured pilgrim may offer piṇḍas in the Gayākṣetra which extends from about five miles to the north-west of Old Gayā town to about 7 miles south of it. Though the ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien and Hiouen Tsaang make a distinction between Gayā and Uruvilvā or Uruvelā where Buddha attained Enlightenment after six years of severe *tapas*, the Bodhi tree (Mahābodhitaru) was recognized by the Gayāmāhātmya as one of the sacred places which Hindu pilgrims should visit and is so regarded even now. When the Hindus appropriated Buddhist sacred places to themselves it is difficult to say. The Bodhi tree is the oldest historical tree in the world. A branch of it is said to have been transplanted to Ceylon in the times of the great Emperor Aśoka (about 250 B.C.)

1509 a. नयानजो नयानिहो नयानी न नयानरः । नया नयानिरथैव बहू नया मुक्ति-  
दायिकाः ॥ वायु 112. 60 q. by सीर्यणि, p. 328 (reads बहूनां नयानिरथैव, त्रिस्थली  
p. 372. This occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 39-40. नयानजः—probably refers to  
the pillar with the figure of an elephant near the Gadādhara temple at Gayā.

and at Kandy in Ceylon a *pippala* tree is even now shown as that transplanted tree or the successor of that branch. The Gayāśīrṣa<sup>1510</sup> is a set of rocky hills such as Gayāśīrṣa, Muṇḍa-prṣṭha, Prabhāsa, Grdhrakūṭa, Nāgakūṭa, ranging over one krośa (about two miles).

It has been already stated above (p. 666) that the rites at the Aksayavata are the last in the pilgrimage to Gayā. The Gayāwal priest binds the thumbs or hands of the pilgrim with a garland of flowers and receives his fees. He gives sweetmeats to the pilgrim as *prasāda*, applies *tilaka* to the pilgrim's forehead, touches the pilgrim on his back, pronounces the word '*suphala*' (the pilgrimage has been fruitful or successful), declares that the pilgrim's ancestors have gone to heaven and blesses the pilgrim. It must be noted that there is a special class of priests called Dhāmin, who alone (and not the ordinary Gayāwals) have the right of officiating at five *vedis* viz. at Pretaśīlā, Rāmaśīlā, Rāmakuṇḍa, Brahmakuṇḍa and Kakabali, that are situated on or about the two hills Rāmaśīlā and Pretaśīlā (vide Bengal District Gazetteers, vol. 12 for Gayā p. 66). They are regarded as inferior in status to the regular Gayāwals.

One important question on which there is great divergence of views among the medieval digests is about the ancestors to whom śrāddha is to be offered at Gayā. In the Vāyu and other Purāṇas it is frequently said that he who performs śrāddha at Gayā becomes free from the debt due to the pitrs<sup>1511</sup> or that what is offered to the pitrs at Gayā, Dharmaprṣṭha, Brahma-saras, or on the Gayāśīrṣa and under the imperishable Vata tree becomes inexhaustible. In most of these passages the plural of the word 'pitṛ' is used. Therefore it follows that śrāddha is to be offered in Gayā to three paternal ancestors. And on account of a verse attributed to Gautama,<sup>1512</sup> the three male maternal ancestors also are to be offered śrāddha. The difference arises with

1510. Gayāśīras and Gayā were according to Buddhist works well-known places in Buddha's days. Vide the Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 13 p. 134) cited above (on p. 646) and Aṅguttara Nikāya (text) vol. IV, p. 302 'एकं समयं भगवा नयायां विहरति गयासीसे'.

1511. मातृकुण्डो गयासीसे पितृणामवृणो हि सः वायु 105. 30; vide also वायु 108. 60 and 90, 109. 41; 'गयायां धर्मवृष्टे च सरसि ब्रह्मणस्तथा। गयासीसे च ये चैव पितृणां वृणमवृणयन् ॥' मरवीय (उत्तर) 44. 54, मरवीय I. 83 42-43. This last is ascribed to बृहस्पति by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 167.

1512. पितरो यत्र पूज्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा अपि। अविकेषेण कर्तव्यं विशेषाकारकं ब्रजेत् ॥ इति गौतमोक्तः। विरचनी p. 349, quoted also in स्मृत्यपर्यमार p. 56.

reference to the wives of these six male paternal and maternal ancestors. The Agnipurāṇa proposes an option (115. 10) that the *devatās* in Gayāśrāddha are nine or twelve. When they are to be nine, the śrāddha is for three paternal ancestors, three male ancestors of the mother and the wives of the latter three male ancestors, while there is a separate śrāddha for the mother, paternal grand-mother and paternal great-grandmother. If there are to be twelve *devatās* in Gayāśrāddha, then all the wives of the paternal ancestors and of maternal ancestors would be included in one śrāddha. Apararka allowed an option (as in Agni) in Gayā-śrāddha.<sup>1513</sup> According to the Smṛtyarthasāra<sup>1514</sup> and Hemādri the Anvaṣṭakā-śrāddha and Gayāśrāddha for the paternal ancestors and that for the wives of these (i. e. mother, paternal grandmother &c.) must always be separate, but the śrāddha for the mother's paternal ancestors and their wives should be one (and therefore the *devatās* will be nine). Yama (verse 80) appears to hold that the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother are always to be associated with their respective husbands in śrāddha. Some held that the *devatās* of Gayāśrāddha were only six viz. the three male paternal ancestors and three male maternal ancestors.<sup>1515</sup> The Tri. S. ultimately remarks that the usage of the country should be the deciding principle. The Prajāpati-smṛti (183-184) has some rather contradictory views as to when there would be 12 or 9 or 6 *devatās* in a śrāddha. When there are twelve *devatās*, the *saṅkalpa* at the Pretasīlā-śrāddha which is the model of all the śrāddhas at the other sacred spots in Gayā (with suitable modifications) will be as noted below.<sup>1516</sup>

It should be noted that there are certain special characteristics of Gayāśrāddha. There is no tonsure (Vāyu 83. 18

1513. तत्तत्त्वार्थकादित्रये स्त्रीणां आहुं पृथगेव । गयामहालयादौ तु पृथक् सह वा भर्तृभिरिति सिद्धम् । अपरार्क p. 432; गण्ड I. 84. 24 is 'आहुं तु नवदेवस्यं कुर्याद् द्वावहा-  
देवतम् । अण्वहकाहु वृद्धौ च गणायां सुतवासरे ॥ '

1514. तत्र मातृआहुं पृथक् प्रकृतम् । मातामहानां सपरकीकमेव । रसुर्यधसार  
pp. 59-60; vide त्रिस्थली p. 349 for the view of हेमाद्रि.

1515. अत्र केचित्पितृवर्गमातामहवर्गस्यतया बहुदेवस्यमेवेत्याहुः ।... अत्र सर्वत्र मूल-  
बन्धानि देशाचारतश्च व्यवस्थेति सामान्यविधायोक्तम् । त्रिस्थली p. 349. रघुनन्दन in  
his तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व notes that this is the Mōh view.

1516. ओम् । अद्याहुकगोत्राणां पितृपितामहप्रपितामहानामसुकासुकदेववर्गनाम्,  
असुकगोत्राणां मातृ-पितामही-प्रपितामहीनामसुकासुकदेववर्गनाम्, असुकगोत्राणां मातामह-  
प्रमातामह-वृद्धप्रमातामहानामसुकासुकदेववर्गनाम्, असुकगोत्राणां मातामही-प्रमातामही-वृद्ध-  
प्रमातामहीनामसुकासुकदेववर्गनाम् । त्रिस्थली p. 349. रघुनन्दन in his तीर्थयात्रा-  
p. 287. These twelve are specified in गण्डपुराण I. 84. 43-47.

and note 1485 above). One must honour the Gayāwals alone, and not other brāhmaṇas, however learned they may be; one should not consider the family or character or learning of Gayā brāhmaṇas (vide p. 579 above and note 1313). But it has to be remembered that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa<sup>1517</sup> did not accept this for all śrāddhas t Gayā, but only as to the śrāddha under the Akṣaya-vata, since the Vāyu (111. 79-80) again refers under Akṣaya-vata to the worship of Gayā brāhmaṇas and since following the maxim of 'caturdhakarapa' laid down in Jai. III. 1. 26-27 the later specific provision narrows down the wide words used in the earlier passage. At Gayā one could offer piṇḍa to oneself but without sesame.<sup>1518</sup> The Tri. S. (p. 350) observes (relying on Vāyu) that when a man offers a piṇḍa to himself, it should be in the hands of the image of Janārdana on Bhaṣmakūṭa<sup>1519</sup> and that the pilgrim to Gayā can offer a piṇḍa to himself only when it is certain that he has no son or other *adhikārin* for offering śrāddha. Further, any one related or unrelated, could offer a piṇḍa<sup>1520</sup> to anybody, as laid down in Vāyu 'Whether it is one's own son or the son of another (who offers), in whosoever name a piṇḍa is let fall at Gayā, that man attains everlasting *Brahma*. It is desired that anyone may offer a piṇḍa to anybody after uttering that person's name and gotra and the latter reaches the highest goal.'

There are several works, printed and in mss., that deal with the procedure of Gayāśrāddha. There is the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Vācaspati printed at the Chandraprabha press, Benares city, the Tirtha-yātra-tattva of Raghunandana (which contains a Gayā-

1517. गयायां तु निर्गुणा अयि तत्रत्या एव द्विजा भोग्या इति तु हेमाद्रिः । वयं तु बह्व-  
प्रकल्पितान् विद्याभोजयेत्पूजयेदथ इत्यक्षयवदप्रकरणे पुनः अवनाञ्चतुर्धाकरणोपसंहारस्याये-  
नाक्षयवदभाज्यनियमो न गयाभाज्यमात्रे । एवं च पिण्डाकारोऽप्यनुष्ठायत इति । त्रिस्थली०  
p. 352.

1518. आत्मनस्तु महाकुले गयायां तु तिलैर्विना । पिण्डनिर्घणं कुर्वात्तथा आम्बत्र  
कीर्ज्याः ॥ वायु. 83. 34 q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 350 from स्मृतिरत्नावली; vide also वायु.  
105. 12 and अग्नि 115. 68 'पिण्डो देयस्तु सर्वैः सर्वैर्बहुतरारकैः । आत्मनस्तु तथा  
देयो ह्यक्षयं लोकमिच्छता ॥'

1519. जनार्दनो भस्मकूटे तस्य इस्ते तु पिण्डवः । आत्मनोऽप्यववायेषां क्षयेनापि  
तिलैर्विना ॥ जीवतां द्विसंमिश्रं सर्वं स पिण्डलोकायाः ॥ वायु. 108. 83; vide  
मन्वधुराण 'जनार्दनस्य इस्ते तु पिण्डं दद्यात्सर्वं नरः । एष पिण्डो मया दत्तो त्व इस्ते  
जनार्दन । परलोकस्ततो मममहाव्यस्तुपतिष्ठताम् ॥'; compare नारद (उत्तर) 47. 62-65 for  
very similar version.

1520. आत्मनोऽप्यप्यजी कापि गयायुमी यदा तदा । यस्मान्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं स नयेद्  
ब्रह्म क्षान्दसम् ॥ आत्मनोऽपि सतुर्ध्वं पिण्डप्राप्तमिच्छते । येन केनापि कस्मैचित् पाति परमां  
शक्तिम् ॥ वायु. 105. 14-15. Vide also वायु. 83. 38.

paddhati) published in Bengali characters. Then I consulted two mss. viz. the Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati of Raghunātha son of Mādhava (D. C. ms. No. 93 of 1891-95) and the Gayāśrāddha-vidhi of Vācaspati (D. C. No. 245 of 1887-91). The procedure in the Tirthayātrā-tattva of Raghunandana is set out here briefly without actually citing in full the Vāyupurāṇa passages which it quotes profusely. Raghunandana appears to follow the Tirtha-cintāmaṇi closely as some of the notes will show. After the pilgrim enters Gayā he should first make an appropriate saṅkalpa<sup>1521</sup> for a bath in Phalgu, take the clay from the river, apply it to his body and bathe. Then he should perform *tarpana*<sup>1522</sup> to the twelve male and female ancestors (specified in note 1516 above). Then he should declare a saṅkalpa that he would perform Gayāśrāddha with the words 'Om | adyetyādi Gayātirtha-prāpti-nimittaka-śrāddhamaham karisyē'. Then he should perform a *pūrvaṇa-śrāddha* (described above pp. 485-505) excepting the *āvāhana* and *arghya* rites. If the pilgrim be unable to perform all the details of śrāddha, he may offer only piṇḍas. Then on the same day he should go to the Pretaśilā which adjoins the west bank of the river Phalgu and is to the north of Gayā and perform śrāddha there as follows: he should perform the purification of the ground, sit down on it, perform *ācamana*, face the south, wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, recite the verses (Vāyu 110. 10-12 'Kavyavālo...śrāddhenānena śāśvatim'), contemplate on his pitṛs, perform *prāṇāyāma*, sprinkle water on the materials for śrāddha after remembering Pundarikākṣa (Viṣṇu), make the saṅkalpa (set out in note 1516). He should go through the whole procedure of śrāddha up to the payment of dakṣiṇā to brāhmanas. After this he should sit to the south of the altar (where he performed the śrāddha), should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, face the south, place on the ground three kuśas and after reciting the *mantra* (Vāyu 110. 10-12) should make an invocation once in the form of offering an *añjali* of water mixed with sesame, then honour the father with *pādya* (water for washing the feet), recite the two verses

1521. ओम् । अद्येत्यादि अश्वमेधसहस्रजन्यफलविलक्षणफलप्राप्तिकामः फलसुतीर्थे हनानमहं करिष्ये । This is the सङ्कल्प in तीर्थचि. p. 286 and तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 2.

1522. रघुनन्दन sets out the formulas of *tarpana* for Sāmavedins and Yajurvedins 'तत्रामुकगोत्रोऽस्मात्पिता अमुकदेवशर्मा तुष्यतामिदं तीर्थोदके तस्मै स्वधा पितरं प्रीणयामीति सामगः । यजुर्वेदोक्तम् । ओम् अमुकगोत्रपितरमुकदेवशर्मास्तुष्यस्वैतस्मै तीर्थोदके स्वधा पितरं प्रीणयामि । तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 3. The first is set out by तीर्थचि. p. 286 also.



( Vāyu 110. 20-21 'a brahma...tilodakam' with *om* prefixed ), perform invocation as before of the father and others with water in folded hands and should offer a piṇḍa to his father of *pāyasa* or other material mixed with sesame, water and honey with the words 'Om, adya amuka-gotra pitar-amukadevaśārman, eṣa te piṇḍaḥ svadhā'. In this way he should offer piṇḍa to the remaining eleven devatās, viz. paternal grandfather and others (or eight or five according to usage). He should donate a fee according to his means. Then he should sit to the south of the place he so far occupied, spread on the ground kuśas having roots but with tips turned to the south, should repeat the mantras ( Vāyu 110. 10-12 ), perform on those kuśas once an invocation in the form of an añjali of water mixed with sesame, repeat the two verses ( Vāyu 110. 22-23 'Pitā pitāmaha...mupatiṣṭhatām' with *om* prefixed <sup>1522a</sup> ) and should offer one piṇḍa made of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, ghee, curds, water and honey to all the twelve devatās (ancestors) together. Then follows what is called *Ṣoḍaśikarma*, which is as follows: Nineteen spots for piṇḍas should be made (each to the south of the preceding) and should be smeared with *pañcagavya* one after another; then he should spread over each kuśas with their tips to the south, should invoke on the kuśas the persons intended with the mantras ( Vāyu 110. 30-32 'asmat-kule mṛtā.....tilodakaiḥ' ), should worship them by offering sandalwood paste and the rest, (and if he is performing the rite of *ṣoḍaśi* on a spot sacred to a specific deity then worship that deity also with an appropriate mantra), should then offer once as before an añjali of water mixed with sesame and offer piṇḍas beginning from the first spot, each piṇḍa being offered after reciting each of the 19 mantras ( Vāyu 110. 34-55, omitting 110.44 'asipatra o', 110. 46 'anekayātana-samsthāḥ ye nitā o', and treating 52-53 as one mantra and 54-55 as one mantra)<sup>1522b</sup>. He should offer 19 piṇḍas

1522 a. It should be noted that *om* is to be recited before each verse intended as mantra here and below.

1522 b. The Tīr. C. (pp. 290-292) slightly differs. It does include Vāyu 110. 46 and treats the three verses ( Vāyu 110. 51-53 ) as one mantra. It is difficult to understand why the writers of digests did not say that the *śrāddhaṣoḍaśi* should be performed with only 18 mantras from out of the 21 or 22 verses with option to the reciter. Where the mantras exceed the number required, Jaimini X. 5.14 states: 'अपूर्वास्तु तु संख्यास्तु विकल्पः स्यात्सर्वसामर्थ्यवशात्.' Raghunandana reads the five verses (51-55) somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāṇa, though the sense is not much affected.

of the size already stated and made of the material already mentioned with the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form. Raghunandana explains that although there are nineteen pīṇḍas still this is called śrāddhaśoḍaśī as a technical term.<sup>1523</sup> It would be noticed that all the mantras refer to males in the words 'ye', 'te', 'tebhyah'. So this is 'Pum-śoḍaśī.' There is a 'strī-śoḍaśī' also which only involves changing the words of the mantras in the masculine to words in the feminine gender as indicated in the Vāyupurāṇa itself.<sup>1524</sup> Otherwise there is no difference between the two (pumsōḍaśī and strīśoḍaśī). The note below states the mode in which both males and females are to be invoked and gratified.

Water should be sprinkled over all pīṇḍas three times with a vessel full of water mixed with sesame. The mantras repeated at the time are quoted below in the note.<sup>1525</sup> Then he prostrates himself on the ground and should dismiss (send away) them (the persons invoked) with the words 'O father and others! forgive me.' Then wearing the sacred thread in the *savya* form, he should sip water (perform *ācamana*) and recite with his face to the east the two mantras (Vāyu 110. 59-60 'sākṣiṇaḥ santu,' and 'āgatosmi Gayām'). If a pilgrim is unable to carry out all this lengthy procedure, he should at least offer pīṇḍas on Pretaśilā, by making a saṅkalpa (like the one in note 1516 saying 'pīṇḍadānam' for śrāddham'). He should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode and repeat the verses in Vāyu (110. 10-12 and 110. 59-60) and should perform according to his *sūtra* the various items such as drawing lines on the altar meant for placing pīṇḍas, spreading kuśas, sprinkling down water on the pīṇḍas, the offering of pīṇḍas, re-sprinkling

1523. ऊनविंशती बोधशतं पारिभाषिकं पञ्चाशद्वत् । तीर्थयात्रातस्य p. 8. When a person inquires of another how many mango trees or fruit the latter has got the latter may reply they are five, even if actually they may be six or seven.

1524. एतेश्च सर्वमन्त्रैस्तु स्त्रीतिष्ठानां सख्यं च । पिण्डान् दद्याद्यथापूर्वं स्त्रीणां मात्रा-  
विक्रमात् । वायु. 110. 56 ṇ. in त्रिस्थलीः p. 356. स्त्रीबोधस्यां तु-अस्माकुले सुता ये  
चेरपावाहममन्त्रादारम्य मित्राणि सख्य इति पर्यन्तं सम्भवत्स्त्रीलेङ्गमूहनीयम्, अन्यसु पुंकोष्ठ-  
श्रीवत् सर्वम् । तिथिचि. p. 292. So instead of the मन्त्र 'अस्माकुले सुता ये च पतिपेषां  
न विद्यते' (वायु. 110. 34), in the स्त्रीबोधश्री the मन्त्र will be अस्माकुले सुता याश्च पति-  
र्यासां न विद्यते । तासामुद्धरणार्थाय इमं पिण्डं दद्यात्पहम् ॥ त्रिस्थलीः p. 357 refers to  
this स्त्रीबोधश्री.

1525. ओम् । ये च वो येचास्मात्तासन् याश्च वो याश्चास्मात्तासन् ते चावाह्यन्तां ताश्वा-  
वाह्यन्ताम् । तृप्यन्तु भवन्तस्तृप्यन्तु भवन्तस्तृप्यन्तु गोत्रान् पुत्रानभितर्पयन्तीरापो मधुमतीरिमाः ।  
एवधा पितृभ्योऽसुतं दुष्टाना आपो देवीरभयास्तृप्यन्तु । तृप्यत तृप्यत तृप्यन्तेति । तीर्थचि. p. 293,  
तीर्थयात्रातस्य pp. 10-11.

water, holding one's breath, loosening the knot of one's garment, offering a thread and sandalwood paste.

Then the pilgrim should descend from the hill (Pretasīlā) to the ground below and should bathe in the deep pool well-known as Rāmatīrtha <sup>1526</sup> (which is in the form of Prabhāsa-hrada) at the meeting place of the great river (Phalgu) with the Prabhāsa hill after making a saṅkalpa (as given in the footnote) and after repeating the mantra 'janmāntaraśatam' (Vāyu 108. 18). He should then perform *tarpaṇa* and perform *śrāddha* or (if unable to offer *śrāddha*) offer only *piṇḍas* according to the procedure of his own *gṛhyasūtra*. He should offer as done in the Pretasīlā *śrāddha* twelve *piṇḍas* to the father and the others, the single inexhaustible *piṇḍa* and the *ṣoḍaśi-piṇḍas*. If he cannot go through all these, he may perform any one of them. Then he should make a saṅkalpa and should offer obeisance to Rāma with the mantra 'Rāma Rāma' (Vāyu 108.20). When a pilgrim performs this bath, *śrāddha* and *piṇḍadāna* his *pitṛs* become free from the condition of being *preta* (Vāyu 108. 21). Then he should perform obeisance to the refulgent Prabhāseśa (Śiva). He should offer obeisance to both Rāma and Prabhāseśa with the mantra 'āpastvamasi' (Vāyu 108. 22). Then he should offer a *bali* of boiled rice to Yama with the words 'this is a bali, om! bow to Yama.' Then on a hill called Naga situated to the south of Prabhāsa hill and on the middle of Pretasīlā he should recite the verse 'dvau śvānau' (Vāyu 108. 30) and offer a *bali* made up of some kind of cooked food with the words 'this is a bali to Yamarāja and Bhramarāja (Dharmarāja?); salutation.' This offering of *bali* is obligatory (on every pilgrim); the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites on the first day (i. e. the day of entering Gayā).

On the 2nd day of entering Gayā the pilgrim should bathe in Phalgu, perform his daily duty of *tarpaṇa* and worship of gods and then in the afternoon bathe in Brahmakūṇḍa <sup>1527</sup> situated in the north-east corner which touches the root of Pretapārvata, that is at the distance of a *gavyūti* from Gayā and that (Brahmakūṇḍa) is situated to the north-west of Gayā.

1526. ओम्। अथेत्यादि सायजन्मान्तरशतकुतुबुकुतचिलयकामोऽस्मिन्नामतीर्थे स्नान-  
महं करिष्ये। तीर्थेति. p. 294, तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व pp. 11-12. The मन्त्र 'जन्मान्तरः'  
(वायु. 108. 18) is quoted by both.

1527. The सङ्कल्प at ब्रह्मकुण्डकान् is ओ अथेत्यादि त्रिधावीनां पुनरावृत्तिरहित-  
ब्रह्मलोकयातिकामः प्रेतपतिं श्राद्धमहं करिष्ये। तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 13.

The śrāddha performed here is believed to be performed on the altar of Brahmā (i. e. where Brahmā performed his Āsvamedha). Then he should with the face to the south throw on Pretaparvata barley grains mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ye kecit' (Vāyu 110. 63 q. both by Tir. C. p. 297 and by Raghunandana) and offer an añjali of water mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ā-brahma' (Vāyu 110. 64).<sup>1528</sup>

On the third day after entering Gayā come the rites of Pañcatīrthi described above (pp. 663-666). The pilgrim bathes<sup>1529</sup> in the Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'uttare mānase snānam' (Vāyu 111. 2-3). He should offer one añjali with the verses (Vāyu 110. 20-21) and perform śrāddha. After this śrāddha he sits to the south of Uttara-mānasa, spreads *kūṣas* with tips towards the south, offers water with sesame and offers to all together one piṇḍa, of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kūṣas, honey, curds and water. Then he bows to and worships the Sun's image on Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'namostu bhānave' (Vāyu 111. 5). Then he repairs to Dakṣiṇamānasa in silence and there takes a bath in Udici tīrtha, in Kanakhala and then in Dakṣiṇamānasa with the mantra (Vāyu 111. 9-10) and then performs salutation and worship to Dakṣiṇārka, then makes a bow to Maunārka, then goes to Phalgu tīrtha situated to the east of Gadādhara and takes a bath and performs tarpaṇa and śrāddha there; then he worships Pitāmaha (with Vāyu 111. 19), visits Gadādhara and worships (with Vāyu 111. 21), then again goes to the five tīrthas, at each of which he bathes and performs tarpaṇa. Then he bathes the image of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta. Raghunandana notes that the bathing of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta is obligatory, while the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites of pañcatīrthi.

The various tīrthas to be visited after Pañcatīrthi have been mentioned above. It is not necessary to repeat them here. The special mantras from the Vāyupurāṇa cited by Raghu-

1528. It may be stated once for all that there is a saṅkalpa appropriate to each bath, that a bath in a sacred place is followed by tarpaṇa, that śrāddha is performed as on Pretasīlā with all details beginning from invocation and ending with making the gods bear witness. Therefore these items will not be repeated hereafter and only the special provisions in each case will be pointed out.

1529. The सङ्कल्प is ओं अद्यैवादि पापक्षयपूर्वक-द्वयलोकादिसंसिद्धिपितृ-मुक्तिकाम उत्तरमानसे रमानमहं करिष्ये.

nandana will alone be specified here. After bath and śrāddha at Matāṅgavāpi, the pilgrim should go to Matāṅgeśa to the north of Matāṅgavāpi and recite Vāyu 111. 25 (pramānam devatāḥ santu &c.). When pouring water at the root of the mango tree established by Brahmā the pilgrim repeats Vāyu 111. 36 (āmram brahma-sarodhbhūtam &c.). When bowing to Brahmā, the mantra is Vāyu 111. 34 (namo brahmane &c.). The bali to Yama is offered with Vāyu 111. 38 (Yamarāja-dharmarājau &c.). The bali to the two dogs is to be given with the mantra (Vāyu 111. 39) and that to the crows with Vāyu 111. 40 (Aindra-vārūṇa-vāyavya &c.). As regards the *padas* the pilgrim should begin with Rudrapada and perform śrāddha there and then proceed to Viṣṇupada and worship Viṣṇu with five upacāras<sup>1530</sup> with the mantra 'Idam Viṣṇur-vi cakrame' (Rg. I. 22. 17). To the south of the vedi of Viṣṇupada he should perform the śrāddhaśoḍaśī (described above pp. 672-673) up to Vāyu 110. 60 (anṛpoṣham-rnatrayāt). About an ascetic, vide above p. 655.

Then Raghunandana briefly touches upon the śrāddhas to be performed at the several *padas* and remarks that the last śrāddha at the *padas* is that at Kāśyapapada. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 76 as the mantra for bath in Gadālola-tirtha. Then he states that the śrāddha at the Akṣayavata is to be performed on the north side of the Vata near its bottom. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 82-83 (ekārṇave &c.) as the mantras for bowing to the Akṣayavata. Further, he speaks of śrāddhas to be performed at several sub-tirthas, such as Gāyatri, Sarasvatī, Viśālā, the hermitage of Bharata, Mundapṛstha. Then he prescribes that the pilgrim should cross the Vaitaraṇī (situated to the east of the Devanadī which is near Bhasmakūṭa) with the mantra (Vāyu 105. 44, yāsau Vaitaraṇī nāma &c.). After referring to several other tirthas such as Gopracāra, Ghṛtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Raghunandana recommends that the pilgrim should visit Pāṇḍuśilā (which is in Campakavana near Pitāmaha) and perform śrāddha there. He notes that the four rivers and streams called Ghṛtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Devikā and Mahānadi<sup>1531</sup> (Phalgu) are called Madhusravā when they meet the Silā (Vāyu

1530. For the five upacāras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729-730.

1531. In the वायुपुराण when speaking of नद्या the word महानदी occurs frequently (as in 112. 30, 110. 6), but it refers to कल्या. On वायु. 110. 6 (ततो नयामवेक्षे च पूर्वतोऽस्ति महानदी। तत्र तोर्यं समुत्पाद्य स्नातव्यं निर्मले जले॥) the विद्वत्पीठ p. 352 observes 'महानदीति कल्या नद्य नामधेयम्। तोर्यं समुत्पाद्येति शुक्लनदीत्याह्वानमुक्ताख्येन नद्यमुत्पाद्य'.

112.30) and a bath, tarpaṇa and śrāddha thereon yield immense results. Then are mentioned several other tīrthas such as Daśāśvamedha, Maṭaṅgapada, Makha-kunḍa (near Udyanta parvata), Gayākūṭa. Raghunandana winds up by providing that on Bhasmakūṭa the pilgrim should place with his right hand in the hand of Janārdana a pinda mixed with curds ( but without sesame ) and on doing so recite five verses (Vāyu 108. 86-90, <sup>1532</sup> 'eṣa pinda mayā' &c.). Then Raghunandana quotes sixteen verses about Mātrṣoḍaśī (which do not occur in Vāyupurāṇa and are passed over here).

We have to distinguish between Gayākṣetra, Gayā and Gayāśīras or Gayāśīrṣa. The Vāyu, Agni and Nāradya all assert that Gayākṣetra is five krośas <sup>1533</sup> (in extent) and Gayāśīras is one krośa. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tīrthas like Kāśī and Prayāga as pañcakrośa. But so far as the Vāyupurāṇa is concerned the Gayākṣetra is about 13 miles in length from Pretaśīlā to Mahābodhi tree as shown above. Gayā is said to be two krośas and a half in extent in all directions from Muṇḍapṛṣṭha <sup>1534</sup>. Gayāśīras is smaller than Gayā and is identified with Phalgutīrtha (vide note 1499). Gayā and Gayasīra (Pāli for Gayāśīrṣa) are well known to ancient Buddhist texts (Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 in S. B. E. XIII p. 136, Aṅguttaranikāya, text vol. IV. p. 302). Vide n. 1510.

Four of the most important and holy tīrthas have been dealt with at some length so far. It is not possible in the space allotted to the section on tīrthas to pursue the same procedure as regards other famous tīrthas. It is proposed to devote a few pages to each of half a dozen or more tīrthas and then to give a somewhat comprehensive list of tīrthas with a few references in the case of each. But before proceeding further reference must be made to certain popular groupings of tīrthas. There is a group of seven cities that are deemed to be very holy and

1532. Raghunandana reads the five verses somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāṇa, though the sense is not much affected.

1533. पञ्चक्रोशं गयामेत्रं क्रोशमेकं गवाक्षिरः । वायु. 106. 65, अग्नि. 115. 42, भारवीय ( उत्तर ) 44. 16.

1534. मुण्डपृष्ठाश्च पूर्वस्मिन् दक्षिणे पश्चिमोत्तरे । सार्धं क्रोशार्धं मानं गयेति परिकीर्तितम् ॥ वायुपुराण q. by विश्वमी० p. 342. The printed वायु (105. 28-29 'मुण्डं कुपाञ्च पूर्वस्मिन्' ) appears to have a corrupt reading.

the bestowers of *mokṣa*.<sup>1535</sup> They are Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā (i. e. Haridvāra), Kāśī, Kāñol, Avantikā (i. e. Ujjayinī), Dvārakā. In some works it is Kāntī and not Kāñol that is mentioned. Badarinātha, Jagannātha Puri, Rāmeśvara and Dvārakā—these four are styled Dhāma. There are said to be twelve Jyotirlingas of Śiva, according to the Śivapurāṇa viz. Somanātha<sup>1536</sup> in Saurāṣṭra, Mallikārijuna on Srisailla hill (in Karnul District and about 50 miles from the Krishna station on the G. I. P. Railway), Mahākāla (in Ujjayinī), Parameśvara in Oṃkāra-kṣetra (an island in the Narmadā), Kedāra in the Himālayas, Bhīmāśankara (north-west of Poona at the source of the Bhīmā river) in Dākini, Viśveśvara in Banaras, Tryambakeśvara on the banks of the Gautami i. e. Godāvari (near Nasik), Vaidyanātha in Citābhūmi, Nāgeśa in Dārūkavana, Rāmeśvara in Setubandha and Ghr̥ṣeśa in<sup>1537</sup> Śivālaya (i. e. the modern shrine at the village of Elura,

1535. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची द्वारवन्तिका। एताः पुण्यतमाः प्रोक्ताः पुरीषास्तुमोचमाः ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 40. 91; काशी काञ्ची च मयाख्या सर्वोदया द्वारवन्तयि । मथुरावन्तिका चेता सप्त दुर्गोत्र मोक्षदाः ॥ स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड, 6. 68; काञ्च्यवन्ती द्वारवती काश्यपोदया च पञ्चमी । मायापुरी च मथुरा दुर्गः सप्त विमुक्तिदाः ॥ काशीखण्ड 23. 7; अयोध्या...वन्तिका । पुरी द्वारवती ज्ञेया सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण (वैतखण्ड) 38. 5-6. In the स्कन्द, नानरखण्ड 47. 4 काञ्ची occurs as capital of Rudrasena and in Brahmanḍa III. 13. 94-97 Kāntipurī is described as possessing a place for Vyāsa's contemplation, a Kumārādhārā and Puṣkarinī. If the reading काञ्ची is to be accepted there are divergent views about its location, some holding it to be the ancient name of Khatmandu the capital of Nepal, while A. G. identifies it with Kotival 20 miles north of Gwalior.

1536. पृथिव्या यानि लिङ्गानि तेषां संख्या न विद्यते ।...सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनम् । उज्जयिन्या महाकालमोक्षदरे परमेश्वरम् ॥ केदारं हिमवच्छ्रेष्ठं द्वाकिण्या भीमशङ्करम् । शराणस्या च विन्धेक्षं इयम्बकं गौडमीतटे ॥ वैद्यनाथं त्रिवापुली नामेशं द्वावकावने । सेतुबन्धे च रामेशं पुष्पेशं (पुष्पेश ! ) च शिवालये । द्वादशैतानि नामानि प्रातस्तथाप चः पठेत् । सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तः सर्वसिद्धिफलं लभेत् । शिवपुराण IV. 1. 18, 21-24. There is divergence of views about the identification of some of these, viz. about ओङ्कार (Dey p. 5), वैद्यनाथ (Dey p. 50 showing it is either Deoghar in the Santal Pargana or in Paraligrāma near Satara), द्वावकावन (Dey, pp. 53-54). Each ज्योतिर्लिङ्ग has an उपलिङ्ग (vide शिवपुराण IV. 1. 34. 42). The बृहदारण्यकपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) I. 6. 31 has 'काशीविम्बेश्वरं लिङ्गं ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं मनुष्यये । तद् ब्रह्म परमं ज्योतिरामोति मनुजोत्तमः ॥' Vide 'the Cave Temples of India' by Fergusson and Burgess p. 367 n. 1. In JBBRAS, vol. X. pp. 4-6 the verses about the twelve Jyotirlingas and their locations are set out from morning Stotra.

1537. For Ghr̥ṣeśvara or Gr̥atāneśvara at the village Elura, vide A. S. W. I. vol. III pp. 82-83. The famous Kailāsa temple at Ellora is not the Ghr̥ṣeśvara linga.

7 miles from Devagiri or Daulatabad). The Śivapurāṇa (Kotidruda-saṁhitā) chap. 1 names the twelve Jyotirlingas and chapters 14-33 narrate the legends connected with the twelve lingas. The Skandapurāṇa I (Kedārakhaṇḍa) chap. 7 verses 30-35 enumerate several lingas including most of the twelve Jyotirlingas. The Bārhaspatyasūtra (edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas) mentions eight great tirthas each of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti, that yield all *siddhis* 1537a.

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1537 a. अह वैष्णवक्षेत्राः । बदरिका-सालग्राम-पुरुषोत्तम-द्वारका-विल्वाक्षल-अनन्त-  
सिंह-औरङ्गः । अष्टौ क्षेत्राः । अभिषेक-गङ्गाद्वार-शिवक्षेत्र-रामेश्वरम् (?) -शिवसरस्वती-मत्स्य-  
बाह्वल-गङ्गाक्षेत्राः । साक्षा अष्टौ च ओम्बर्ण-जाल-पूर्ण-काम-कोल-भीमो-काञ्ची-महेन्द्राः ।  
एते महाक्षेत्राः सर्वसिद्धिकराश्च । बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III. 119-126.



## CHAPTER XV

### KURUKṢETRA AND SOME OTHER FAMOUS TĪRTHAS

**KURUKṢETRA** (25 miles east of Ambala) is a very sacred tract, the history of which is lost in the mists of antiquity. In the R̥gveda X. 33. 4 there is a reference to a king Kurukṣravana, son of Trasadasyu.<sup>1538</sup> The Atharva-veda mentions a Kauravya husband (probably a king) who had a talk with his wife.<sup>1539</sup> In the times of the Brāhmanas Kurukṣetra had become a very holy land. The Śat. Br. (IV. 1. 5. 13) narrates the legend that the gods performed a sacrifice in Kurukṣetra and at first excluded the two Aśvins from any share in it (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 275). The Maitrāyaṇi Sainhitā (II. 1. 4., devā vai sattramāsata Kurukṣetre) and the Tai. Br. (V. 1. 1., devā vai sattram-āsata teṣām Kurukṣetram vedir-āsit) also say that the Gods performed a *sattra* in Kurukṣetra. The idea underlying these passages appears to be this. The Vedic people of the Brāhmana period held *yajñas* to be the dharma *par excellence*, as stated in R̥g. X. 90. 16 (*yajñena yajñam-ayajanta devāstāni dharmāni prathamānyāsan*). Kurukṣetra was the centre of Vedic culture in the Brāhmana period and sacrifices must have been performed there on a large scale. Hence it was called dharmakṣetra and as gods were supposed to have attained their position by what men believed to be dharma (*yajña*, *tapas* &c.) it is stated that gods performed *sattras* in Kurukṣetra. The same Brāhmana mentions a Kauravya king Bahlika Prātipliya (XII. 9. 3. 3, S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 269). The Tai. Br. (I. 8. 4. 1) informs us that the Kuru-Pañcālas went towards the east in winter (*śiśira*) and to the west in summer which was the worst season. The references in the Ait. Br. are far more instructive. The legend about Kavasa in which Sarasvatī helps the sage has already been referred to above (p. 559 n. 1254). The Ait. Br. (8. 1 or II. 19) calls that place, where Sarasvatī came rushing, 'Parisaraka'. In another place the Ait. Br. tells us that in its time Nyagrodha (*Ficus India*) was called Nyubja in Kuru-

1538. कुरुक्षवणमाहुरि राजानं त्रासदस्युस्य। मेदिने वायतादुहिः ॥ ऋ. X. 33. 4.  
कुरुक्षवण may mean literally 'heard or famous in the land of Kuru'.

1539. कुलायन् कुण्डन् कौरव्यपतिर्वदति जायया। अथर्ववेद 20. 127. 8.

kṣetra.<sup>1540</sup> Elsewhere the Ait. Br. speaks of the countries of the Kurus and Pañcālas together with the Vāsa-Uśinaras (38. 3 = VIII. 14). The Tai. Ā. narrates<sup>1541</sup> that the gods performed a *sattra* and Kurukṣetra was their altar (for the *sattra*). The southern side of that Vēdi (i. e. Kurukṣetra) was Khāṇḍava, the northern side was Tūṛghna, the hinder part was Paripah, and the country of Maru (desert) was the rubbish pit. This shows that Khāṇḍava, Tūṛghna and Paripah were border parts of Kurukṣetra and the Maru district was somewhat away from Kurukṣetra. The Śrautasūtras of Āśv. XII. 6, Lāṭyāyana X. 15 ff. and Kātyāyana<sup>1542</sup> 24. 6. 5 ff closely follow Tāndya and other Brāhmaṇas and mention several holy places at which parts of the Śarasvatī *sattras* were performed such as Plakṣa Prasravapa where Sarasvatī starts, the Vaitandhava-brada of Sarasvatī, the tract called Paripah in Kurukṣetra, Yamunā flowing through the country of Kārapacava and the country of Triplakṣāvaharapa.

In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (I. 10. 1 ff) occurs the story of Uṣasti Cākṛāyapa who, when the Kuru country was struck by hailstorms, lived with his very young wife in Ibhyagrāma and went begging for food.

The Nirukta (II. 10) explains that<sup>1543</sup> Devāpi and Śāntanu mentioned in Ṛgveda X. 98. 5 and 7 were historical persons and were brothers, sons of Rṣiṣeṇa, a king of Kuru. Pāṇini (IV. 1. 151 and IV. 1. 172) explains the formation of the word Kauravya from 'Kuru', the first in the sense of 'apatya', the second in the sense of 'king'.<sup>1544</sup>

1540. तत्रैतांश्चमसान्मुजंस्ते ष्यमोधा अभवन् स्तुज्जा इति हाप्येनानेतर्थाच्चक्षते कुक्षेत्रे ते ह प्रथमजा ष्यमोधानां तेष्वो हाप्येऽधिजाताः । ऐ. भा. 35.4 = VII. 30.

1541. देवा वै सत्रमासत ।... तेषां कुक्षेत्रे वेदिरासीत् । तस्यै स्वाण्डवो दक्षिणार्ध आसीत् । तूर्णमुत्तरार्धः । परिणजयनार्धः । मरु उत्तरः । तै. आ. V. 1.1. Is तूर्ण an older form of कुक्षेत्र? कुक्षेत्र, modern Sugh on the old Jumna, is about 40 miles from Thanesar and 20 miles to north-west of Saharanpur.

1542. Vide कार्या. श्रौ. 'शम्यायासे शम्यायासे वसन्तो यजमानाश्च यन्ति दक्षिणेन तीरेण । हवद्वायप्ययेऽपीनपित्र्यश्चक्रः । अग्नये कामयेहिः हस्ते प्राञ्चवणे । अवभृथमयवयन्ति यमुनां कारपञ्चवर्षं प्रति । अपरं ष्यर्णे नैतन्धवेऽग्निमिन्धीत । कुक्षेत्रे परिणहि स्थलेऽग्न्याधेय-मन्वारमणीयान्ते भवन्ति । एतच्च हवद्वातीतीरेण । अवभृथमयवयन्ति यमुनां त्रिप्लक्षावहरेण प्रति । 24.6. 5-7, 10, 33-34, 38-39. Similar sūtras occur in लाट्यायनश्रौत X. 15.1, X. 17. 12, X. 18.13, X. 19.1, 4-5, 8-9. कार्यायनश्रौत XXIV. 6. 33 refers to the 2nd year and XXIV. 6. 34 to the third year of the सारस्वतसत्र.

1543. तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते । देवापिस्वादिषेणः शन्तमुश्च कौरव्यौ भ्रातरौ भूभृतः । निबक्त II. 10.

1544. कुर्वादिष्यो ष्यः । कुक्षेत्रादिष्यो ष्यः । पा. IV. 1. 151 and 172,

The Mahābhārata frequently speaks of the high sanctifying virtues of Kurukṣetra. It appears that the territory to the south of Sarasvatī and to the north of Dr̥śadvatī was included in Kurukṣetra and <sup>1545</sup> that those who resided therein were as if residents of paradise. Kurukṣetra appears to be called Brahmāvarta in Vanaparva 86.6. According to the Vāmanapurāṇa Kurujāṅgala is <sup>1546</sup> the country between the Sarasvatī and Dr̥śadvatī, while Manu (II, 17, 18) defines Brahmāvarta as the country created by God between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and Dr̥śadvatī, states that Brahmarsideśa which is slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta comprises Kurukṣetra, the countries of Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena. From these passages it is clear that Brahmāvarta is the holiest country in Āryāvarta and that Kurukṣetra was almost like it; we have seen that in the times of the Brāhmanas the most sacred Sarasvatī flowed through Kurukṣetra and that the place where Sarasvatī disappeared in the desert was called Vinasana and was itself a very holy place. Originally the land called Kurukṣetra is said to have been the *Vedi* (sacrificial altar) <sup>1547</sup> of Brahmā, then it came to be called Samantapañcaka (or syamanta—in some passages) when Paraśurāma made five pools of the blood of kṣatriyas in revenge for his father's murder, which were subsequently turned into holy pools of water by the blessings of his pits and lastly it came to be called Kurukṣetra when king Kuru, son of Samvarana <sup>1548</sup>, ploughed the land with a golden plough for seven *kroṣas* all round. Kurukṣetra is so called after king Kuru. Kuru is said

1545. वृक्षेभ्यः सरस्वत्या हवहृत्युत्तरेण च । ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥  
वनपर्व 83.3. The same verse is वनपर्व 83. 204-205.

1546. सरस्वतीहवहृत्योत्तरं कुरुजाङ्गलम् । वामन 22.47; सरस्वतीहवहृत्योर्द्वेन  
नद्योर्ध्वतरम् । तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं यथकृते ॥ कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पञ्चालाः क्षुर-  
सेनकाः ॥ एव ब्रह्माविदेसो वै ब्रह्मावर्ताद्वनन्तरः ॥ मनु. II. 17 and 19. The extent of  
countries varied from age to age. पञ्चाल was divided into North and South.  
At the time of Buddha the capital of Pañcāla was Kanoj. Śūrasena is the  
country of which Mathurā was the capital. अनन्तरः may mean 'slightly less  
than' or 'not inferior to or not different from.' The verse सरस्वतीहवहृत्योः  
occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 64.6.

1547. आद्येषां ब्रह्मणो वेदित्तवो रामज्ञवः स्मृता । कुक्ष्या च यतः कुर्वन् कुरुक्षेत्रं तवः  
स्मृतम् ॥ वामन 22. 59-60. According to वामन 22. 18-20 there are five vedias of  
Brahmā viz. समन्तपञ्चक (उत्तरा), यवाम (मध्यमा), यवाक्षिरः (पूर्वा), विरजा (दक्षिणा),  
पुष्कर (पश्चिमी). Vide वामन 22.20 and पञ्च IV. 17.7 for the form स्पमन्तपञ्चक.

1548. According to the विष्णुपुराण the genealogy is अजनीह-कला-संवरण-  
कुक्ष, about whom it says 'य इहं पर्वक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रं चकार' (IV. 19. 74-77).

to have asked of Indra the boon that the territory he ploughed might be 'Dharmakṣetra' (domain of righteousness) and that those who may bathe or die there may reap a rich harvest of merit<sup>1549</sup>. The war between Kurus and Pāṇḍavas was fought there. It is spoken of as 'Dharmakṣetra' in the opening verse of the Bhagavad-gītā. Kurujāṅgala is said to be a very fit country for śrāddha in Vāyu (77. 93) and Kūrma II, 20, 33 and 37. 36-37. In the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Tshang speaks of the country, the capital of which was Sthāpaviśvara (modern Thanesar which is the heart of Kurukṣetra) as the 'land of religious merit' (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p. 184).

The extent of Kurukṣetra is said to be five *yojanas* in radius (in Vanaparva and the Vāmana Purāṇa)<sup>1550</sup>. A somewhat corrupt verse occurs in the Mahābhārata and some purāṇas<sup>1551</sup> about the limits of Kurukṣetra viz. the territory between Tarantu and Kārantuka and between Macakruka (image of a *yakṣa*) and the Rāma-hradas (pools made by Paraśurāma)—this is Kurukṣetra, Samantapañcaka and the northern vedi of Brahmā. The result is that Kurukṣetra is referred to under various names viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada, Samantapañcaka, Vināśana, Sannihati (vide T. Pr. p. 463). For the boundaries of Kurukṣetra, vide Cunningham's A. S. R. of India, vol. XIV pp. 86-106 where he notes that Kurukṣetra was 30 miles to the south of Ambala and 40 miles to the north of Panipat. In the remote past Kurukṣetra was the centre of

1549. यावदेतन्मया कुक्षं धर्मक्षेत्रं तदस्तु वः। स्नातानां च द्रुतानां च महाशुभफलं विह। वासनपुराण 22. 33-34. Compare Salyaparva 53. 13-14.

1550. वेदी प्रजापतेरेषा समन्तात्पञ्चयोजना। कुरोर्वै यज्ञशीलस्य क्षेत्रमेतन्महात्मनः॥ वनपर्व 129. 22; समाजगम च पुनर्मैत्र्याणो वेदिमुत्तरात्। समन्तपञ्चकं नाम धर्मस्थानमनुत्तमम्॥ आसमन्ताद्योजनानि पञ्च पञ्च च सर्वतः॥ वासनपु. 22. 15-16. The नारदीय (उत्तर chap. 64. 20) states 'पञ्चयोजनविस्तारं द्रवास्तपक्षमोद्वमम्। इयमस्तपञ्चकं तावत्कुक्षक्षेत्रमुदीहन्तम्॥'

1551. तरन्मुकारन्मुकयोर्व्यन्तरं रामहृदयानी च मन्त्रकुरय। एतत्कुक्षक्षेत्रसमन्तपञ्चकं पितामहस्योत्तरवेदिकस्थिते॥ वनपर्व 83. 208, ज्ञानपर्व 53. 24. पक्ष. I, 27. 92 (reads तरणकारणकयोः), q. by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 179 (from the महाभारत). वनपर्व 83. 9-15 and 200 show that मन्त्रकुर was a पक्ष appointed as 'one of the द्वारपालs of कुक्षक्षेत्र' by God Viṣṇu. Should we not separate the first word as तरन्मुक and अरन्मुक? In the नारदीय (उत्तर chap. 65. 24) we have रन्मुक as a sub-tīrtha under कुक्षक्षेत्र. Vide तीर्थयक्षा pp. 464-465 for explanation of this verse. A. G. p. 334 quotes this verse. In Archaeological Survey Reports for India vol. II p. 215 Cunningham quotes the verse as तद्वन्मुकारन्मुकयोर्व्यन्तरं and remarks that Ratnuka is the Ratan *Jakṣa* (पक्ष) at the north-east corner of the circuit of Kurukṣetra, four miles to the east of Thanesar.

all the activities and the culture of the Vedic people. Gradually the Vedic people spread towards the east and south and the country between the Ganges and Jumna and later on Videha (or Mithila) became the centres of Indian culture.

For reasons of space it is not possible to dwell at length on the greatness and sanctity of Kurukṣetra as described in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Vanaparva 83 starts by saying that all beings that are in Kurukṣetra are freed from all sins and that he also who always says 'I shall go to Kurukṣetra, and I shall reside in Kurukṣetra' is freed from sins<sup>1552</sup>. 'In this world there is no place holier than this. Even the particles of dust driven from Kurukṣetra by the wind take a great sinner to the highest goal'<sup>1553</sup>. Even the Ganges is compared to Kurukṣetra (vide note 1324 'Kurukṣetrasamā Gāṅgā'). The Nāradiya avers<sup>1554</sup> that planets, constellations and stars are subject to the danger of falling down (from the sky) in course of time, but in the case of those that die in Kurukṣetra there is no falling on the earth again (i. e. they would not be born again).

It is a remarkable fact that though the Vanaparva in chap. 83 enumerates several tirthas on the Sarasvatī and in Kurukṣetra, they do not at all tally with the tirthas mentioned in the Brāhmaparas and the Śrautasūtras (except Vināśana which is mentioned in Vanaparva 83.11 and probably Saraka which may be identified with Parisaraka of the Ait. Br.). This means that the Vanaparva account of Sarasvatī and Kurukṣetra is later by some centuries than that in the Śrautasūtras. The Nāradiya (uttara, chap. 65) names about one hundred tirthas in Kurukṣetra. It is not possible to set out all of them. But a few words may be said about some of them. First comes the lake called Brahmasaras or Pavana-hrada (Vanaparva 83. 85, Vāmana 49. 38-41, Nāradiya, uttara 65. 95) on

1552. ततो नष्टेन राजेन्द्र कुक्षेत्रमभिहतम् । पापेभ्यो विमुच्यमाने तद्गताः सर्वजन्तवः ॥ कुक्षेत्रं नमिष्यामि कुक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहम् । य एवं सततं कृपात् सर्वपापैः मुच्यते ॥ वनपर्व 83. 1-2. The commentator नीलकण्ठ furnishes a fanciful derivation of कुक्षेत्र (on वनपर्व 83. 6) 'कुक्षितं रीतीति कुक्ष पापं तत्र लेपनात् प्रापते इति कुक्षेत्रं पापनिवर्तकं नष्टोपलब्धिस्तथाप्यहम् अहमसहम्'. 'सर्वज्ञ अन्तो येषु क्षत्रियाणां ते समन्ता रामकृतकथिरोद्भवाः, तेषां पञ्चकं समस्तपञ्चकम्. Vide ही. प्र. p. 463.

1553. मातःपरतरे पुण्ये धूमेः स्थानं भविष्यति । ... वांसोपि कुक्षेत्रे वायुना संसृकीरिताः । अपि पुष्कलकर्म्मणं भवन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ शाल्य 53. 17, 22 q. in कल्प० (on तीर्थे) p 178. The verse वांसोपि also occurs in वनपर्व 83. 3.

1554. ब्रह्मक्षत्रताराणां कालेन पतनाद्भवम् । कुक्षेत्रवृत्तानां तु न भूयः पतनं भवेत् ॥ माण्डीय II. 64. 23-24, वाग्वेद 33. 16 (last pāda is पतनं नैव सिद्ध्यते).

which Kuru stayed as an ascetic. A. G. (pp. 334-335) remarks that the lake is 3546 feet long east to west and 1900 feet wide north to south. The Vāmanapurāṇa (22. 50-55) describes it at some length and says that it was half a *yojana* in extent. Cakratirtha (mentioned by Vāmanapurāṇa 42. 5, 57. 89 and 81. 3) is popularly supposed to be the place where Kṛṣṇa took up the discus for attacking Bhīṣma. Vyāsa-thali<sup>1555</sup> (named in Vanaparva 84. 96, Nāradya, uttarārdha 65. 83 and Padma I. 26. 90-91) is the same as modern Basthali, 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar where Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son. Asthipura (Padma, Adi. 27. 62) is on the west of Thanesar and south of Aujasa-ghat where the bodies of the warriors killed in the Great Bhārata war were cremated. Cunningham in Archaeological Survey Reports of India vol. II, p. 219 states that Cakratirtha is the same as Asthipura and that in Alberuni's time it was the most famous shrine in Kurukṣetra. Prthūdaka on the Sarasvatī is very highly spoken of in Vanaparva 83. 142-149. 'They say<sup>1556</sup> that Kurukṣetra is holy, that Sarasvatī is holier than Kurukṣetra, that the sacred spots (on Sarasvatī) are holier than the river Sarasvatī and that Prthūdaka is holier than all the other tirthas on Sarasvatī. There is no tirtha that is better than Prthūdaka'. The Śalyaparva<sup>1557</sup> remarks that whoever, while intently engaged in repeating holy texts, abandons his life at Prthūdaka on the northern bank of the Sarasvatī would not be troubled by death next day (i. e. he would be free from birth and death). The Vāmanapurāṇa (39. 20 and 23) calls it Brahmayonitirtha. Prthūdaka is modern Pehova in the Karnal District in Panjab, 14 miles to the west of Thanesar. Vide E. I. vol. I, p. 184 for the Pehova inscription from the temple of Garibnath dated in *saṃvat* 276 (of the Harṣa Era) i. e. 882-883 A. D., which records the agreement of certain pious horse-dealers to impose on themselves and their customers certain

1555. सरस्वत्या नित्यं नमस्कृतं कुरुक्षेत्रं । व्यासतीर्थेति ख्यातं नैलाकथं  
मनोहरम् ॥ कूर्म. II. 37. 29; vide ब्रह्माण्ड III. 13. 69 for a similar verse.

1556. पुण्यमाहुः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रास्सरस्वती । सरस्वत्याश्च तीर्थानि तीर्थेभ्यश्च  
पृथक्कम् ॥ पृथक्कार्थित्वम् नाप्यतीर्थे कुरुक्षेत्रं ॥ वनपर्व 83. 147, भान्तिपर्व 152. 11 (first  
verse), पद्म (आदि. 27. 33, 34, 36) q, by कल्प- (on तीर्थे) pp. 180-181. The  
वामनपुराण 22. 44 says 'तस्यैव मध्ये बहुपुण्ययुक्तं पृथक्कं पापहरं शिवं च । पुण्या नदी  
शङ्खमुज्ज्वला प्रपाता जलोपयुक्तस्य सुता जलादद्या ॥'

1557. सरस्वत्युत्तरे तीरे यस्त्वजोदात्मनस्तपुश्च ॥ पृथक्के जप्यपरी नैनं श्यो मरणं  
तमेत् ॥ शाल्यपर्व 39. 33-34; वामनपुराण 39. 19 has the same verse (last pāda is  
read as नैतस्य मरणं भवेत्).

taxes and tithes for the benefit of some priests and temples, one of which was the temple of Viṣṇu in his Yajñavarāha *avatāra* built at Prthūdaka.

The Vāmanapurāṇa (34. 3 ff) and Nāradiya (uttarārḍha 65. 4-7) enumerate seven forests existing in Kurukṣetra as very holy and as destroyers of all sins, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Sitāvana. Vide A. S. R. for India, vol. 14 pp. 90-91 for the *vanas*. In the Śalyaparva (chap. 38) it is said that the world is encompassed by seven Sarasvatīs, then they are enumerated and their locations are specified viz. Suprabhā (in Puṣkara, where Brahmā engaged in a great sacrifice remembered her, verse 13), Kāñcanākṣī (in the Naimiṣa forest, v. 19), Viśālā (invoked by Gaya in the Gayā country, verses 20-21), Manoramā (in Audḍālaka's yajña in Uttarakosala, verses 22-25), Sureṇu (in Rṣabhadvīpa in Kuru's yajña, verses 26-27), Oghavati (called by Vasistha in Kurukṣetra, verses 27-28), Vimalodā (when Brahmā again performed a yajña in the Himālaya). In the Vāmanapurāṇa 34. 6-8 seven rivers in connection with Sarasvatī are said to be very holy (but nine are actually enumerated) viz. Sarasvatī, Vaitaraṇī, Āpagā, Gaṅgā-Mandākinī, Madhuvā, Ambunadī, Kauṣikī, Dṛśadvatī and Hiraṇvatī.

Kurukṣetra was also called Sannihati or Sannihatyā. Vide those words in the list of tirthas. The Vāmanapurāṇa (32. 3-4) says that Sarasvatī springs from a plakṣa tree, that after piercing many hills it enters Dvaitavana. Vāmana (32. 6-22) contains a eulogy of Sarasvatī by Mārkaṇḍeya. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. p. 261) states that the river Sarasvatī falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somnāth. There is a small but holy stream called Sarasvatī, that rises in the Mahikantha hills and after crossing the south-east corner of Palanpur Agency passes by Siddhapura and Pātan, flows underground for some miles and then enters the Runn of Cutch (Bom. G. vol. V. p. 283).<sup>1557a</sup>

## MATHURA

Till now it has not been possible to trace an express Vedic reference to Mathurā, the chief city of the country of Śūrasena. But its existence from at least the 5th century B. C. appears

<sup>1557a</sup>. Vide A. S. R. of India, vol. 14 pp 97-106 for an exhaustive list of tirthas in Kurukṣetra.

to rest on firm ground. It is stated in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (I, 167, *ekam samāyam āyasmā Mahākaccāno Madhurāyam viharati Gundāvane*) and *Majjhima* (II 84 same words) that Mahākaccāyana, a famous disciple of Buddha, assiduously preached in Mathurā the principles of his Master. Megasthenes appears to have known Mathurā and its connection with Heracles<sup>1558</sup> (Hari-Kṛṣṇa?). The word 'Māthura' (meaning a resident of Mathurā, or born in or coming from Mathurā) occurs in Jaimini's *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra*.<sup>1559</sup> Though Pāṇini's sūtras do not expressly mention Mathurā, the latter is included in the *Varaṇādi-gaṇa* (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 82). Pāṇini is, however, aware of Vāsudeva and Arjuna (IV. 3. 98), the Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi clans of Yādavas to which Kṛṣṇa belonged (IV. 1. 114) and probably knew the name Govinda (III. 1. 138 and *vārtika* 'gavi ca vindeḥ sañjñāyām'). Mathurā is several times mentioned by the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali who<sup>1560</sup> in a famous passage refers to dramatic representations, paintings and stories which depict the destruction of Kamsa by Vāsudeva. He also cites a quarter of a verse about the killing of Kamsa by Vāsudeva as a well-known past event. Whether the town Śaurya mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya on *Vārtika* 2 on Pāṇini II. 4. 7 (Śauryam ca Ketavatā ca Śaurya-Ketavate) is the same as Mathurā is doubtful, even though the *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra* speaks of Mathurā as Śauryapura (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 112). The *Ādiparva* (221. 46) indicates that Mathurā was famed for excellent cows

1558. Vide McCrindle's 'Megasthenes and Arrian' p. 201 where it is said that Heracles was held in special honour by the Sauraseni tribe (Sūrasena) which possessed two large cities, Mathurā and Kleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura?), while Ptolemy calls it 'Modoura of the gods' (vide McCrindle's 'Ancient India as described by Ptolemy', ed. of 1927, p. 124).

1559. *इयाद्योगाख्या हि माथुरवत्*। जे. I. 3. 21 on which *हर्बर* says यतो इत्येते मथुरामभिप्रस्थितो माथुर इति मथुरायां वसन् मथुरायां निर्गतश्च. The तन्त्रवार्तिक (p. 251) finds fault with the words underlined.

1560. न हेको देवदत्तो युगपत्पुत्रो च भवति मथुरायां च। महाभाष्य vol. I, pp. 18, 19 and 244; सप्तम्यर्थेऽपि वै वतिर्भवति तद्यथा। मथुरायामिव मथुरवत्। पाटलिपुत्र इव पाटलिपुत्रवत्। महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 192 (on पा. I. 2. 1) and vol. III, p. 299 (on पा. VII. 2. 62, वार्तिक 3). Vide note 1409 above where माथुर cloth is said to be inferior to काशिक cloth and my paper on 'Ancient cities and towns mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya' JBRAS vol. 27 pp. 39-42 (1951) for other references. ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं धातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति।... केचित्सभका भवन्ति केचिद्वायुदेवभक्ताः। महाभाष्य vol. II, p. 36 on पा. III. 1. 26 and वार्तिक 15; प्रयोक्तृर्ज्ञानविषये इति किमर्थम्। ज्ञानं कंसं किल वायुदेवः। महाभाष्य (vol. II, p. 119 on पा. III, 2. 111).



in those days. When Hamsa and Dimbhaka, brave commanders of Jarāsandha, drowned themselves in the Jumnā and when Jarāsandha sorrowfully went to Magadha Kṛṣṇa says 'we shall again joyfully reside in Mathurā' (Sabhāparva 14. 41-45). Ultimately Kṛṣṇa is said to have left Mathurā owing to the constant attacks of Jarāsandha and established the Yādavas in Dvārakā<sup>1561</sup> (Sabhāparva, 14. 49-50 and 67). The Brahmapurāṇa, on the other hand, states that the Vṛspis and Andhakas on the advice of Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā through the fear of Kālayavana. Vide also Vi. V. 23. 8-15. The Vāyu (88. 185) states that Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma, killed the demon Lavaṇa, son of Madhu and established Mathurā in Madhuvana while the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara-kāṇḍa 70. 6-9) informs us that Śatrughna took twelve years to make Mathurā a fine and prosperous city. In the Ghata-jātaka (Fausböll, vol. IV. pp. 79-89 No. 454) Mathurā is called Uttara Madhurā (to distinguish it from Madhurā of the Pāṇḍyas in the south) and the story of Kamsa and Vasudeva is narrated, which differs in some material points from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. In the Raghuvamśa XV.28 it is mentioned as Madhurā and as founded by Śatrughna. Hiouen Tshang states that in Mathurā there existed in his day three *stūpas* built by Aśokarāja, that there were in Mathurā five Deva temples, 20 *sanghārāmas* (Buddhist convents) with 2000 Buddhist priests (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p 179). James Allan (in 'Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India' 1936, p. CXVI) states that the coins of the Hindu kings of Mathurā cover the period from the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. to the middle of the first century B. C. For some ancient coins from Mathurā, the Cambridge History of India, vol. I p. 538 and plate V (No. 5-10) may be referred to. An interesting and informative work is 'Mathurā' by F.S. Growse (2nd ed. 1880). Inscriptions contribute important evidence about the history and antiquity of Mathurā.<sup>1562</sup> The famous inscription of Khāravela (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 79) includes among the exploits of that king of Kāliṅga the retreat of the Yavana king Dimita to Madhurā (i. e. Mathurā). Several

1561. वयं चैव महाराज जरासन्धभयात्तदा । मथुरां सम्परित्यज्य क्ता द्वारवतीं पुरीम् ॥ सभा 14. 67; ततो ब्रह्मपुण्ड्रकाः कृष्णं पुरस्कृत्य महामतिम् । समेता मन्त्रयामासुर्पञ्चनर्य भयात्तदा । कृत्वा विनिश्चयं सर्वे पलायनमरोक्षयम् । विहाय मथुरां रम्यां मानयन्तः पिनाकिनम् । कुक्षस्थलीं द्वारवतीं निवेशयितुमीत्सवः ॥ बृहत् 14. 54-56.

1562. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's learned paper on 'Mathurā in Ancient India' in J. A. S. of Bengal, vol. XIII (for 1947) pp. 21-30.

Inscriptions of such Kuṣāṇa rulers as Kanishka, Huviska and others relating to Mathurā have been published of which the following may be mentioned: Inscription on a Nāga image at Mathurā of 'Mahārāja-rājātirāja Kanikkha' in *saimat* 8 (E. I. vol. 17. p. 10) <sup>1563</sup>; the Mathurā pedestal Inscription of Kanishka in the 14th year (E. I. vol. 19 p. 96); inscription on the pedestal of the image of a seated Bodhisattva at Mathurā in the reign of Huviska in *saimat* 33 (E. I. vol. 8 pp. 181-182); Inscription of a king Vāsu (rest of the name lost) of the year 74 (E. I. vol. 9 p. 241) and of the time of Śoṇḍāsa (E. I. vol. 9 p. 246); seven Brahmi inscriptions from Mathurā and its vicinity (E. I. vol. 24 pp. 194-210). There is further an interesting inscription recording the dedication of a stone slab in the temple of Nāgendra Dadhikarṇa by Nandibala and other sons of some actor (Śailālaka) brothers of Mathurā (E. I. vol. I. at p. 390). From the Viṣṇu-purāṇa VI. 8. 31 it follows that an image of Hari had been installed in Mathurā before that purāṇa was composed. The Vāyupurāṇa <sup>1564</sup> informs us in a prophetic vein that seven Nāga kings will rule over Mathurā, Prayāga, Śāketa and Magadha before the Guptas. Alberuni's India (vol. II. p. 147) states that Māhurā (Mathurā) is crowded with brāhmanas.

From the above brief historical sketch it would appear that Mathurā was, five or six centuries before Christ, a flourishing city where the epic Hinduism prevailed, that later on Buddhism and Jainism dominated it, that there must have been a revival of Hinduism under the Nāga and Gupta emperors, that in the 7th century A. D., when Hiouen Tshang wrote, Hinduism and Buddhism were equally prominent and that in the 11th century A. D. it was completely dominated by the Brahmanic faith.

The Agnipurāṇa furnishes the strange information that Bharata at the command of Rāma killed three crores of the sons of Śailūsa in the city of Mathurā <sup>1565</sup>. Mathurā has been

1563. The generally accepted date for Kanishka is 78 A. D. Vide Journal of the Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 23 (1937) pp. 113-117 (by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri).

1564. नव नाकास्तु (नागास्तु ?) भोक्षन्ति एरिं चम्पावतीं नृपाः । मधुरां च एरिं रम्यां नागा भोक्षन्ति सप्त वै । अमुण्क्तं प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधास्तथा । एताम् जनपदान्सर्वान् भोक्षन्ते क्षत्रवंशजाः ॥ वायु 99. 382-83, Br. III. 74. 194. Vide Jayaswal, 'History of India' (150-350 A. D.) pp. 3-15 for the Nāga dynasty.

1565. अष्टपुर्मधुरा काचिद्भामोक्तो भरतोवधीत् । कोटित्रयं च शैलूषपुत्राणां निशितैः शरैः ॥ शैलूषं क्षत्रगन्धर्वैः सिन्धुतीरनिवासिनम् । आग्नि 11. 8-9. शैलूष also means an

(Continued on the next page)

the centre of Kṛṣṇa worship and of Bhāgavatism for over two thousand years. The Varāha-purāṇa devotes about one thousand verses to the greatness of Mathurā and its sub-tirthas (chap. 152-178). The Brhan-nārādiya, chapters 79-80, Bhāgavata X and Viṣṇu-purāṇa V-VI devote much space to Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Govardhana and Kṛṣṇa's exploits there.

For want of space only a few verses about Mathurā will be set out here. The Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 29. 46-47) says 'Yamunā gives mokṣa when united with Mathurā; Yamunā gives rise to great merit in Mathurā and when united to Mathurā it bestows devotion to Viṣṇu'. In the Varāhapurāṇa (152. 8, 11) Viṣṇu says 'There is no place either in the nether regions or on the earth or in mid air as dear to me as Mathurā. Mathurā is a famous kṣetra of mine that confers *mukti*; no place is to me higher than it. It is my birth-place and it is lovely, commendable and dear to me'. The Padma says 'Mathuraka is a name extremely dear to Viṣṇu'. The Harivarṇa contains a fine description of Mathurā, one verse from which may be quoted here 'Mathurā is the hump (i. e. the most eminent spot) of Madhyadeśa, it is simply the abode of the goddess of wealth, it is the horn (i. e. the most prominent part) of the earth, there is nothing like it and it is endowed with abundant wealth and agricultural produce'.<sup>1566</sup>

The tract round about Mathurā is said to be 20 yojanas in extent and the city of Mathurā was in its midst<sup>1567</sup>. The Varāhapurāṇa and the Nārādiya (uttarārdha) chapters 79-80 mention numerous tirthas in and about Mathurā. It is not possible to enumerate them here. A few important ones will be noticed briefly. Both Varāha (chap. 153 and 161 6-10) and Nārādiya (uttarārdha 79. 10-18) mention twelve forests near Mathurā viz. Madhu, Tāla, Kumuda, Kāmya, Bahula, Bhadra,

( Continued from the last page )

actor. Has this anything to do with a dispute between the followers of Bharata, the reputed author of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and other actors? The Nāṭyaśāstra chap. 17. 47 (G.O.S.) prefers the dialect of Sūrasena for dramas. Vide my 'History of of Sanskrit Poetics' p. 40 (1951).

1566. तस्माग्माधुरकं नाम विष्णोरेकान्तबल्लभम् । पद्म. IV. 69. 12; मधुदेवस्य ककुद्दं धाम लक्ष्म्याश्च केवलम् । हार्दकं पृथिव्याः स्वालक्ष्यं यदुत्पन्नवाग्मयम् ॥ हरिवंश, विष्णु-पर्व 57. 2-3.

1567. विंशतिर्योजनानां तु माधुरं परिमण्डलम् । तस्यच ये यधुरा नाम धुरी सर्वोत्तमोत्तमा ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 79. 20-21.

Khādira, Mahāvana, Lohajāṅgha, Bilva, Bhāṇḍira and Vṛndāvana. There are also 24 upavanas enumerated by Growse on 'Mathurā' (p. 76) which are not mentioned by the Purāṇas but only by later works. Vṛndāvana<sup>1568</sup> was to the north-west of Mathurā on the Yamunā and was five yojanas in extent (Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 6. 28-40, Nāradiya, uttarārdha 80. 6, 8 and 77). It was the scene of Kṛṣṇa's adventures and love-making. The Padma IV. 69. 9 speaks of it as a portion of Vaikuntha on the earth. The Matsya (13. 38) identifies Rādhā in Vṛndāvana as Devī Dākṣāyaṇī.<sup>1569</sup> In Kālidāsa's day it had great fame. In Raghuvamśa VI, while describing Suśeṇa of the Nipa family, king of Śūrasena, Vṛndāvana is said to be no less charming than Caitraratha, the park of Kubera (verse 50). Then there is the Govardhana<sup>1570</sup> hill, which Kṛṣṇa lifted up on his little finger to afford shelter for seven days to the cowherds and their cattle against the heavy rains sent down by Indra (Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 11. 15-25). It is stated in the Varāhapurāṇa (164. 1) that Govardhana is about two yojanas from Mathurā to its west. This appears to be tolerably correct as at present it is 18 miles from Vṛndāvana. The Kūrma (I. 14. 18) says that the very ancient king Pṛthu performed austerities here. The details given in the Hari-vamśa and the Purāṇas are sometimes confused and misleading. For example, in the Hari-vamśa (Viṣṇuparva 13. 3) it is stated that Talavana is to the north of Govardhana on the Yamunā, while it is south-east of Govardhana. Kālidāsa refers to the caverns of Govardhana (Raghuvamśa 6. 51). Gokula is the same as Vraja or Mahāvana, where

1568. The पद्म (पाताल 75. 8-14) puts an esoteric interpretation on कृष्ण, गोपीस and कालिन्दी. The गोपपत्न्यः are योगिनीs, कालिन्दी is सुषुम्न, कृष्ण is सर्व-व्यापक and so on.

1569. Dey (p. 42) regards the identity of the modern Vṛndāvana which is only 6 miles from Mathurā (in the opposite direction to Gokula) with the ancient Vṛndāvana described in the Purāṇas as extremely doubtful on several grounds, the most cogent being that ancient Vṛndāvana and Mathurā appear to have been situated on opposite sides of the Yamunā, while modern Vṛndāvana and Mathurā are on the same side of the river. But the references he gives for this last statement viz. Viṣṇupurāṇa 5. 18. 33 and Bhāgavatapurāṇa X. 39. 34 do not in my opinion bear out what he says. The Nāradiya (II. 80. 6-7) appears to say that Vṛndāvana is near Govardhana and along the Yamunā and Nandigrāma.

1570. यमी पुण्या नदी यत्र पुण्यो गोवर्धनो गिरिः । तर्हि वृन्दावनात्पुण्यमण्यं भुवि विद्यते ॥ कालिकात्मप्रसीतानां विषयास्तत्त्वतोत्तमाः । मान्यद् वृन्दावनात्सेषमास्ति लोकेऽपि विभुः ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 80. 104-105.

Kṛṣṇa was brought up in his early childhood by Nand-gopa who removed his habitation from Gokula to Vṛndāvana out of fear of what Kamsa might do. The great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya visited Vṛndāvana (Caitanya-caritāmṛta canto 19 and 9th Act of the drama Caitanyacandrodaya, both by Kavikarṇa-pūra or Paramānandadāsa). In the 16th century Vṛndāvana became a centre of Caitanya's *bhakti* movement owing to the strenuous efforts and learned writings of the *Gosvāmīs* of Vṛndāvana, particularly Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' (1942) pp. 83-122. Vallabhācārya, who was a contemporary of Caitanya founded new Gokula, one mile to the south of Mahāvana in imitation of the ancient Gokula. Caitanya and Vallabhācārya met at Vṛndāvana (vide Manilal C. Parekh's work on Vallabhācārya p. 161). The old temples of Mathurā met the same fate at the orders of Aurangzeb as the temples of Banaras.<sup>1571</sup>

The Sabhāparva (319. 23-25) narrates that Jarāsandha threw his mace from Girivraja (Rājgir in Bihar, the ancient capital of Magadha) and it fell in Mathurā at the distance of 99 yojanas before Kṛṣṇa and the place where it fell was thence called *Gadāvasāna*. I have not come across this name anywhere else.

Growse describes in chap. IX pp. 222 ff. the temples of Vṛndāvana and in chap. XI Govardhana, Barsān, the birth-place of Rādhā, and Nandgaon. Vide also 'Picturesque India' by W. S. Caine pp. 253 ff. for Mathurā and neighbouring holy places.

### PURUṢOTTAMATĪRTHA (JAGANNĀTHA)

Much has been written about Puruṣottamatīrtha or Jagannātha, both in Sanskrit and in English. The following works in English may be consulted by those who desire to make a thorough study of the sacred place; W. W. Hunter's 'Orissa'

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1571. Vide Elliott and Dowson's 'History of India as told by its own historians' vol. VII p. 184, where a passage from the 'Ma-Asir-i-Ālamgiri' is translated to the effect that: "Aurangzeb commanded the destruction of the Hindu temple at Mathurā known by the name of 'Dehra Kesu Rai' (which according to that work had been built at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees) and soon that stronghold of falsehood was levelled with the ground and on the same spot was laid the foundation of a vast mosque."

vol. I pp. 81-167, Rajendralal Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II. pp. 99-144, R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' (in two volumes, 1930), Gazetteer on Puri, vol. XX pp. 409-412.

There are four most important tīrthas in Orissa, viz. Bhuvaneśvara (or Cakratīrtha), Jagannātha (or Śaṅkha-kṣetra), Koṇārka (or Padma-kṣetra), Yajpura or Jajpur (Gadākṣetra). The first two are still held in high esteem, while the last two are altogether neglected.

Among the Purāṇas, Puruṣottama-tīrtha is extensively dealt with in the Brahma (chap. 41-70, about 1600 verses), in the Bṛhannāradiya (uttarārdha chap. 52-61, 825 verses). Among digests, the Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati that devotes nearly one-third of the work to Puruṣottama-tīrtha (pp. 53-175) and that quotes about 800 verses from the Brahmapurāṇa on Puruṣottama, Raghunandana's Puruṣottama-tattva (which is brief and mostly based on the Brahmapurāṇa) and the Tīrthaprakāśa (pp. 561-594) may be mentioned. It is worthy of note that the Kalpataru (composed about 1110-1120 A. D.) does not describe Puruṣottama-tīrtha in its Tīrthakāṇḍa, though it speaks of a few little known tīrthas like Lohārgala, Stutasvāmin and Kokānukha.

Raghunandana in his Puruṣottama-tattva quotes a verse<sup>1572</sup> (which as printed is corrupt) from the Rgveda that from the context appears to be addressed to some evil spirit (*alākṣmī*) and means 'O evil spirit with a wicked looking chin (or that art difficult to be killed)! Have recourse to that far-off wood in the sea, that has no connection with human beings and go to distant lands with it'. Then he states that the Atharva-veda has a similar verse. Probably following Sāyana's inter-

1572. तथा 'आदौ यद्वाह इव ते सिन्धोः पारे अपूरुषम् । तद्वाहमस्य दुर्दृष्टो तेन वाहि परं स्थलम् ।' अस्य व्याख्या सांख्यवाचनभाष्ये । आदौ विमकुटेदेवो वर्तमानः... अपूरुषं निर्मातु-  
शक्तित्वेन तद्वाहमस्य दुर्दृष्टो हे होतः... । अपूर्वदेवोऽपि । आदौ... सिन्धोर्मध्ये अपूरुषम् । तद्वा  
... स्थलम् । अत्रापि तथैवार्थः । मध्ये तीरे । पुरुषोत्तमतत्त्व (Jiv. vol. II. p. 563). The  
first verse is really Rg. X. 155.3 अदौ... अपूरुषम् । तद्वाहमस्य दुर्दृष्टो तेन यच्छ पर-  
स्थलम् ॥'. सायण takes this vedic verse as referring to पुरुषोत्तम in the words  
यद्वाह दारमयं पुरुषोत्तमाख्यं देवताशरीरं... हे दुर्दृष्टो दुःखेन हननीय केनापि हस्तमुदाहृत्य  
हे स्तोतः आरभस्व अवलम्बस्व उपास्वैत्यर्थः'. सायण mentions a predecessor's inter-  
pretation of this verse viz. that it is addressed to an evil spirit (*alākṣmī*) and  
asks it to resort to a boat or a log of wood (as a scapegoat) and to go to a far-  
off region where there are no human beings. This interpretation is  
natural and suits the context very well. I could not trace the verse in the  
Atharvaveda.

pretation, Raghunandana connects this Rgveda verse with Puruṣottama, the image of which is made of wood.

It would be proper to set out as briefly as possible the story of Jagannātha contained in the Brahmapurāṇa. In Bharatavarṣa there is a country called Oṇḍra situated on the shores of the southern ocean, which extends northwards from the sea up to Viraja-maṇḍala<sup>1573</sup> (chap. 28. 1-2). In that country there is a holy place, destroyer of sins and bestower of *mukti*, surrounded on all sides by sand and ten yojanas in extent (chap. 42. 13-14). There is the famous shrine of Puruṣottama in the country of Utkala the whole of which is very holy owing to the favour of the all-pervading Jagannātha (chap. 42. 35-37). Men who reside in Utkala are blessed like gods since Puruṣottama resides there. Chapters 43 and 44 narrate the story of Indradyumna who ruled at Avantī (Ujjayinī) in Mālava (modern Mālāvā). He was a very pious, learned and good king who after reading all Vedas, śāstras, epics, purāṇas and Dharmasāstras came to the conclusion that Vāsudeva was the highest Deity, started from his capital Ujjayinī with a vast army, servants, priests and artisans and came to the shores of the southern sea, saw the kṣetra of Vāsudeva, ten yojanas in breadth and five yojanas in length and encamped there. Formerly there was a Vata tree on the shores of the southern sea near which there was an image of Puruṣottama or<sup>1574</sup> Jagannātha made of sapphire, which became embedded in sand and was concealed by creepers and plants. King Indradyumna performed Aśvamedha there, erected a great temple (prāsāda) and was anxious to establish a suitable image of Vāsudeva in the temple. In a dream the king saw Vāsudeva who told him to go alone to the shore in the morning and cut the Vata tree growing just on the water line with an axe. The king did so in the morning and then two brāhmaṇas (who were really Viṣṇu and Viśvakarmā) appeared. Viṣṇu told the king that his associate (Viśvakarmā) will manufacture the image. Three images of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā were made and given to the king and Viṣṇu further conferred the boon that the pool called

1573. Virajākṣetra extends a little beyond Jāipur on the river Vaitaraṇī in Orissa. On 'Kaliṅga, Oṇḍra and Utkala' vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I. pp. 42-58.

1574. उत्तमः पुरुषो वरमात्समात्स पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ ब्रह्म. 45.52; अस्मिन्नापत्तये पुण्ये विष्णुपते पुरुषोत्तमे । इन्द्रमीलमयी भेदा प्रतिमा सार्वकामिकी ॥ 45.71; इन्द्रमीलमयो विष्णुर्धरात्से पादिकावृतः । अन्तर्धानगतं यत्वा ततो विष्णुपुरं ब्रजेत् ॥ ब्रह्म 58.3.

Indradyumna (where the king bathed at the end of his *Āśva-medha*) will be known by the king's name, that whoever took a bath once in it would go to Indraloka, and that whoever offered *piṇḍas* on the bank of the pool would save 21 ancestors of his family. Then the king established the three images in the temple built by him.<sup>1575</sup> The *Skandapurāṇa* contains a *Puruṣottamamāhātmya* in a sub-section called *Utkala-khaṇḍa* in its section *Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa*, where the story of Indradyumna is given with some variations.

Stripping this story of the supernatural, it appears probable that the holy place *Puruṣottama* was called *Nīlācala* in very ancient times, that *Kṛṣṇa* worship was introduced from Northern India at that place, and that three images of wood were established in comparatively early times. It may be stated here that in the *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad*<sup>1576</sup> an *Indradyumna* is named among a host of *cakravartins*. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* (II, 35, 27) makes a brief and colourless reference to *Puruṣottama* (*tīrtham Nārāyaṇasyānyat-nāmnā tu Puruṣottamam*). *Rajendralal Mitra* ('Antiquities of Orissa') surmises that there were three periods in the history of the *Puruṣottama-kṣetra*, viz. early Hindu period, the Buddhist period and the *Vaiṣṇava* period (after the 5th century A. D. when Buddhism began to wane). He notices that from about the 7th century A. D. considerable temple records on palm leaves exist, but that the temple records for the Buddhist period are untrustworthy (p. 104) and that there are indications that *Puri* was probably a place of Buddhist sanctuary (p. 107). The indications of the existence

1575. Vide Hunter's *Orissa* vol. I. pp. 89-94 for a somewhat different account based on *Kapīlasamhitā*, the most important points of which are that *Viṣṇu* shows to Indradyumna as His image a log of wood thrown up by the ocean, that the images were being fashioned by the divine carpenter, that it was ordered that no one was to see them till they were ready and that in spite of this, the queen insisted on seeing them when they had been chiselled only up to the waist and when only stems stood in the place of the arms for the images of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Balarāma*, while the image of *Subhadrā* had no arms at all. The present images are to this day in the same condition. The images are described by *Rajendralal Mitra* in 'Antiquities of Orissa' II, pp. 122-123. The story of इन्द्रद्युम्न occurs in नारदीयपुराण, उत्तरार्ध 52, 41-93, 53-57, 58, 1-21, 60-61. नारदीय agrees very closely with the *Brahmapurāṇa* and seems to have borrowed its text from the latter.

1576. परेऽप्ये महावधुर्धराश्वकवर्तिनः केचित् सुपुमभरिषुमेन्द्रधुमकुबलाश्व-  
यौवनाश्वप्रचक्षाश्वपतिशशिषिहृदिश्वाम्भरीवन्नकुसरीयथितयथनरपयोक्षसेनादयः। नै-  
त्रायण्युप. I. 4.



of Buddhism in Orissa are the existence of Aśoka's rock edicts on the Dhauli Hill (C. I. I. vol. I pp. 84-100), the existence of many caves of the Buddhist period on the Khandagiri range about five miles to the west of Bhuvaneśvara, the procession of the car of Jagannātha which resembles the procession of Buddha's Tooth relic as described by Fa Hien (Hunter's Orissa, vol. I, p. 131-132) and the three crude wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā and Balarāma which are hardly found anywhere else and which correspond to the three peculiarities of Buddhism viz. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. Vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa,' vol. II, pp. 122-126 (where he gives wood-cuts showing the figures of the images and comparing them with Buddhist symbols and Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' pp. 510-511 (the remarks in which appear to me far-fetched). In J. R. A. S. vol. 18 at p. 402 (new series) Sewell thinks that the celebrated image of Jagannātha was originally one of the Trisūlas or developed Taurus symbols.

At present the sacred enclosure of Jagannātha is a square surrounded by a massive stone wall 20 feet high, 652 feet long and 630 feet broad with 120 temples containing various forms of God, 13 being temples of Śiva, some more of Pārvatī and a temple of the Sun. This clearly shows the catholicity of Jagannātha. Almost every form of Hindu faith is represented here. Even the Brahmapurāṇa gives expression to this tolerant view when it says that the holy Puruṣottama-kṣetra forbids all the wranglings between Śaivas and the devotees of Viṣṇu.<sup>1576a</sup> The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has four chambers, the first being the Hall of Offerings (bhoga-mandira), the 2nd the pillared hall for music and dance (the *naṭa* mandira), the third the audience hall where pilgrims assemble (the Jaganmohana mandira) and the 4th the inner sanctuary. The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has a conical tower 192 feet high surmounted by a *calra* <sup>1577</sup> and a flag. The

1576 a. जैवभाववसानां च बाह्यार्चयतिवेधकम् । अस्मिन्क्षेत्रे पुण्ये निर्मले पुरुषोत्तमे ॥  
 शिवस्यायतनं देव करोमि परमं महत् । प्रतिष्ठेय तथा तत्र तव स्थाने च शङ्करम् ॥ ततो ज्ञात्वापि  
 लोकेऽस्मिन्क्षेत्रमूर्त्तिं हरीश्वरो । यत्पुत्राश्च जगन्नाथः स पुनस्तं महात्मनिम् ॥ ... नावपेरम्भरं  
 किञ्चिद्वेकभावे द्विधा कृतौ ॥ यो रुद्रः स स्वयं विष्णुर्यो विष्णुः स महेश्वरः । ब्रह्मपुराण 56.  
 64-66 and 69-70.

1577. The *calra* surmounting the temple is mentioned in the Brahmapurāṇa itself 'यात्रां करोति कुण्डस्य अद्भुता यः समाहितः । सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो विष्णुलोकं  
 ब्रजेकरः ॥ चक्रं दृष्ट्वा हरेर्दृष्ट्वा प्रासादोपरि संस्थितम् । सहस्रं कुण्डले पादाङ्गरो धरत्या प्रणम्य  
 तत् ॥ chap. 51. 70-71 = नारदीय (उ.) 55 10-11.

temple is situated at the distance of about seven furlongs from the sea shore and stands on a mound about 20 feet above the level of the surrounding ground, the mound being dignified by being called Nīlagiri (the blue hill). There is a large gate-way on each side of the enclosure, that on the east being the most magnificent. On each side of the entrance there is a colossal crouching lion and hence the door-way is called *śiṃha-dvāra* (lion gate).

There are certain peculiar features of the great shrine of Jagannātha. In the first place, in the court of Jagannātha and outside the Lion Gate no distinction of caste<sup>1578</sup> is observed. Jagannātha is the god of all people. The second special feature is that the holy rice cooked as offering to Jagannātha is regarded as so sanctified that all barriers of caste are transcended, so much so that a Puri priest will receive the holy food even from a low caste Hindu. The feeling is that cooked rice when once placed before Jagannātha never ceases to be pure. Hence the *Mahāprasāda* is dried, is taken to all parts of India and at the periodical śrāddhas among Vaiṣṇavas a grain of this holy rice is invariably put on the cake as the most sacred article that can be offered to the Manes (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II p. 199). The third special feature of Jagannātha is the car festival (*rathayātrā*) which is the most important of the 24 high<sup>1578a</sup> festivals at Puri. The festival is described at length by Hunter in his 'Orissa', vol. I, pp. 131-134. The car festival starts on the 2nd day of the bright half of Āśāḍha. The car of Jagannātha is about 45 feet in height, 35 feet square and is supported on 16 wheels of 7 feet diameter with 16 spokes and has Garuḍa as a crest; the 2nd car is that of Subhadrā, which is a little smaller than Jagannātha's car, resting on 12 wheels with 12 spokes in each and having a *padma* (lotus) as a crest; the 3rd car is that of Balarāma resting on 14 wheels with 14 spokes in each wheel and has Hanūmān for crest. The cars are drawn by pilgrims and hired labourers from the temple to

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1578. Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I, pp. 135-136) notes that only 21 classes and castes (including Christians and Mahomedans) are excluded, they being mostly flesh-eating and animal-life destroying castes. Even the washerman and the potter whom Hunter includes in the list are allowed to enter the outer court.

1578a. विद्यानिवास (in the middle of 15th century A.D. in Bengal) wrote a work called ह्यदशयात्राययोजयमाण on 12 festivals in 12 months connected with जयन्त्याय (vide No. 2429 in MM. Haraprasad Sastri's Cat. of mss. vol. III.)

the country-house of Jagannātha (which is about two miles away) amidst the shouts and emotional songs of thousands of pilgrims. Owing to the references in English literature to the car of Jagannātha it is supposed by many that pilgrims used to throw themselves before the car in a religious frenzy and were killed. But there is hardly any truth in these suppositions. There might have been a few accidental deaths. Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I. pp. 133-34) scouts this idea of suicide under the car and Rajendralal observes (in 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II. p. 99) 'No Indian divinity has a more unenviable notoriety in English Literature than Jagannātha. It is certain, nevertheless, that human conception has never realized a more innocent and gentle divinity than Jagannātha and the tenets of his votaries are the very reverse of sanguinary or revolting. Never was opprobrium more unjustly cast on an inoffensive object than in this instance and none merited it less'. On the 10th day of the bright half begins the return of the car from the country house.

According to Rajendralal Mitra the oldest temple in Puri is that of Alābukeśvara built by Lalāṭendu Kesari (623-677 A. D.), the builder of the tower of Bhuvaneśvara; the next oldest is Mārkaṇḍeśvara and next comes the great temple of Jagannātha (vol. II. p. 112). Manmohan Chakravarti in his paper on the 'date of Jagannātha temple in Puri' (J. A. S. B., vol. 67 for 1898, part 1 pp. 328-331) quotes two verses from the Gaṅgavamsa copper plates of Orissa which state that Gaṅgeśvara alias Coḍagaṅga built the great temple of Puruṣottama<sup>1579</sup>. As Coḍagaṅga's coronation took place in śaka 999 (i. e. 1078 A. D.) according to M. M. Chakravarti, he put forward the view that the *prāsāda* of Jagannātha was built about 1085-1090 A. D. Dr. D. C. Sirkar (in 'God Puruṣottama at Puri' J. O. R., Madras vol. 17 pp. 209-215) points out that the celebrated Oriya Chronicle *Mādalā-pāñjī* attributes the construction of Puruṣottama Jagannātha not to Coḍagaṅga but to his great-grandson Anaṅga-bhīma III, who also installed an image of Puruṣottama in a temple at Vārāṇasī-Kāṭaka (modern Cuttack)

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1579. प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य स्वयतिः को नाम कर्तुं क्षमस्तस्येत्याद्यनुपेक्षितमयं श्लोकेऽयं पञ्जेऽनुरः ॥ These verses establish that the shrine of Puruṣottama existed long before the date of the inscription and that the kings who preceded Coḍagaṅga did not care to build a befitting temple. It appears that Coḍagaṅga built only the minor sanctum and the Jaganmohana i. e. the first maṇḍapa (vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I. p. 251 ).

which was desecrated by Sultan Firuz Shah (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol. III. pp. 312-315). These Gaṅga kings built magnificent temples at Bhuvaneśvara (ancient Ekāmra), Konārka and Puri, which are the finest surviving specimens of North Indian Hindu Architecture. Mitra ('Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II, pp. 109-110) and Hunter ('Orissa' vol. I pp. 100-102) note that Anāṅga-bhīma wanted to eclipse the grand tower of Bhuvaneśvara and renovated the temple of Jagannātha in *śaka* 1119 (i. e. 1198 A. D.).<sup>1580</sup>

The temple of Jagannātha has an army of attendants. They are divided into 36 orders and 97 classes. At the head was the Raja of Khurdha who called himself the 'sweeper of Jagannātha' (vide Hunter's 'Orissa', vol. I. p. 128).

As in Banaras, so here also there are five important tirthas,<sup>1581</sup> viz. the pool of Mārkaṇḍeya, the Vata tree (identified with Kṛṣṇa), Balarāma, the sea and Indradyumna pool. A few words may be said here about each. The story of Mārkaṇḍeya is narrated in Brahmapurāṇa, chapters 52-56 and in Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa 10.21 ff (briefly). In chap. 56. 72-73 Viṣṇu asks Mārkaṇḍeya to build a temple of Śiva to the north of Jagannātha and to construct a sacred pool which thenceforward was to become known as 'Mārkaṇḍeya's pool'. The Brahmapurāṇa provides that the pilgrim should bathe in Mārkaṇḍeya's pool, dip his head thrice, utter a mantra (chap. 57. 3-4), then he should perform *tarpaṇa*, go to the temple of Śiva (called Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara) and worship him with the Mūlamantra<sup>1582</sup> viz. 'Om namaḥ Śivāya', then with another mantra called Aghora and a Paurāṇic mantra. The pilgrim should, after a bath in Mārkaṇḍeya's pool and visit to the temple of Śiva, repair to the sacred Vata, circum-ambulate it

1580. 'शकाब्दे रघुशुभांशुरूपनक्षत्रनायके । मासाद् कारयामासानङ्गभीमेन धीमता ॥. Vide Mitra's work vol. II. p. 110 and 'History of Orissa' by R. D. Banerji vol I. p. 248 for the date of Coḷagaṅga's accession taken from his own inscription of *śaka* 1003 (1081 A. D.).

1581. मार्कण्डेयं वटं कुण्डं रोहिणेयं महादधिम । इन्द्रद्युम्नसरश्चैव पञ्चतर्थाविधिः स्मृतः ॥ ब्रह्म 60. 11.

1582. मूलमन्त्रेण संपूज्य मार्कण्डेयस्य चेश्वरम् । अपोरेण च भो बिम्बाः मणिपराय प्रसादयेत् ॥ त्रिलोचन नमस्तेस्तु नमस्ते शशिभूषण । त्राहि मां त्वं विरूपाक्ष महादेव नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 7-8 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 18-19. The *गी. चि.* p. 88 states that the अपोरमन्त्र is 'ओं अपोरेण्यो पोरेशो वीरतरेभ्यः, सर्वेभ्यः सर्वसर्वेभ्यो नमस्तेस्तु रुद्ररूपेभ्यः'.

thrice, worship it with the mantra<sup>1583</sup> noted below. It may be noted that the Brahmapurāṇa 157.17 expressly states that the Vata is Viṣṇu Himself in that form (nygrodhākṛtikam Viṣṇu prapīṭya). The Vata is also styled Kalpavṛkṣa (Brahma 57. 12, 60. 18). The pilgrim should bow to Garuḍa standing in front of Kṛṣṇa and then worship Kṛṣṇa, Saṅkarsaṇa and Subhadra with mantras. The mantras for Saṅkarsaṇa are verses 22-23 of Brahmapurāṇa chap. 57 and that for Subhadra is chap. 57. 58.<sup>1584</sup> The mantra to be used in the worship of Kṛṣṇa is either of 12 syllables (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) or of eight syllables (om namo Nārāyaṇāya). Brahmapurāṇa chap. 57 verses 42-51 specify the various rewards of seeing Kṛṣṇa with devotion and wind up by promising mokṣa.<sup>1585</sup> A bath in the sea at Puri is always commendable, but particularly on the Full Moon day (Brahma 60. 10). Brahma chap. 62 deals at length with the bath in the sea (the whole of it except one verse being quoted by Tir. C. pp. 126-128). The Indradyumna pool has been mentioned above (pp. 694-95). The pilgrim has to bathe in the Indradyumna pool, perform *tarpaṇa* for gods, sages and *pitṛs* and offer *pīṇḍas* to his ancestors (chap. 63. 2-5).

In the Govindapur stone Inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara (E. I. vol. II, p. 330) of *śaka* 1059 i. e. (1137-38 A. D.) there is a clear reference to Puruṣottama.<sup>1586</sup>

The Brahmapurāṇa chap. 66 speaks of the Guṇḍicāyātrā for seven days on the bank of the Indradyumna pool in a *maṇḍapa* where reside (temporarily) Kṛṣṇa, Saṅkarsaṇa and Subhadra. The Tir. C. which quotes the whole of that chapter (pp. 157-159), calls it Guṇḍikā, while in the drama Caitanya-

1583. ओं नमोऽन्यत्कृपाय महामलयकारिणे । महद्भस्मोपविहाय न्यग्रोधाय नमोस्तु ते ॥ अमरस्तु सदा कल्पे हरेस्त्रायतमं वट । न्यग्रोधे हर मे पापं कल्पवृक्ष नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 13-14 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 24-25 (with slight variations).

1584. नमस्ते सर्वे देवि नमस्ते क्षुभसौख्यदे । त्राहि मां पद्मपद्माक्षि कारयायानि नमोस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 58 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 64.

1585. किं कार्यं बहुभिर्मन्त्रैर्मनोविभ्रमकारकैः । ओं नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रः सर्वार्थसाधकः ॥ ब्रह्म. 60. 24 = नारदीय (उ.) 56. 35 ; किं याव बहुभोक्तेन माहात्म्ये तस्य भो हिजाः । दृष्ट्वा कृष्णं नरो भक्त्या मोक्षं प्राप्नोति दुर्लभम् ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 51 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 57.

1586. कत्वा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं (भग)वयो द्रव्यः श्रुतिहायर्षं पाराशरतटे पटीयसि लसन्नम्बु-ग्रहणेहसि । सर्वस्य वित्तसारं तपितपितुस्तोमः करोह्यसितैस्तोयैः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाय क्षयम् ॥ verse 12 of E. I. II. at p. 334.

candrodaya <sup>1587</sup> it is styled Gundicā at the very beginning. It appears that Gundicā is the summer house of Jagannātha about two miles from the great Temple. The word is probably derived from *gundi*, which means a thick log of wood in Bengali and Uriya (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II, pp. 138-139) and has reference to the legend of a log of wood that Indradyumna found floating in the sea.

It may be noted that religious suicide at Purusottama is referred to in Brahmapurāṇa: <sup>1588</sup> 'those who give up their body (life) in Purusottama-kṣetra after mounting up the Vāṭa tree or do so between the Vāṭa and the ocean reach without doubt mokṣa. A man abandoning life, either intentionally or unintentionally, either on his way to Purusottama or in the cemetery or in the country house (of Jagannātha) or in the streets (of Jagannātha) or even anywhere else there secures mokṣa. Therefore men desiring mokṣa should by all means give up life at that holy place'.

The Brahmapurāṇa winds up by saying 'it is thrice <sup>1589</sup> true that that kṣetra (Purusottama) is the greatest and highest

1587. सूत्रधारः। भगवतः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य गुण्डिकायात्रायां ... गजपतिना प्रताप-  
रत्नेणादिष्टोऽस्मि। ... सोऽयं नीलगिरिःश्वरः सविभक्तो यात्रा च सा गुण्डिका। चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय I.  
(B. I. series). The metre requires that the first two syllables in the name of the Yātrā should be गुण्डि and का and वा may have been easily confused by the copyists of mss. The नारदीय (उ.) chap. 61.40 ff quotes the whole of ब्रह्म chap. 66 but reads गुण्डिका. The ब्रह्मपुराण reads 'ससाहं सरसस्तीरे तव राजन् भविष्यति। शुद्धिवा (गुण्डिका?) नाम यात्रा मे सर्वकामफलप्रदा॥ ये मां तत्रार्चयिष्यन्ति श्रद्धया मण्डपे स्थितम्। सङ्कर्षणं सुभद्रां च विधिबन्धुसमाहिताः॥ ... न तेषां दुर्लभं किञ्चित् फलं यस्य यदीप्सितम् 166. 8-9 and 12. Some writers such as Nilāmbardāsa in his 'Deul-tola' state that Gundicā was the name of Indradyumna's queen (Mahtab's 'History of Orissa' p. 161). I owe this last reference to the kindness of Dr. Raghavan of Madras University.

1588. देहं त्यजन्ति पुरुषास्तत्र ये पुरुषोत्तमे। कल्पवृक्षं समासाद्य शुक्रास्ते नात्र संशयः॥ वटसागरयोर्मध्ये ये त्यजन्ति कलेवरम्। ते दुर्लभं परं मोक्षं प्राप्नुवन्ति न संशयः॥ पथि इमं ज्ञानं गृहमण्डपे वा रथपाददेशेऽपि यत्र कुत्र। इच्छन्ति कृच्छ्रापि तत्र देहं संत्यज्य मोक्षं लभते मनुष्यः॥ तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः। देहत्यागो नरैः कार्यो सम्प्रद्योक्षा-  
भिकाङ्क्षिभिः॥ ब्रह्म 177. 16, 17, 24, 25. The first three are quoted by ली. चि.  
p. 175.

1589. सत्यं सत्यं पुनः सत्यं क्षेत्रं तत्परमं महत्। पुरुषार्थं सङ्कुट्टं दृष्ट्वा सागरारम्भः-  
समाप्तम्। ब्रह्मविद्यां सङ्कुञ्जात्वा गर्भवासो न विद्यते। ब्रह्म 70. 3-4 (= नारद, उत्तरार्ध 52. 25-26) quoted in ली. चि. p. 56 which reads सागरारम्भःसङ्कुञ्च्यम् and remarks 'एतत्क्षेत्रदर्शनस्य, सागरारम्भासि मरणस्य, तथा ब्रह्मविद्यापोषस्य च प्रत्येकं गर्भवासाभावः फलमित्यर्थः.'

tirtha. A person has not to lie again in the womb after once visiting Puruṣottama which is laved by the waters of the sea or by once attaining the knowledge of *brahma*.

The great Vaiṣṇava saint, Caitanya, settled permanently at Puri in 1515 A. D. at the age of thirty and spent eighteen years there till 1533 (when he died). He appears to have made a great impression on the Gajapati king Pratāparudradeva, ruler of Orissa (1497-1540 A. D.). In the drama Caitanyacandrodaya of Kavikarṇapūra the king is shown to be so anxious for meeting the saint that he declares that he would die if the gracious glance of the saint did not fall on him.<sup>1590</sup> This should be attributed to the inveterate habit of gross exaggeration rampant in most Sanskrit writers, particularly amongst devotees and followers of great saints. Caitanya came to be worshipped along with Viṣṇu as a deity in Puri and Orissa (vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 109). Kavikarṇapūra in his drama (8th Act) makes Sārvabhauma say that there is no distinction between God Jagannātha and Caitanya, the only difference being that Jagannātha is 'dārubrahma' (Godhead manifested in a wooden image) and Caitanya is 'narabrahma' (Godhead in human form).<sup>1591</sup> The Caitanyacaritāmṛta (a poem) of Kavikarṇapūra in cantos 14-18 deals with the devotional and ecstatic life of Caitanya at Puri and presents a vivid picture of Ratha and other festivals of Jagannātha in which Caitanya took a prominent part. I agree with Dr. S. K. De that there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith ('Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 67).

One regrettable feature of the great temple of Jagannātha is the existence of some obscene and lascivious sculptures that disfigure the walls of the temple and the presence of dancing girls with rolling eyes, to which pointed reference is made by all writers, particularly European ones (vide, for example, Indian Antiquary vol. I. p. 322, Hunter's 'Orissa', vol. I pp. 111, 135). The presence of dancing girls is a legacy from the past. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 65) in describing the special *snāna* (bath) festival of Jagannātha on the full moon day of

1590. अतःपरं चैतनं न वीक्षते मां न धारयित्वे-वत जीवनं च । चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 5th Act p. 187.

1591. 'भगवन्, जगन्नाथस्य भवतश्च कृष्णचैतन्यत्वमविवक्षितमेव तथाप्यस्ति कश्चिद्भेदः । असौ दाहज्ज्ञा भवान् नरज्ज्ञा ।' सार्वभौम in चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 8th Act p. 167.

Jyeṣṭha mentions, along with the beating of drums and the music of the flute and the lute and the chanting of holy Vedic mantras, handsome veśyas as *chowrie*-bearers in front of the images of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa.<sup>1592</sup>

## NARMADĀ

Next to the Ganges the most sacred rivers of India are the Narmadā and the Godāvarī. A few words about each of these may be said here.

An express reference to the Narmadā has not so far been traced in the Vedic Literature. The Śatapatha Br. (XII. 9. 3. 1) refers to one Revottaras who was a Pāṭava Cakra and sthapati (a chief) and whom the Sṛñjayas expelled (SBE. vol. 44 p. 269)<sup>1593</sup>. Revā is another name for Narmadā<sup>1594</sup> and it is possible to say that Revottaras was named after Revā. A *vārtika* on Pāṇ. IV. 2. 87 derives the word Mahīsmat (as the name of a country) from 'Mahiṣa'. This is generally identified with Māhīsmatī (on the Narmadā). So the name Narmadā was probably known to the author of the Vārtikas (about the middle of the 4th century B. C.). The Raghuvamśa VI. 43 speaks of Māhīsmatī as the capital of Anūpa on the bank of the Revā (i. e. Narmadā).

The Narmadā is frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas. The Matsya (chapters 186-194, 554 verses), Kūrma (Uttarārdha, chapters 40-42 verses 189), Padma Ādikhaṇḍa (chap. 13-23, 739 verses, most of which are the same as in the Matsya) deal with greatness of Narmadā and the tīrthas thereon<sup>1594a</sup>. The Matsya (194. 45) and Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 21. 44) state that from the place where the Narmadā falls into the sea up to the Amara-kāṇṭaka mountain (where it rises) there are ten crores of sacred places, while the Agnipurāṇa (113. 2) and Kūrma II. 40. 13 raise the number to 60 crores and 60 thousand. The Nāradiya (uttarārdha chap. 77)

1592. धुनीनां वेदशाब्देन मन्त्रशाब्देस्तथापरैः । नानास्तोत्ररवैः पुण्यैः सामशब्दोपबृंहितैः । इयामैवेत्याजनेश्वरं कुचभारापनामिभिः । पीतरक्ताम्बराभिश्च माल्यदामापनामिभिः ॥ ... आनरे रत्नदण्डैश्च दीप्येते रामकेशवौ ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 65. 15, 17, 18.

1593. रेवोत्तरसह्य ह पाटवं चाकं स्थपतिं सुखया अपरुद्धुः । ज्ञतपथजा. XII. 9. 3. 1.

1594. रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका । अमरकोश.

1594 a. It may be noted that the earliest extant digest, viz. Kalpataru on tīrthas (pp. 198-205) quotes verses only from the Matsyapurāṇa, chapter 186-189 (in all about 70 verses on Narmadā) and from no other source.



says (verse 1) that there are 400 principal tīrthas on both banks of the Narmadā, but from Amara-kaṇṭaka three crores and a half (verses 4 and 27-28).<sup>1595</sup> The Vanaparva (in chap. 188, 103 and chap. 222, 24) mentions the Narmadā along with the Godāvari and other rivers of the south. In the same parva (chap. 89, 1-3) it is stated that the holy Narmadā is in the Ānarta country<sup>1596</sup>, that it is endowed with *priyaṅgu* creepers and mango groves, that it has strings of Vānra fruit, that it flows to the west and that all the holy places in the three worlds come for a bath to the Narmadā. The Matsya and Padma declare<sup>1597</sup> that the Ganges is holy in Kanakhala, the Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra, but the Narmadā is holy everywhere whether in a village or in a forest and that the Narmadā purifies the sinner by its very sight while the waters of the Sarasvatī do so by three baths (on three days), of the Yamunā (by baths) in seven days and of the Ganges by a single bath. The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra (85,8) in enumerating a list of tīrthas that are eminently fit for śrāddha includes the banks of the Narmadā throughout the whole length among them. The Narmadā is said<sup>1598</sup> to have started from the body of Rudra which is a poetic way of saying that it rises from Amara-kaṇṭaka that is said to be the abode of God Mahēśvara and his spouse (Matsya 188,91). The Vāyupurāṇa declares that the holy Narmadā, the best of rivers, is the daughter of the pitrs and the śrāddhas offered on it become inexhaustible<sup>1599</sup>. The Matsya and Kūrma both say

1595. Though रेवा and नर्मदा are generally used as synonyms it is found that the भागवतपुराण in V. 19, 18 enumerates them separately (तापी रेवा सुरसा नर्मदा) and the वामनपुराण (13, 25 and 29-30) states that the Revā springs from विन्ध्य and नर्मदा from ऋक्षपाद. सार्धत्रिकोटितीर्थानि गदितानीह वायुना। द्विषि भुङ्गन्तरिक्षे च रेवायां तानि सन्ति च। नारदीय (उ.) 77, 27-28; vide note 1268 above for similar eulogy of the Ganges.

1596. Ānarta appears to be the ancient name of Gujarat and Kathiawar together. In the Udyogaparva Dvārakā is called Ānarta-nagari (7, 6). As Narmadā is said to flow through Ānarta it must be supposed that in the times of the Great Epic Ānarta included both southern Gujarat and Kathiawar.

1597. पुण्या कनकले गङ्गा कुक्षेत्रे सरस्वती। ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥ त्रिभिः सारस्वतं शीघ्रं ससाहेन तु यादुनम्। ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥ मत्स्य. 186. 10-11 = पद्म, आदिषण्ढ 13, 6-7 = कूर्म II. 40, 7-8. Vide note 1271 above and compare नारदीय (उत्तरार्ध 77, 30-31) for the 2nd verse.

1598. नर्मदा सरितां श्रेष्ठा रुद्रदेहाद्भिनिःसृता। तत्रयेत्सर्वभूतानि श्वावराणि चराणि च ॥ मत्स्य 190, 17 = कूर्म II. 40, 5 = पद्म (आदि. 17, 13).

1599. विष्णुनां दुहित्वा पुण्या नर्मदा सरितां वरा। तत्र ज्ञातानि दत्तानि अक्षयानि भवन्त्युत ॥ वायु 77, 32.

that the river Narmadā has a course of complete 100 yojanas and its breadth is two yojanas<sup>1600</sup>. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar seizes upon the length of 100 yojanas and says (on p. 199 note 4 of his edition of Kalpataru on Tirtha in G. O. S.) that the Matsya is very accurate, since the length of the Narmadā is now found to be about 800 miles. But he forgets that the breadth is said to be two yojanas (i. e. 16 miles on the scale for a yojana adopted by him). It is not shown how and where (except at the mouth if at all) the Narmadā is 16 miles in breadth in its long course. Both Matsya and Kūrma state that the Narmadā is (rises) from Amarakantaka which is to the western side of the country of Kalinga.<sup>1601</sup>

The Viṣṇupurāṇa provides that if a man repeats day and night and whenever he has to go inside a dark place the mantra 'Salutation to Narmadā in the morning! salutation to Narmadā at night! O Narmadā! salutation to you; save me from poisonous serpents'<sup>1602</sup> he has no danger from serpents.

It is stated in the Kūrma and the Matsya that a man who commits suicide by entering fire or water or by fasting (on some of the tirthas on the Narmadā or on Amarakantaka) does not return (to this saṁsāra).<sup>1603</sup>

The Narmadā is mentioned as Namados by Ptolemy (p. 102). One of the earliest inscriptional references to it occurs in the Eran stone pillar Inscription of Budhagupta in 165 of Gupta era i. e. 484-85 A. D. Vide C. I. I. vol. III, at p. 89.

Several rivers are mentioned as falling into the Narmadā such as Kapilā (on the south bank, Matsya 186. 40, Padma I. 13. 35), Viśalyā (Matsya 186. 46 = Padma II. 13. 35-39), Eraṇḍī (Matsya 191. 42-43, Padma I. 18. 44), Ikṣu-nādi (Matsya 191. 49, Padma I. 18. 47), Kāveri (Matsya 189. 12-13,<sup>1604</sup> Padma I. 16. 6).

1600. योजनानां दशैः सार्धं श्रूयते सरिदुत्तमा । विस्तारेण तु राजेन्द्र योजनद्वयमायता ॥  
कूर्म II. 40. 12 = मत्स्य 186. 24-25. The अग्नि also (113. 2) gives the same measurements.

1601. कलिङ्गदेशपश्चार्धे पर्वतेऽमरकण्डके । पुण्या च त्रिषु लोकेषु रमणीया मनोरमा ॥  
कूर्म. II. 40. 9, मत्स्य. 186. 12.

1602. नर्मदायै नमः शतनर्मदायै नमो निशि । नमोस्तु नर्मदे तुभ्यं आहि मां  
विचक्षर्यतः ॥ विष्णुपुराण IV. 3. 12-13.

1603. अनाशकं तु यः कुर्वात्सिमस्तीर्थे नराधिप । नर्मदास्ते तु राजेन्द्र न पुनर्जायते  
पुमान् । मत्स्य. 194. 29-30; परित्यजति यः प्राणांश्च पर्वतेऽमरकण्डके । वर्षकोटिशतं सार्धं  
चक्रलोके महीयते ॥ मत्स्य. 186. 53-54.

1604. The northern branch of the Narmadā where the island Omkāra is situated is called Kāveri (Bom. G. vol. 9 p. 295). Vide in the list under Omkāra.

Many sub-tirthas are enumerated, out of which two or three may be mentioned here. One is Mahēśvara-tirtha (i. e. Omkāra) from where Rudra is said to have burnt down with an arrow the three cities of Bāpāsura (Matsya 188. 2 ff, Padma I. 15. 2 ff), Śukla-tirtha (highly praised in Matsya 192. 3 ff about which it is said that the *rājarsi* Cānakya <sup>1605</sup> attained perfection there), Bhrgutirtha (at the very <sup>1606</sup> sight of which a man becomes free from sin, a bath in which leads to heaven and death at which ensures non-return to *samsāra*), the Jāmadagnya-tirtha (where the Narmadā <sup>1607</sup> falls into the sea and where Lord Janārdana secured perfection). The mountain Amarakantaka is a tirtha that dispels all sins including brāhmaṇa-murder and it is one yojana all round in extent (Matsya 189. 89, 98). The most important place on the Narmadā is, however, Māhismatī, about the exact location of which scholars have differed. The general consensus of opinion is that Māhismatī is to be identified with Omkāra Mādhātā, an island in the Narmadā about 40 miles south of Indore. It has a long history. Moggaliputta Tissa is said in Buddhist works to have sent missionaries to several countries in the reign of Aśoka (about 247 B. C.), one of which was sent to Mahiṣamandala. Dr. Fleet in his paper 'Mahiṣamandala and Māhismatī' (in J. R. A. S. for 1910 pp. 425-447) assigns cogent reasons for identifying Mahiṣamandala and Māhismatī. Māhismatī was well-known to the Mahābhāṣya, <sup>1608</sup> from a passage in which it follows that by a forced march a person starting from Ujjayinī could reach Māhismatī the next morning. Kālidāsa describes it as surrounded by Revā (Raghuvamśa VI. 43). Māhismatī is mentioned as being on

1605. शुक्रतीर्थं महापुण्यं नर्मदायां व्यवस्थितम् । चाणक्यो नाम राजर्षिः सिद्धिं तत्र समागतः ॥ मत्स्य. 192. 14 = पद्म. I. 19. 13-14 (reads चाणिक्यो). शुक्रतीर्थं is about 10 miles to the east of Broach. राजर्षिः probably means here राज्ञः ऋषिः and not राजा चासीत् ऋषिश्च.

1606. उपासते भुगोस्तीर्थं तुष्टो यत्र महेश्वरः ।... दर्शनात्सर्वस्य तीर्थस्य सद्यः पापक्षयश्च्यते ।... तत्र रमात्वा विजं यान्ति ये सुतास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः ॥ मत्स्य. 193. 49-50, 52.

1607. ततो गच्छेद्य राजेन्द्र नर्मदोदधिं सङ्गमम् ॥ जामदग्न्यामिति ख्यातं सिद्धौ यत्र जनार्दनः ॥ मत्स्य. 194. 34-35.

1608. चित्रिकरणे माप्यर्थे कुद्वस्ताण्णिज् वक्तव्यः ।... उज्जायिन्याः परिधतो माहिस्यस्यां सूर्योद्गमनं सम्भावयते सूर्यस्तुद्गमयतीति । महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 10 (चित्रिकरणे मापि) on पा. III. 1. 26. चित्रिकरणे means when surprise or wonder is to be conveyed. It is surprising if a man were to say that starting from Ujjayinī on foot he would reach Māhismatī the next day at sunrise. The distance between the two would be more than 60 miles.

the Narmadā or Revā in Udyogaparva 19. 23-24, 166. 4, Anuśāsana 166. 4, Bhāgavata X. 79. 21, Padma II. 92: 32.

Another ancient city is Bharukaccha or Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach) for which the entry in the list may be consulted.

## GODĀVARĪ

No mention of Godāvari has so far been found in the Vedic Literature. In Buddhist works there are traditions about Bāvari, who was a purohita of Mahākosala and then of Pasenadi, who resided in Assaka's territory in the vicinity of Alaka on the Godāvari and who is said to have sent several disciples to Buddha at Śrāvastī (vide Suttanipāta, S. B. E. vol. X part 2 pp. 184 and 187). The *Vārtika* 'Sāṅkhyāyā nadi-godāvari-bhyām ca' on Pān. V. 4.75, expressly mentions Godāvari and has in view 'Saptagodāvara'. The two Epics and Purāṇas contain numerous references to it. The Vanaparva<sup>1609</sup> mentions it as a holy river in the south, abounding in gardens and full of water and resorted to by hermits performing austerities. The Aranyakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (13.13 and 21) speaks of the country well-known as 'Pañcavati' frequented by herds of deer which is near the Godāvari and about two yojanas from Agastya's hermitage. It is in the Brahmapurāṇa that the Godāvari and the subsidiary tirthas on it have been lauded at great length in chapters 70-175. The Tirthasāra (a part of Nṛsiṃha-prasāda) quotes about 60 verses from chapters 89, 91, 106, 107, 116-118, 121, 122, 128, 131, 144, 154, 159, 172 of the Brahmapurāṇa, which fact shows that the chapters on Gautamī in the present Brahmapurāṇa were part of the Brahmapurāṇa at least some centuries before 1500 A. D. Vide my paper in J.B.B.R.A.S. for 1917 p. 27-28. The Brahmapurāṇa generally refers to the Godāvari as Gautamī.<sup>1610</sup> It is stated by the Brahmapurāṇa that the Ganges to the south of the Vindhya mountain is called Gautamī and to its north Bhāgirathī. The Godāvari is said to be 200 yojanas long and there are three crores and a half of

1609. कस्यामाख्यायते पुण्या द्विती गोदावरी नदी । बह्वारामा बहुजला तापसाचरिता शिवा ॥ वनपर्व 88.2; इतो द्वियोजने तात बहुमुलफलोदकः । देशो बहुसृगः भीमान् पञ्चवत्यभिविश्रुतः ।... गोदावरीः समीपे च मैथिली तत्र ररपते ॥ रामायण III. 13. 13 and 21.

1610. विन्ध्यस्य दक्षिणे गङ्गा गौतमी सा निगद्यते । उत्तरे सापि विन्ध्यस्य आगीरश्य-भिधीयते । ब्रह्म. 78. 77 q. in तीर्थेसार p. 45.

tirthas on it.<sup>1611</sup> Dapḍakāranya is said to be the seed (source or cause) of dharma and *mukti* and the country embraced by the Gautami is specially the holiest.<sup>1612</sup> A verse occurring in several purāṇas states 'These countries (of Madhyadeśa) are immediately next to the mountain Sahya: thereon is Godāvari and that country is the most charming in the whole world. There is Govardhana there which is (like) Mandara and Gandhamādana'.<sup>1613</sup> Brahmapurāṇa (chapters 74-76) narrates how Gautama brought the Ganges from the matted hair of Śiva to Brahmagiri where he had his hermitage and how Gaṇeśa helped in the task by means of a ruse. The Nārada-purāṇa (uttarārdha 72) narrates that no rain fell for 12 years while Gautama practised *tapas*, that owing to famine all sages came to Gautama's hermitage, that he brought Gaṅgā to his hermitage, that he sowed śali grains in the morning and reaped the crop by midday, that this went on till there was plenty of rain and crops, that Śiva appeared to him, that Gautama prayed that Śiva should stay near his hermitage and that hence the hill on which Gautama had his hermitage came to be called Tryambaka (verse 24). Varāha (71. 37-44) also says that Gautama brought Jāhnavi to Dapḍaka and the river became Godāvari. The Kūrma (II. 20, 29-35) mentions a long list of rivers and other sacred places and winds up by saying that the Godāvari is pre-eminently a place for performing śrāddha. It is stated in the Brahmapurāṇa that for the removal of all kinds of distress two alone are declared (as the means) viz. the holy river Gautami or Śiva who is full of compassion.<sup>1614</sup> The Brahmapurāṇa describes about a hundred tirthas on the Godāvari, such as Tryambaka (79.6), Kuśāvarta (80, 1-3), Janasthāna (88.1), Govardhana (chap. 91), Pravarāsaṅgama

1611. तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च योजनानां शतद्वये। तीर्थानि सुनिर्वाह्यं सम्भविवन्ति गौतमः ॥ ब्रह्म० 77. 8-9.

1612. धर्मबीजं मुक्तिबीजं दण्डकारण्यमुच्यते। विशेषाद्गौतमीक्षिप्रो देशः पुण्य-तमोऽभवत् ॥ ब्रह्म० 161.73.

1613. सहायस्यानन्तरे चैते तत्र गोदावरी नदी। पृथिव्यामाय कृत्वायां स प्रवेशो मनोरमः ॥ यत्र गोवर्धनो नाम मन्दरो गन्धमावनः। मत्स्य. 114. 37-38 = वायु 45. 112-113 (reads सहाय्य चोत्तरार्धे तु and नाम सुरराजेन निर्मितः) = मार्कण्डेय 54. 34-35 = ब्रह्माण्ड II. 16. 43 (सहाय्य चोत्तरान्ते तु and तत्र गोवर्धनं नाम पुरं रामेण निर्मितम्). ब्रह्म 27. 43-44 read सहाय्य चोत्तरे यस्तु and गोवर्धनपुरं रम्यं भार्गवस्य महात्मनः।

1614. सर्वदुःखापनोदाय ह्यमेव प्रकीर्तितम्। गौतमी वा पुण्यनदी सिनो वा कवणा-करः ॥ ब्रह्म. 124. 93.

(106) and Nivāsapura<sup>1615</sup> (106. 55), Vañjarāsaṅgama (159) but they have to be passed over from considerations of space. A few words must, however, be said about Nasik, Govardhana, Pañcavati and Janasthāna. Nasik must have existed at least 200 years before Christ. An Inscription on one pillar of the railing at Bharhut *stūpa* (about 200 B. C.) records the gift of Gorakṣitā of Nasik, the wife of Vasuka.<sup>1616</sup> This is the earliest certain historical reference to Nasik discovered so far. The Mahābhāṣya<sup>1617</sup> speaks of Nāsikya as a city. The Vāyupurāṇa (45.130) mentions Nāsikya as a country. The Nasik Inscriptions in the Paṇḍulēnā caves (Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 544-639 and E. I. vol. VIII pp. 59-96 edited by Senart) establish that Nasik was a prosperous place in the centuries before and after Christ. Ptolemy (about 150 A. D.) mentions Nasika (Ptolemy p. 156). It is not possible for reasons of space to go into the detailed history of Nasik, its bathing places and pools, its temples, pilgrimages and rites of worship. For these one may consult the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 16 (for Nasik District). That volume states that there are about 60 temples in Nasik (pp. 503-512) and 16 in Pañcavati and one on the left bank of the Godāvarī (pp. 512 ff.). But hardly any really old temple has survived. In 1680 A. D. twenty-five temples at Nasik were destroyed by the Deccan Viceroy of Aurangzeb. Almost all the large temples that adorn Nasik were built during the times of the Peshwas of Poona (1750-1818). Three temples are specially worthy of mention, viz. the Rāmji temple in Pañcavati and Nāro Shankar's temple (or Bell temple) on the left bank of the Godāvarī near the first crossing and that of Sundara-nārāyaṇa in Āditwar Peth at Nasik (p. 503). The Sītā-gumpha (Sītā cave) in Pañcavati close to some very old and tall Banyan trees that are believed to have sprung from the five trees that gave the name to the

1615. शिवशक्त्योर्वैतत्समिन्निवासोऽध्वत्सनातनः । अतो वदन्ति नुनयो निवासपुर-मित्यद् । प्रवरायाः पुरा देवाः स्मृतीनांस्तस्मै वराश्च ददुः ॥ ब्रह्म. 106. 53-54. निवासपुर is Newasa on the Pravara which falls into the Godāvarī at the sacred place called Toka. The great Marathi poet and saint Jñāneśvara wrote his commentary on the Gītā at Newasa.

1616. Vide Bharhut *stūpa* (by Cunningham) p. 138 'नासिक-गोरक्षितय धर्मो दानं बहुकस्त भारियाय' (No. 87).

1617. नासिक्यं नगरमिति सङ्काशादिषु पाठः करिष्यते । महाभाष्य vol III. p. 42 on पा. VI. 1. 63. सङ्काश occurs as one among many gaṇas in पा. IV. 2. 80. नासिक्य is derived from नासिका (nose) and was probably so named because the nose of Sūrpanakhā was cut off by Lakṣmaṇa there,

place is a much frequented place. Not far from the Sitā-gumpha is the temple of Kālā Rāma, one of the finest modern temples in Western India. There are numerous bathing places and sacred pools (*kunḍas*) between Govardhana (6 miles to the west of Nasik) and Tapovana (1½ miles to south-east of Nasik). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 522-526. The holiest spot in Nasik is the Rāmakunḍa near the left bank of the Godāvarī where it takes its first bend to the south. For the Kālārāma daily services and the rites pilgrims have to perform at Nasik, vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 517-518 and 529-531 respectively. Rāmanavamī is one of the great religious festivals at Nasik.

Govardhana town occurs several times in the long and famous Nasik Inscription of Uśavadāta (No. 10 in Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 p. 569-70).<sup>1618</sup> As regards Pañcavaṭī the place still goes by the same name. It is to be noted that in the Rāmāyaṇa III. 13. 13 Pañcavaṭī is styled a *deśa* (country). Janasthāna was in Daṇḍakāraṇya according to the Śalyaparva 39. 9-10, Rām. III. 21. 19-20, Nāradya-purāṇa II. 75. 30 and Agni 7. 2-3<sup>1619</sup> and Pañcavaṭī was part of Janasthāna. Janasthāna is said to be four yojanas in extent, and it is further stated that it was so called because kings of the Janaka line secured *mukti* there through the favour of the Godāvarī.<sup>1620</sup>

A bath in the Godāvarī when Jupiter enters the sign of Leo has been regarded even up to the present day as very

1618. Nasik Cave Inscription No. 20 is नासिककनं धम्भिकगामस दानं (gift of Dhambhika village by the inhabitants of Nasik). Vide Bom. G. vol. XVI. p. 590, E. I. vol. VIII at p. 72. Inscription No 22 is साववाहनकुले कश्चे राजानि नासिककेन समणेन महामतेण लेण कारितं 'this cave was caused to be constructed by the great minister who is (now) a śramaṇa, an inhabitant of Nasik, in the reign of king Kṛṇa of the Sātavāhana family.' Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 592. These two are the oldest inscriptions in the Pāṇḍulēṇā caves dating from at least 100 B. C. राज्ञः अहिरातस्य अन्नपस्य नहपातस्य जानात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उषवदातेन... भद्रकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोपरगे च चतुःशालावसथपातिश्रय-प्रदेन...पीण्डीतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णहस्ते शोपरगे च चरकपर्यव्यः...द्वित्रिंशच्चालिगेरमूल-सहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्यतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितम्. Ins. No. 10 in Bom. G. vol. 16 pp. 569-70 and E. I. vol. VIII at p. 78. गोवर्धन is at present a village near Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 636 for a note on गोवर्धन.

1619. (रामः) धनुः खड्गं च संग्राह्य दण्डकारण्यमागतः ॥ जनस्थाने पञ्चवट्यां स्थितो गोदावरीतटे ॥ अग्नि 7. 2-3.

1620 तथा जनकराजानो बहवस्तत्र कर्मणा ॥ मुक्तिं प्राप्नुर्महाभागो नौतस्याश्च प्रसादतः ॥ ततः प्रभृति तत्तीर्थे जनस्थानेति विश्रुतम् ॥ जनकानां यज्ञसदो जनस्थानं प्रकीर्तितम् चतुर्गोजनविस्तीर्णं स्मरणात् सर्वपापघ्नम् ॥ ब्रह्म. 88. 22-24.

meritorious.<sup>1621</sup> The Brahmapurāṇa says that three crores and a half of tirthas that exist in the three worlds come for a bath in the Gaṅgā when Jupiter is in Leo and that bathing in the Bhāgirathī (every day) for sixty thousand years (is equal) to bathing only once in the Godāvari when Jupiter is in the Zodial sign Leo.<sup>1622</sup> It is stated in the Varāhapurāṇa that when a man repairs to the sacred Godāvari in *simhastha* year, takes a bath and offers *tarpaṇa* (and śrāddha) to his pits the latter go to heaven if they are in hell and they attain final release if they are already denizens of heaven. Jupiter is in Leo for one year once in twelve years. Crowds of pilgrims throng at Nasik in their thousands from all parts of India in the *simhastha* year.

### KĀŅCĪ (modern Conjeeveram).

Kāñci is one of the seven holy cities of India (vide p. 678 n. 1535 above) and one of the most ancient towns in southern India. If we rely on the tradition recorded by Hiouen Tshang who stayed in Kāñci about 640 A. D. it would follow that Buddha frequented the region around Kāñcīpura and that Kāñci had a *stūpa* about 100 feet high built by Aśokarāja (Beal's B. R. W. vol. II. p. 230). Hiouen Tshang informs us that Kāñci was 30 *li* (or about 5½ miles) in circuit, that in his day there were eighty Deva temples and that there were many heretics called Nirgranthas (Beal's B. R. W. vol. II. pp. 228-229). The next important datum is the mention of Kāñci-puraka (resident of Kāñcīpura) in the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 26 to Pāp. IV. 2. 104 (Kielhorn, vol. II. p. 298). Several early records relating to the ancient history of the Pallavas of Kāñci (of about 250 to 350 A. D.) have been published, such as the Mayidavolu plates of Yuvamahārāja Śiva-skandavarman (E. I. vol. VI p. 84), the Hirahadagalli Inscription of the 8th year (E. I. vol. I. p. 2), and the Talgunda Pillar Inscription of Kadamba Kākusthavarman (E. I. vol. VIII p. 24). The

1621. अत्र सिंहस्थे शुद्धे गोदावरीस्नानं कृप्यागते कृष्णास्नानं महापुण्यम् । गोदावर्यो पात्रिकाणां शुण्डनोपवासावावश्यको न तु तत्तीरवासिनाम् ॥ धर्मसिन्धु p. 7.

1622. तिस्रः कोट्योर्धकोर्धौ च तीर्थानि भुवमत्रये । तानि स्नातुं समायान्ति गङ्गायां सिंहस्थे शुद्धे ॥ षड्विंशसहस्राणि भागीरथ्यवगाहवत् । सकृद्गोदावरीस्नानं सिंहशुके ब्रह्मपती ॥ ब्रह्म० 175. 83-84; vide also ब्रह्म. 152. 38-39; सिंहस्थे च शुद्धे तत्र यो गच्छति समाहितः । स्नात्वा च विधिना तत्र धिनुंस्तर्पयते तथा ॥ स्वर्गं गच्छन्ति पितरो निरये पतिता यदि । स्वर्गस्थाः पितरस्तस्य मुक्तिभाजो न संशयः ॥ वराह 71. 45-46.



Allahabad Prasasti of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions ed. by Fleet p. 7) states that Samudragupta vanquished Visnugopa, king of Kāñci (Kāñcīyaka), in the first half of the 4th century A. D. In the 'Manimekhalai' there is an elaborate description of the town of Kāñci where Manimekhalai ultimately attained to enlightenment (vide S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'Manimekhalai in its historical setting' p. 20). It is not necessary for the present purpose to refer to the numerous inscriptions about the Pallavas and Kāñci and the large number of papers contributed to learned Journals. Reference may, however, be made to the careful and scholarly work 'History of the Pallavas of Kāñci' by R. Gopalan (1928), which brings together all relevant data published up to the date of its composition.

Let us now turn to some passages from the Purāṇas about Kāñci. The Brahmaṇḍa asserts:<sup>1623</sup> 'The two cities of Kāñci and Kāñci are the two eyes of Lord Śiva; Kāñci is a famous Vaiṣṇava kṣetra but it also brings about the presence of Śiva'. It is stated in the Bārhaspatya-sūtra (III 124) that Kāñci is a Śākta-kṣetra and in the Devībhāgavata (VII 38. 8) it is said to be a Devīsthāna called Annapūrṇā. The Vāmana-purāṇa<sup>1624</sup> observes: the Jāti is the best among flowers, Kāñci the best among towns, Rambhā among women, the householder among persons of (the four) āśramas, Kuśasthali is the best among cities and Madhyadeśa among all countries.

Kāñci is full of temples and shrines. The most famous are the Vaiṣṇava Perumal temple of Viṣṇu and the Śaiva temple of Kailāsanātha built by Pallava Rajasimha. This latter has a large hall supposed to contain 1000 columns.<sup>1625</sup> There is an old Jaina temple also.

## PANDHARPUR

This is one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in the Bombay State. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims visit it

1623. नेत्रद्वयं मोक्षदत्तं काशी-काञ्चीपुरद्वयम् । विष्णुपतिं वैष्णवक्षेत्रं शिवसामिनिव-  
कारकम् ॥ अङ्गारम्ब IV, 19. 15.

1624. पुष्पेषु जाती नन्देषु काञ्ची नारीषु रम्भाकमिणीं सुरसुः । कुसुमयती श्रेष्ठतमा  
इत्येव वैष्णवे सर्वेषु च मध्यदेशः ॥ काम. 12. 30. Vide 'South Indian Inscriptions'  
vol. I, pp. 8-24 for Inscriptions in Pallava characters of the 6th century  
A. D. in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci.

1625. W. S. Caine in his 'Picturesque India' p. 491 remarks that the  
pillars are only 540 when counted.

every year. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 (for Sholapur District) devotes pp. 415-482 to Pandharpur. This sacred place cannot claim very great antiquity. On the materials so far available it is difficult to decide when the shrine of Viṭhobā was established, but there is sufficient evidence to enable one to say that it was certainly in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.<sup>1626</sup> The Padmapurāṇa (Uttara-khaṇḍa 176. 56-58) mentions the image of Viṭhala Viṣṇu on the bank of the Bhimarathi which has only two arms and is called Bindu-mādhava. The difficulty is about the date of this part of the Padmapurāṇa. In my opinion it is a late addition and cannot be placed earlier than about 1000 A. D. The modern town of Pandharpur lies along the right bank of the Bhima river. The chief temple in Pandharpur is that of Viṭhobā in the centre of that part of the town which is considered holy. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 describes at some length (pp. 417-424) the main temple of Viṭhobā and its adjoining parts. Behind the temple of Viṭhobā is the temple of Rakhumai, the consort of Viṭhobā. There is a large staff of priests and attendants in the temple of Viṭhobā, the chief of whom are those called Badves (who are the most numerous body of the staff and who once claimed to be owners of the temple, but who are now held to be the trustees and guardians of the temple property and of the god's jewels under a scheme of management framed by the High Court of Bombay).<sup>1627</sup> Except the Badves all

1626. Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism' pp. 87-89.

1627. In *Gangaram Babaji Badve v. Baji Shankar and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 182 at p. 186 the High Court declared that the Badves are not owners of the temple, idol and property and that they are the chief priests, managers, overseers and guardians of the idol, the temple and the property belonging thereto and that they are bound to keep order and to bid the *Sevādhāris* perform the duties which belong hereditarily to those priests. In *Sakharam Bhimaji Benara and others versus Gangaram Babaji Badve and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1896 p. 644, the position set out above was accepted by both sides and a scheme of management was framed by the High Court (pp. 649-651) which provided for the creation of a Viṭhobā Fund, for the appointment of a committee of management consisting of five Badves to be elected every year, for the keeping of accounts by the Badves, and for the auditing of these accounts by a Devasthan committee and declared that any cash offering exceeding Rs. 500 was not to be appropriated by the Badves for their own use, but was to be expended for ornaments for the image and to be added to the Viṭhobā fund, if not so required.

other attendants are called *sevādhūris* and they are of various grades, viz. the *pujāris* (who take the principal part in the worship of the God), *Benaris* <sup>1628</sup> (who repeat mantras and hymns at different services), *paricārakas* (who bring in a large silver dish the water with which the *pujāri* washes the image of the God and brings the lamp for waving it before the image at the evening and night services), *haridās* (who sings generally five verses in honour of the god at the morning, evening and night services), the *dingres* (who hold a mirror before the God at the early morning service after the god has been dressed and before the lights are waved), the *divtes* (the torch-bearers) who hold a lighted torch when the last night ceremonies are over and carry the slippers of the god in torch-light processions three times a year on the Full Moon days of Āṣāḍha and Kārtika and on the *Dasrā* night), the *dange* (who stands with a silver or gold-plated mace outside the ante-chamber at the morning, evening and night services). The goddess Rakhumāi has only one set of priests known as *Utpāts*, of whom there are over a hundred families.

The Bombay Gazetteer describes at length (pp. 427-430) the ordinary and special services in the temple of Viṭhobā which are passed over here. Their essence is that the god is treated as if he were some high human person requiring bath, dress, songs, sleep against fatigue and so on. One thing, however, may be noticed that no women singers or dancers are connected with this temple of Viṭhobā in contradistinction to many temples in the Deccan and South India.

The image of Viṭthal or Viṭhobā in the temple is about three feet and nine inches high and together with its base seems to be cut out of one block of trap. Its rough appearance is probably due to the effect of time. The image is standing with its arms *alāmba* and hands resting on the hips; the left hand holds a conch and the right a *cakra* (discus). On the image are carved but so slightly as to be hardly noticeable except on close examination a waist cloth and round the waist a waist-band the end of which hangs on the right thigh. The ornaments consist of a necklace and in the long ears are ear-rings which touch the shoulders. On the head is a long round-topped cap. Mr.

1628. In *Gangaram Babaji and others v. Narayan Annaji*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 148 the High Court laid down with minuteness the rights, privileges and duties of the *Benaris* (the hymnists).

Kantak, the writer of the note on Pandharpur, in the Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20, remarks (p. 424): "The dress and ornament of the image belong to a (time) little later than the Guptas, probably not later than the 5th or 6th century after Christ. As far as is known no other existing Vaiṣṇava temple in India has an image of Viṣṇu like the Pandharpur image, but there are two similar images of the third century after Christ in the Udayagiri brahmanical caves near Bhilsā ..... Like the Pandharpur image these are both standing figures with arms *akimbo* and hands resting on the hips and a conch and discus in the hands". Formerly pilgrims used to embrace the image and also touched the feet of the image. But since about 1873 the feet alone are allowed to be touched.

The Bombay Gazetteer (vol. 20 p. 431, note 2) states that the image of Viṭhobā was removed to various places at different times to save it from sacrilege by fanatic Moslem invaders and rulers. About 500 yards east of Viṭhobā's temple in the bed of the Bhīmā river is the temple of Puṇḍlik, one of the most favourite places of worship in Pandharpur. This last temple is not that of a god. It only marks the spot where Puṇḍlik, a great devotee of Viṭthal, spent his last days and died. Puṇḍlik was probably a brāhmaṇa from Pandharpur, originally an undutiful son who ill-treated his parents, but who later repented on seeing the dutiful cobbler Rohidās, changed his ways and became a very dutiful son, so much so that tradition says that god Viṭhobā came to visit him. Viṭhobā and Puṇḍlik have become so much coupled together that all pilgrims before beginning to dine and on other occasions shout the cry 'Puṇḍalika varade Hari Viṭthal'<sup>1629</sup>. The Bom. G. vol. 20 (pp. 432-434) describes the temple of Puṇḍlik and narrates the traditional story about him.

1629. The writer in Bom. G. vol. 20 translates the words पुण्डलीकरदे हरि विठल as 'O! Puṇḍalika, grant us a boon, Hari Viṭthal!'. This translation does not appear to me to be correct. The cry is also in the form 'पुण्डलीकरदा हरि विठल' (which is the correct one). In my opinion हरि विठल is only a vocative and the correct form is पुण्डलीकरदा (for वरदा) and the whole cry means 'O Hari Viṭthal! that didst grant a boon to Puṇḍalika'. Mr. A. K. Priyolkar kindly pointed out to me an *abhangā* from श्री ज्ञानेश्वरमहाराजांची गाय (ed. by Śrī Vināyakuwā Sākhare, 1927) which runs as follows 'रखुमा-देसीवर तो। पुण्डलीकरद सी ते बाई॥' (p. 48) and another of Kāṇhopātrā (from 'Śrī-santa-gāthā' edited by Śrī Nānāmahārāja Sākhare, śaka 1831) 'अग पुण्डलीकरदा। अग विष्णु तु गोविंदा॥' (p. 142).

Pages 434-468 of Bom. G. vol. 20 describe the several temples and shrines at Pandharpur such as those of Viṣṇupada, Trimbakeśvara, Candrabhāgā, Janābai's cell, which are all passed over here. The river Bhīmā is styled Candrabhāgā within Pandharpur limits and its water is believed to possess sin-purifying power.

Several important and controversial questions arise in relation to Viṭhobā's temple at Pandharpur; viz. the date when the image of Viṭhobā was installed in the temple at Pandharpur, whether the present image is an old one or a substitute, what the ancient name of Pandharpur was, the derivation of the word 'Viṭṭhal'. As regards the first question it may be stated that there is not enough evidence to establish with certainty the time when the image was established.<sup>1630</sup> But some of the items of evidence may be briefly set out here. In I. A. vol. 14 pp. 68-75 Prof. K. B. Pathak published an inscription on a copper-plate found at Bendigere (about eleven miles south-east from Belgaum), the inscription being dated in *śaka* 1171 (1249 A. D.), in which Pandharpur is called Paṇḍarikakṣetra on the Bhimarathi (at p. 74) and Viṭhobā is called Viṣṇu and which records the grant of a village in Veṇugrāma district (Belgaum) to a number of brāhmanas by a minister of Yādava king Kṛṣṇa (or Kanhara in the inscription) in the presence of god Viṣṇu (p. 74) i. e. before the image of Viṣṇu or Viṭṭhala. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in 'Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism &c.', (p. 88) and in 'History of the Deccan' (2nd ed. p. 115-6) refers to an inscription on stone dated *śaka* 1192 (1270 A. D.) in Pandharpur itself, in which Bhānu, son of Keśava, is represented as having performed the Aptoryāma sacrifice in Paṇḍurangapura 'on account of which crowds and Viṭṭhala were greatly pleased'. There is another earlier inscription in the temple of Viṭhobā on three sides of a stone beam in a *śopā* beyond the *maṇḍapa* (porch) of 16 pillars, the script being Devanāgarī and the language being partly Sanskrit and partly Canarese. It was issued in *śaka* 1159 (1237 A. D.) by Hoysala king Someśvara and records the grant of an agrahāra to God Viṭṭhaladeva who resides in a great village called Paṇḍarage situated on the Bhimarathi river and who

1630. Besides the Sholapur Gazetteer (Bom. G. vol. 20) the following may be consulted. I. H. Q. vol. 11 pp. 771-778 (paper by Prof. B. A. Saletore on 'the Antiquity of Pandharpur'), Mr. G. H. Khare's monograph in Marāṭhi on 'श्रीविठ्ठल आणि पंढरपूर', and Mr. Krishna's Archaeological Survey Reports of Mysore for 1929 pp. 197-210.

made the heart of sage (*muni*) Puṇḍarīka expand (with devotion). Vide Bom. G. vol. 20 pp. 419-420 and pp. 4-6 of Mr. Khare's monograph (on medieval references). The Mysore Archaeological Survey Report for 1929 (pp. 197-210) publishes a copper-plate inscription issued by the Rāstrakūṭa king Avidheya which records a grant of Pāṇḍarāṅga-palli and four other villages situated to the east of Mahādeva hill to a brāhmana named Jayad-viṭṭha. This grant was confirmed about 820 A. D. by Rāstrakūṭa king Śarvarasa (i. e. Amoghavarṣa I). The editor Dr. Krishna is of opinion that the date of the inscription must be 516 A. D. (*ibid.* p. 203). Therefore the important conclusion follows that Pandharpur was known to Canarese people as Pāṇḍarage and was also called Pāṇḍarāṅgapalli. This inscription does not expressly refer to god Viṭṭhala, but the donee's name Jayad-viṭṭha contains the part Viṭṭha which is most probably an early form of Viṭṭhala.

In a work called 'Viṭṭhalabhūṣaṇa' <sup>1631</sup> by one Gopālācārya about eleven verses are quoted from Hemādri on Tirtha which are quoted below <sup>1632</sup>. Briefly they state: an excellent tirtha ex-

1631. This was printed in *Saka* 1808 (1886-87 A. D.) at the Bombay City Press. For Puṇḍlik's story, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 433.

1632. तीर्थहेमाद्रौ—भग्याश्वेव तत्र देवि दक्षिणे तीर्थमुत्तमम् । अस्ति क्षेत्रं वैभवं च सर्वोत्कृष्टं सुदुर्लभम् । पौण्डरीकमिति ख्यातं तत्तीर्थं क्षेत्रपूजितः । पाण्डुरङ्गश्च तत्रास्ते मूर्तिमान् देवसोत्तमः । पुष्कराक्षिगुणं पुण्यं केदारात् बहुगुणं भवेत् । वाराणस्या दक्षिणमनन्तं श्रीनिररापि । बह्विषयसहस्राणि विष्णुवैभवं दर्शनात् । तत्फलं लभते मर्त्यः सकृदेव हि तत्फलम् । अष्टाविंशतिमे कल्पे ह्यारामो च यन्मुखः । पुण्डरीक इति स्थातस्तपस्तेषु सुदावणम् । भक्त्या पित्रोश्च दुग्धं च कुर्वन्मुनिवरः सदा । तस्यैव कुर्वतः पूजां पित्रोरहरहः प्रिये । परितुष्टोऽभवद्देवो गोपीजन्मनः-प्रियः । गोवर्धनागिरी रम्ये चारयन् गोगणं विश्वः । गोयष्टि धारयन्परमाष्टत्रोऽज्जलितकङ्कणम् । नामारत्नमभोद्भासि-शिवमालिचिराजितः । अतीव सुन्दरः सौम्यो रत्नाङ्कितमहाङ्गदः । दिव्या-साध्यातिसौम्येन सुखादुद्येन वेष्टितः । विहृतेनामुकालेन कटिबद्धेन (कटिबन्धेन?) राजितः । कविमालम्ब्य तिष्ठन्ने विहृद्गत्या च संयुतः । तत्रैव कर्मपुराणे । पुण्डरीकं महातीर्थं ब्राह्मणैरुप-सेवितम् । तत्राभिगम्य युक्तात्मा पुण्डरीकफलं लभेत् ॥

I am highly obliged to Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar of Kolhapur for sending to me these verses from the copy in his possession. In the T. S. p. 7 the verse पुण्डरीकं महातीर्थं is quoted from the Kūrmapurāṇa; on p. 9 of T. S. verses भग्याश्वेव...तत्फलम् are quoted from the Skandapurāṇa, as also verses अष्टा-विंशतिमे...संयुतः occur on pp. 12-13 of the Tīrthasāra with a few variant readings such as वैभोऽस्ति तत्कङ्कणः (which is a very good variant for उद्यो...कङ्कणम् and शक्तिमालिचिराजितः for शिवश्च and विष्णुवैभवंति सौम्येन for दिव्यासाध्यातिसौम्येन. In a ms. of पौण्डरीकमाहात्म्य kindly lent to me by Pandit Lakṣmaṇāśtri of 'Wal' 'अन्तःद्वारेण वेष्टितः कटिबन्धेन राजितः' and सुखकाशिकर्मजात्यादूष्ण्या चार-कोभितः are the readings. In a ms. of पाण्डुरङ्गमाहात्म्य in the possession of Pandit Khuperkar, the same verses occur with a few additions. That ms.

(Continued on the next page)

ists on the southern bank of the river Bhaiml and there is also a rare but fine image there; it is called Paṇḍarika-kṣetra and the greatest of gods viz. Pāṇḍuraṅga worshipped by the whole kṣetra resides there. It is three times holier than Puṣkara, six and ten times holier than Kedāra and Vārāṇasī respectively. Puṇḍarika practised severe austerities at the end of Dvāparayuga in the 28th Kalpa and always devotedly attended upon his parents. God Kṛṣṇa who was making a herd of cows graze on Govardhana hill became pleased with him for his devotion to his parents, Kṛṣṇa who wields a stick for driving cows, who has bracelets rendered bright by (the colour) of the umbrella <sup>1633</sup> (shade), who is adorned with a head-gear (*mukuta*) and a *śikya* (a loop) scintillating with the lustre of many jewels, who was very charming and had armlets studded with jewels, who does not (appear to) wear any *dhoti*, but has his loins covered with nickers, who is set off by a girdle of three strings tied on his waist and who stands with arms akimbo and appears possessed of three lines on his belly. Though a ms. of the Tīrtha portion of Hemādri's work has not yet been recovered, there is no reason to doubt that the verses were taken by Gopālācārya from Hemādri's work, particularly when almost all those verses are quoted by the T. S. (about 1500 A. D.) from the Skandapurāṇa and Kūrmapurāṇa. As Hemādri composed his work about 1260 to 1270 A. D. and as the verses quoted by him are cited from the Skandapurāṇa, it follows that several centuries before 1260 A. D. Pandharpur was known as a tīrtha, that the devotee and saint Puṇḍarika (Marāṭhi 'Pundlik') also was so known then and that the image of Viṭhobā was essentially the same in appearance as it is now. That Pandharpur had risen in sanctity and importance in the 15th century follows from the fact that both the great Vaiṣṇava saints, Caitanya and Vallabha, visited it. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 71 for

(Continued from the last page)

reads अन्तःक्षेत्रेण for सुवक्षेत्रेण, विद्वद्भीक्षुतेनेनः कविवन्धेन राजितः and सुवक्षेत्रेण नक्षत्राभ्याम्बुध्यां स्वातिसोमितः. विद्वतेनामुकालेन—makes no sense. It has to be noted that सुवक्षेत्रेण or अन्तःक्षेत्रेण is mentioned separately from कविवन्धेन and therefore सुवक्षेत्रेण or अन्तःक्षेत्रेण was something different from कविवन्ध (waist-band). Probably the original reading was दिव्यासाध्याविद्वन्धेन सुवक्षेत्रेण for दिव्यासाध्यातिसोमितेन, where सोमित conveys very little sense.

1633. This probably is a reference to the silver shade under which the image of Viṭhobā stood (Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 423).

Caitanya's visit and 'Śrī Vallabhācārya' by Manilal C. Parekh (pp. 56-59) for Vallabhācārya's visit.

It has been already shown from the Bombay Gazetteer that there is a tradition about the image having been removed several times and brought back. On pp. 16-25 of his work Mr. Khare cites various passages from medieval writers in Sanskrit, Marāṭhi and Canarese and comes to the conclusion that the present image is not only not the ancient one but that it was not there in the 17th century, since the characteristics of the present image do not tally with the description contained in the poems of saint Tukārām. I do not agree with his conclusions. He has overlooked several weighty considerations. He has relied upon inferences drawn from the presence of Afzulkhan and the bigoted emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan. I have cited above (pp. 632, 692) references to the demolition of North Indian temples and images on the orders of Aurangzeb, but Mr. Khare has been unable to show any direct reference to the demolition of the temple or the image of Vithobā on the orders of any Moslem king or officer.<sup>1634</sup> We cannot rely on mere inferences or not properly authenticated letters or verses. Besides, the present image is so much worn that unless one very carefully

1634. It may, however, be stated that there is some evidence that efforts were made to demolish the temple of Vithobā by some Moslem king of Bidar and that the Badves (the guardians of the Pandhāri temple) fearing destruction of the image removed it and concealed it somewhere else. In a Marāṭhi work called 'महाराष्ट्रमहोदयाचा पूर्ववर्णन' by Mr. Narayan Krishna Gadre (1905) p. 168 verses are cited from a life (completed in śāke 1667 i. e. 1745 A. D.) of one Chāṅgā Mudheśa (who died in śāke 1427 i. e. 1505 A. D.) written by his descendant Shamjī Gosāvi Vāñjarkhede (who was 11th in descent from Chāṅgā Mudheśa). The Marāṭhi verses are:   
 वेदरीचा राजा बसणी पातझा। बाळणासी बहु छलियेले॥ हिंदुधर्म जितुके तितके बजियेले॥  
 राजक विष्णुसिले वंदरीचे॥ केलीसे मझीद महाद्वार मोडून। सातमास पूर्ण झाले पासी॥  
 मूर्ती सिंहासनाह्वानि आच्छादिली। सुत हो ठेविली बहायासी॥ verses 52-55 of the 7th chapter of the life. This was written two hundred and forty years after the alleged vandalism. Besides the same work mentions in verse 94 (chap. 7) that Chāṅgadeva thought that the mosque should be demolished and a new temple (a complete replica of the old one) should be built. Similarly, in *शिवचरित्रसाहित्य* part I p. 68 (published by the Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhaka-maṇḍala of Poona) there is a letter dated in 1581 śāke (i. e. 1659-60 A. D.) in Marāṭhi which states that Shivaji killed Afzalakhan who had removed the image of Viṭṭhal at Pandharpur and that at Tuljāpur. The letter is not properly authenticated and is not a reliable piece of evidence. I am obliged to Mr. G. H. Khare of Poona for drawing my attention to these two pieces of evidence.



scrutinizes, it would be difficult to pronounce what articles it holds or what dress it wears. Therefore, there is great scope for differences of opinion on the characteristic features of the present image. Conceding for argument that the tradition about the removal of the idol is true, that does not establish that the present image is different from the one that existed in the 13th century or before. The present image has an elongated head dress which some may construe as a simple *mukūṭa* (crown) with a rim: but the *pujāris* and common people regard it as a *Śivaliṅga* and the rim as the rope of the *śikya* that is carried on the back (by cowherds). The present image has ear-rings (as Mr. Khare admits) but they are so long that they rest on the shoulders. The present image has *aṅgadas* (armlets) on the upper arms (and that is the description in the *Skanda-purāṇa* quoted by Hemadri). The present image has ornaments on the wrists (which the passage from the *Skandapurāṇa* also mentions). There is a girdle with three strings on the waist of the present image (in *Sk.* also we have 'trivṛtenānukālena kaṭibaddhena or kaṭibandhena rājitaḥ'). The present image<sup>1635</sup> does not clearly show that a *dhoti* was worn (and therefore one reading of the *Skanda* says that it is 'digvāsāḥ') but the *Skanda* adds that the image has arms *akimbo*. In my opinion the description in the *Skandapurāṇa* (which must be held to be at least not later than about 1000 A. D.) tallies in essential particulars with the present image; therefore it follows that sufficient evidence has not been adduced to show that it is comparatively a new image and the proposition of Mr. Khare that it is a different one from the original should be held *not proved*. In the descriptions given by *Tukārām* and others (p. 22 of Mr. Khare's book) actual, legendary and ideal elements are mixed up. For example, *Tukārām* states that the god has 16000 wives (Mr. Khare's book

1635. Persons not familiar with ancient images or statues in stone might think that an image or statue is naked (*digvāsāḥ*) when as a matter of fact the sculpture itself shows that the image wears a *dhoti* and waistband and yet its private parts are shown as visible, probably because it was the intention of the sculptor to indicate that the garment was made of the finest texture and was transparent. For example, in 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' by Vincent Smith, there is a figure of a Bodhisattva (on p. 143 No. 94) which is clearly draped in a *dhoti* and waistband and the private parts of which are yet visible. The *Viṣṇu* image from *Mathurā* (Plate VI) in a paper on Gupta Art in *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, vol. 18 pp. 101-134 shows similar characteristics.

p. 22 'Ballā solā hajāra' &c.). But Tukārām does mention the facts that the arms are akimbo, that there is no dhoti (*digambara*), and mentions the existence of a *ṣikya*, a stick, also a girdle and ornaments. Lastly, Mr. Khare does not attach sufficient importance to two facts, one being that about 1873 two Goasavis damaged the image which was later re-installed and pilgrims were forbidden from embracing it. It is quite possible that some of the features already indistinct were lost in these happenings (vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 430). Besides, for hundreds of years the image has been washed with pañcāmṛta (milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar) and water at least once every day and sometimes several times a day. It is not difficult to imagine that the characteristic marks became blurred by these continual baths.

Some other matters require to be dealt with. The image is variously called viz. Pāṇduranga, Pāṇdhari, Viṭṭhal, Viṭṭhalanātha and Viṭhoba.

Viṣṇu assumes in Prakrit the forms Viṇhu, Vinpu, Venhu, Vetha and others. In Canarese Viṣṇu becomes Bitti, Bittiga, Viṭṭa &c. The changes in names do not necessarily follow the rules laid down in Prakrit or Canarese grammars, which rules themselves are often based on meagre data and Mr. A. K. Priyolkar in his learned paper on 'Bhagat Namdeo of the Sikhs' in the Journal of the University of Bombay vol. VII part 2 (1938) points out (p. 24) that in the Ādi Granth of the Sikhs, in the hymns of Namdeo, God is addressed as 'Bithal' or 'Bithalu' (p. 24), that, in the Gujarati poems of Narsinh Mehta and Mirabai, God is addressed as Viṭṭhala (p. 35) and Viṭṭhala is employed by these saints meaning only Viṣṇu and not the deity at Pāṇdharpur. The learned Kāśinātha Upādhyāya, author of Viṭṭhala-ṛn-mantrasāra-bhāṣya, derives the word Viṭṭhala as (*Vit + tha + la*)<sup>1636</sup>.

As regards the name of the kṣetra it appears that originally it was called in Canarese Pāṇdarage, of which Pāṇduranga is a sanskritized form. When Puṇḍlik, the devotee of Viṭṭhal, became famous the sacred place came to be called Puṇḍarikapura (as in Kūrma) and Paṇḍarikapura (as in Skanda). Vide note 1632 above.

1636. 'विट् देवर्षेः कान्तेन दत्तः गुरुणाः सन् सति स्वीकरोति'. Vide विट्कृतकृत्य-  
सारभाष्य, D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 dated śaka 1731 (1809 A. D.) quoted  
in H. of Dh. vol. I p. 464 n. 1161.

The pilgrims to Pandharpur may be divided into two classes, regular visitors and occasional visitors. The first class comprise those called *Vārkaris* (lit. those who keep the fixed times). The *Vārkaris* are of two sorts viz. those who attend every month and those who attend twice a year (on the 11th of Āśadha-sukla and Kārtika-sukla). This cult of vārkaris has been a great leveller. In theory and to a large extent in practice it ignores caste exclusiveness. A brāhmaṇa vārkarī falls at the feet of a śūdra vārkarī. There are certain observances binding on all vārkaris (for which, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 471). The vārkarī carries a rosary of Tulasī (basil) beads, foregoes flesh-eating, observes a fast on *ekādaśī*, carries an ochre-coloured *paṭākā* (swallow-tailed banner) and is to speak the truth (and not to cheat) when engaged in his daily occupations.

Some people think that the image of Viṭhobā is really Buddhist or Jain. There is hardly any evidence for this. When such Marāṭhi poets and saints as Ekanātha, and Tukārām speak of Viṭhobā as *Bauddhāvatāra* they have Viṣṇu in mind,<sup>1637</sup> whose 9th *avatāra* was Buddha according to the *Purāṇas* and medieval writers.

The question of the attitude that modern Hindus should adopt towards holy places and pilgrimages will be briefly dealt with at the end of the next chapter on the list of *tirthas*.

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1637. One of *एकनाथ*'s अंश is 'जयवा वेले स्थिररूप । तथा नाम बौद्धरूप ॥ सत्य तथा इती । सिद्धवाति निरन्तरी । पुण्डलीकासाठी उभा । धन्य धन्य विठ्ठलसोभा ॥' in *एकनाथमहाराजांच्या अर्चनाची गाथा* (published by Rajaram Tukaram, Bombay, 1903) p. 344 No. 1048; 'बौद्धरूपवत्तर नासिया अहदा । जैत्यमुखें निहा चरिवेली ॥' No. 4160 of the *एकनाथमहाराजांच्या अर्चनाची गाथा* p. 522 (published by Bombay Govt., 1950). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 720-723 for discussion about the time when Buddha came to be looked upon as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

## CHAPTER XVI

### LIST OF TĪRTHAS

This is merely a list of tirthas from the point of view of Dharmaśāstra and *not* a treatise on the Ancient Geography of India. The result is that many countries and towns that have no importance or claims as tirthas have been altogether omitted. Bauddha and Jain works on tirthas have only rarely been referred to. Many of the Purāṇas enumerate the mountains and rivers of *dīpas* and *varṣas* other than those of Jambudvīpa and Bhārata-varṣa such as Harivarṣa, Rāmyaka-varṣa, Krauñcadvīpa, Śālmalīdvīpa, but they have been excluded from this list. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 26 verses 8-83) contains a string of over 520 tirthas without hardly any certain indication of their location and the Bhīṣmaparva in chap. 9 mentions about 160 rivers with practically no indication about their location in most cases. Similarly, the Garuḍa (I 81. 1-31) enumerates about 200 and Padma (VI. 129) contains 108 tirtha names. In Banaras alone I have listed about 350 sub-tirthas. But there are about 1500 shrines and temples in Banaras alone. These have not been included. Each great tirtha has numerous sub-tirthas as in the Varāha-purāṇa under Mathurā, in Brahma-purāṇa under Gautamī, in Vāyu-purāṇa under Gayā. Through sheer weariness or inadvertence some of these must have been left out by me and some were left out purposely on account of the absence of any importance. Besides, several tirthas that are regarded as sacred by modern people are not so treated in the Epics or purāṇas and are not even mentioned in them; many of these have been omitted in this list. Our authorities are often very vague about the location or extent of tirthas. Moreover, a number of tirthas scattered in different parts of India bear the same name (e. g. vide under Agnitirtha, Koṭitirtha, Cakratirtha, Varāhatirtha, Somatirtha). I am under great obligations to Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' (ed. of 1872) and to Nundo Lal Day's 'The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India' (1927). I have had occasions to differ from both, particularly from the latter. But, the space at my disposal being very limited, I could not enter into even brief discussions

in support of my views. It would look ungrateful to find fault with the work of Dey; but it must be said that he relies too much on rather old and antiquated authorities and has not cast his net over a wide area. Often times he mentions no original authorities (vide, for example, Cakratīrtha on p. 43). He is very vague in his references. He hardly ever cites the number of the verse on which he relies and often omits to specify even the part or section of the work relied upon. For example, at p. 13 as regards Avanti he mentions Pāpini IV. 176, which should be IV. 1. 176. Further, he has omitted several well-known tirthas (e. g. Daśāśvamedhika). He is sometimes wrong in what he says. On p. 54 he states that Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa 43 refers to Devadāruvana as a proper name, but there the context ('lodhrapadmaka-saṇḍeṣu devadāruvaneṣu ca' in verse 15) shows that what is meant is 'forests of Deodar trees'. On p. 73 he says Bharatavarṣa was first called Haimavaravarṣa, but the passage of the Liṅgapurāṇa (L 49. 7) on which he relies (idam haimavatam varṣam Bhāratam nāma viśrutam) does not bear that out. There is no reference to a prior account here and all that is meant is that Bhāratavarṣa is connected with Himavat, as a previous passage (L 47. 23 Himādrer-dakṣiṇam varṣam Bharatāya nyavedayat) expressly states that Bhāratavarṣa is to the south of Himālaya. In Śalya 44. 52 Sarasvatī is called Haimavatī, but that does not mean that Haimavatī was the name of Sarasvatī in far-off ages. It simply means that it 'rises in Himavat range.' Only a comparison of the list prepared by me with Dey's work will show the difference in details between the two. I should not undertake that task and leave it to scholarly readers.

I have carefully read the two Epics and most of the Purāṇas. But I do not cite exhaustive references to all the texts where a particular tirtha is mentioned. I feel satisfied with mentioning two or three. Owing to the several restrictions imposed upon myself this list cannot claim to be thoroughly exhaustive. But I hope that it is comprehensive enough and far larger and more informative than any list of tirthas presented by any scholar so far. There is ample scope for industrious scholars to improve upon and to add to this list. I have included important tirthas from Kashmir and given copious references to the Nīlamata-purāṇa, the Rāja-taraṅgiṇī and the Hara-carita-cintāmaṇi. I am highly obliged to the Kashmir Report of Dr. Bühler (published as a special number for 1877

by the B B R A S), to Stein's notes in his translation of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* and his memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir published separately (and also embodied in the 2nd volume of the translation of Kalhana's work). All the names of tirthas are transliterated into the English alphabet and arranged according to the English mode of spelling. For the *Mahābhārata* references are given to the oblong Bombay edition and by citing names of *parvans*, but in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Roman figures I to VII are employed for the *Bāla*, *Ayodhya*, *Aranya*, *Kiṣkindhā*, *Sundara*, *Yuddha* and *Uttara kāṇḍas* respectively. For the *Rāmāyaṇa* I have used the edition brought out by the Madras Law Journal Press in 1933. Among *Purāṇas* the *Anandāśrama* editions of the *Agni*, *Brahma*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Padma* have been relied upon and as to the rest of the *Mahāpurāṇas* the *Venkateśvara* Press editions have been used (except in the case of the *Nrasimhapurāṇa* of which the edition of Messrs. Gopal Narayan & Co. and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, of which the *Nirṇayasāgara* edition of the bare text have been referred to). The *Skandapurāṇa* has been a source of great trouble and labour. Owing to the limited time at my disposal I have not been able to digest thoroughly the ninety thousand and odd verses of that *purāṇa*, though I have very carefully gone into the *Kāśikhāṇḍa* and some other *khaṇḍas*. Besides, there are two separate recensions of the *Skanda* and large portions of it appear to be apocryphal and later additions. The seven big sections of the *Skanda* viz. *Maheśvarakhāṇḍa*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *Brāhma*, *Kāśī*, *Avantya*, *Nāgara*, *Prabhāsa* are indicated by Roman figures from I to VII and the sub-sections by Arabic figures. Some of these sub-sections have further sub-divisions into *Pūrvārdha* and *Uttarārdha*.

I have made endeavours to locate the tirthas as far as possible. Inscriptions have been drawn upon in several cases for locating the tirthas and for their antiquities and history. The principal Sanskrit authorities (except Kalhana) are often very vague as compared with even foreign writers like Hiouen T'sang, Alberuni and Abul Fazal. Where I was not myself sure I have given references to the texts alone, and in some cases to the views of Cunningham, Dey, Fargiter and others. If the same name happens to be given to different tirthas located at different places, I have indicated the several different places bearing the same name by employing the capital letters

A, B, C and so on. I may state that I have hardly ever remained content by borrowing references to Sanskrit authorities given by my predecessors, but have seen personally each reference to Sanskrit works except where I expressly state from whom I borrow a particular reference. Sorensen's Index of the Mahābhārata and the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith have been used in several places. I have also derived material help from the volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer and from the several volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer. The same may be said about Wilson's translation of Viṣṇupurāṇa (ed. by Hall, 1864-1877), Pargiter's notes to his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Dr. B. C. Law's paper on the 'mountains and rivers of India' in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 and Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri's 'Studies in Indian Antiquities' (1932), and the paper on 'Ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad' in I.A. vol. 54. I have consulted only a few Māhātmyas of tirthas. Recently, Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar of Madras has published a useful work 'The Purāṇa Index' (volumes I and II covering over 1400 pages) which collects material from five Purāṇas only viz. the Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Vāyu and Viṣṇu. The two volumes reach up to the Sanskrit letter 'ma' only. I, for my part, do not agree with much that he says about the age of the Purāṇas in general and of the five Purāṇas (which he has digested) in particular, but this is not the place to go into that question. Besides, his work has to be used with some caution. In several places the work is misleading. To take only a few examples. On p. 547 he lists 'Godhūma', makes the remark 'fit for śrāddha' and cites four references from the Viṣṇupurāṇa alone. One may *prima facie* think that Godhūma is here some place fit for śrāddha. As a matter of fact in all the references from the Viṣṇupurāṇa 'Godhūma' means 'wheat' and nothing more, which no doubt is fit food for śrāddha. But other fit things such as 'ikṣu' (declared to be fit for śrāddha by Vāyu 78. 7-8) are not included at all. On p. 123 Aśokavana is not a proper name, but only a forest of Aśoka trees, as the preceding word 'drākṣavana' (in Vāyu 38. 68) indicates. So also Kamalāprabhava (not 'prabhava' as printed on p. 316 of vol. I) is not a river (in Matsya 163. 62, Ānandāśrama ed.) but is only an adjective of the word Śopa that follows. On p. 316 of vol. II he states that the river Parā rises from Rāvān, but the Matsya 114. 24 on which he relies says it springs from Pāriyātra. On the same page he gives the entry 'Pārāvāratata sacred to

**Matā'.** This makes no sense. *Pārāvaratata* would mean 'the shore of the sea'. What is really meant is that *Devī* is styled or worshipped as *Pārā* on the bank of the *Pārā* river (*Pārā Pārātate matā*). He does not compare the readings of the several printed editions of the five purāṇas. Besides, the information furnished is very meagre. If the whole had been printed in a compact form far more information could have been given in the same number of pages.

In some places I have indicated the rewards promised for bathing in the tirthas; but I have not done so in every case. The purāṇas promise one or more of the following rewards viz, the same merit as the performance of *Aśvamedha* or *Vājapeya* or other solemn Vedic sacrifices or reaching the highest worlds such as those of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* or *Śiva*, the destruction of the gravest sins such as *brāhmaṇa* murder, the same merit as arises from gifts of a thousand cows &c.

Many of the doubts and difficulties about the identification of several tirthas can, if at all, be solved only by means of actual journeys to various places and investigations on the spot. That is a task which would require for its proper accomplishment a team of workers. A single individual can hardly attempt such a task with his own resources.

This list will, it is hoped, be of some use in elucidating several problems such as the questions about the relative antiquity of the purāṇas, the dates of several Sanskrit works which mention the tirthas and the questions about borrowing on the part of purāṇas among themselves and from the *Mahābhārata*.

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## Abbreviations employed in this list alone

- AC.—Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra (ed. by Böhrlingk, 1847).  
 Ādi.—Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata  
 Ag.—Agnipurāṇa.  
 A. G.—Ancient Geography of India, by Cunningham (1871).  
 A. I.—Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Mc Crindle).  
 Ain. A.—Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazal, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett in three volumes (1873-1894).  
 Al.—Alberuni's 'India' translated by Dr. E. C. Sachau, 2 volumes, 1886 (London).  
 Anu.—Anuśāsana-parva of the Mahābhārata.  
 A. S. R.—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.  
 B.—Brahmapurāṇa.  
 Bār. S.—Bārhaspatya-sūtra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas.  
 Bh.—Bhāgavatapurāṇa.  
 Bhav.—Bhaviṣṭyapurāṇa.  
 Bhi.—Bhīṣmaparva of the Mahābhārata.  
 Bom. G.—Bombay Gazetteer volumes.  
 Br.—Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.  
 Br. S.—Bṛhatsaṁhitā with Utpala's com., edited by Sudhākara Dwivedi.  
 BV.—Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa.  
 C. I. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; vol. I, Inscriptions of Aśoka, vol. III, Gupta Inscriptions.  
 Dey.—Nundolal Dey's 'Geographical Dictionary of India' (1927).  
 G.—Garudapurāṇa.  
 Go.—Godāvarī river  
 h.—hill  
 HC.—Haracaritacintāmaṇi of Jayadratha (Kāvya-mālā ed.)  
 I. G. I.—Imperial Gazetteer of India volumes.  
 J. U. P. H. S.—Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.  
 K.—Kūrmapurāṇa.  
 Kal.—Kālikapurāṇa.  
 K. R.—Bübler's Kashmir Report (extra number of BBRAS Journal for 1877)  
 l.—lake  
 L.—Līṅgapurāṇa  
 m.—Mountain  
 M.—Matsyapurāṇa  
 Mb.—Mahābhārata  
 Mbb.—Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (ed. by Kielhorn in 3 volumes).  
 Mār.—Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa  
 N.—Bṛhan-nāradiya or Nāradiya-purāṇa.  
 NM.—Nīlamata-purāṇa ed. by Prof. Bhagavad-datta.  
 Nr.—Nṛsiṁha or Narasiṁha-purāṇa.  
 P.—Padma-purāṇa.  
 Pargiter.—Translation of Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa with notes.  
 Ptolemy.—Mc Crindle's 'Ancient India' as described by Ptolemy with notes by Majumdar Sastri (Calcutta, 1927).  
 r.—River.  
 R.—Rājatarāṅgiṇī (edited and translated by Dr. Stein).  
 Rām.—Kāmāyana.  
 S.—Sabbhāparva of the Mahābhārata.  
 Sal.—Salyaparva of the Mahābhārata.  
 Śān.—Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata.  
 SK.—Skandapurāṇa  
 SM.—Stein's Memoir on maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir.  
 T. K.—Kalpataru on tirthas (G. O. S.)  
 T. P.—Tīrthaprakāśa of Mitrāmīśra, part of Viramīśrodaya  
 T. S.—Tīrthasāra, part of Nṛsiṁha-prasāda (Sarasvatibhavan series, Benares).  
 U.—Udyogaparva of the Mahābhārata  
 V.—Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata.

Va.—Vāyupurāṇa

Vām.—Vāmanapurāṇa.

Var.—Varābhāṣpurāṇa.

VD.—Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.

V. Dh. S.—Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (ed. by Jolly).

Vi.—Viṣṇupurāṇa

Vik.—Vikramāṅka-deva-carita of Bilhaṇa (ed. by Bühler).

V. S.—Vārāṇasī.

Wilson—Translation of Viṣṇupurāṇa, edited by Dr. Hall (1864-1877).

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## LIST OF TĪRTHAS

### A

- Abjaka**—(under Co.) B. 129. 137 (it is the heart of Godāvārī)
- Acalā**—(r. in Kāśmīra) HC 10.256 (near Anantahrada and Kārkoṣahrada)
- Acalesvara**—L. I. 92. 165
- Acchodā**—(r. rising from Acchodaka lake) M 121. 7, Vā 47. 6, Br II. 18. 6 and III. 13. 80
- Acchodaka**—(a l. at the foot of mount Candraprabha) Vā 47. 5-6 and 77. 76, M 14.3 and 121. 7, Br. III. 13. 77
- Aciravati**—(r. falling into Sarayū) one of the ten great rivers mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171). It is Rapti in Oudh on which Śrāvastī was situated. Var. 214. 47
- Acyutasthala**—Vām. 34. 47, Vide under Yugandhara.
- Ādarsa**—held to be same as Vināśana by many scholars. Vide under 'Vināśana'. The Kāśikā on Pān. IV. 2. 124 (Janapadatadavadhyośca) appears to hold Ādarsa as a Janapada and Br. S. 14. 25 does the same.
- Ādipāla**—(a b. under Gayā). Vā 108. 65 (Ganeśa is there in the form of an elephant across Muṇḍaprasīha), 109. 15
- Adititīrtha**—(under Gaṅgā). N. II. 40. 90
- Ādityasya āśrama**—V 83. 184, P. I. 27. 70
- Adityatīrtha**—A (on Sarasvatī) Sal. 49. 17, Devala q. by T. K. p. 250; B (on r. Sābhramatī) P. VI 167. 1 (near confluence with sea).
- Ādityāyatana**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 77, K II. 41. 37-38, P. I. 18. 5 and 72.
- Ādityeśa**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 3
- Agastyapada**—(under Gayā)—Ag. 116. 3, Vā 111. 53
- Agastyasaras**—V. 82. 44. It may be noted that Agastya is the reputed author of the Tamil language and the teacher of the author of the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest grammatical work extant (on Tamil). Vide JRAS. vol. 19 pp. 558-559 (New series)
- Agastyāśrama**—Vide Dey p. 2 for eight places so called (but he does not state authorities for all). A (on r. Durjayā) V 96. 1 (where demon Vātāpi was killed by Agastya); B V. Dh. S 85. 29, P I. 12. 4, V. 19. 198 (near Puṣkara); C (near Prayāga) V 87. 20; D (near Gokarna) V 88. 18; E (near Janasthāna and Pañcavati about five yojanas from Sūtīkṣāśrama) Rām. III. 11. 38-42, Raghu. XIII. 36. There is an ancient shrine of Agastya about one mile from Akola village in Nagar District beyond the Pravara river; F (near the sea in Pāṇḍya country) Ādi 216. 3, 88. 13, 118. 4, 130. 6.—one of the five Nārītīrthas, Rām. IV. 41. 16 (on Malaya) and Bh. X. 79. 167.
- Agastyatīrtha**—(in Pāṇḍya country) V 88. 13
- Agastyavaṭa**—Ādi 215.2
- Agastyeśvara**—A (under Narmadā) M. 191.5; B (līṅga in VS) L q. by T. K. p. 116
- Aghoreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 60
- Agnidhārā**—(under Gayā) V 84. 146, Ag. 116. 31.
- Agnikuṇḍa**—(on Sarasvatī) Vām. 51.52, Var. q. by T. K. p. 215.
- Agniprabha**—(under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 52-55 (its water is hot in winter and cold in summer.)

- Agnipura**—Ann. 25. 43. Dey p. 2 says it is Māhīśmatī. Vide Raghuvamśa VI. 42
- Agnisaras**—A (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 34–36; B (under Lobhārgala) Var. 151. 52
- Agnisatyapada**—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 7
- Agnīśaras**—(along the Yamunā) V. 90. 5–7
- Agnīśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 66, 71
- Agnitīrtha**—A (on the southern bank of Yamunā) M 108. 27, P. I. 45.27; B (under VS) K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7; C (under Go.) B 98.1; D (on Sarasvatī) Sal. 47. 13–14, P. I. 27.27; E (on north bank of Sābhramatī) P.VI. 134. 1; F (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 63
- Ahaṇ**—V. 83. 100
- Abalyāhrada**—(near Gautama's āśrama) V 84. 109, P. I. 38. 26
- Ahalyatīrtha**—A (under Godāvarī); B. 87.1; B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18.84, M. 191. 90–92, K. II. 41. 43
- Ailāpatra**—A dikpāla-nāga (guardian of western quarter) in Kāśmīra. NM1118 (modern Ailapatur)
- Airāvati**—(The Hydraotes of Arrian, A. I. p. 190, Kāvi in the Punjab?). A r. on the border of Madradesa rising in the Himālaya. M 115. 18–19, 116. 1 and 6 and Devala q. by T. K. p. 249. Dey p. 73 is wrong in taking (in M 116.1) Haimavatī as a proper name, since in M 116. 6 the same river is called 'the eminent daughter of Himavat'
- Ajabila**—(under m. Sripārvata). L. I. 92. 153
- Ajatuṅga**—Vā 77. 48 (śrāddha here is highly efficacious and here the shadow of gods is seen on *parvan* days)
- Ajeśvara**—(a līṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 136
- Ajiravati**—a r. referred to in Pān. VI. 3. 119. Probably the same as Aciravati above
- Ākaśa**—(under VS) K. I. 35.3, P. I. 37.3
- Ākaśagaṅgā**—A (under Gayā) Vā 112. 25, Ag. 116. 5; B (on m. Sahya) Nr 66.35 (sub-tīrtha of Āmalaka)
- Ākaśalīṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51
- Akrūra**—(under Mathurā) Var. 155.4–5 (name of a hamlet between Mathurā and Vṛndāvana)
- Akṣavāla**—(modern Achabal, a large village at west foot of a ridge which lines the Kutabar Pargana in Kāśmīra) K. I. 338, SM p. 180 (it has five springs). NM has the name Akṣipāla
- Akṣayyakaraṇa** Vaṭa—(in Prayāga). Vide p. 614 above and AG p. 389 for Hiouen Thsang's reference to it. V 87. 11, F. VI. 25. 7–8 (Viṣṇu is supposed to lie on its leaf at the end of the *kalpa*).
- Akṣayyavaṭa**—A (in Gayā, about half a mile from Viṣṇupada) V. 84. 83, 95. 14, Vā 105.45, 109.16, 111. 79–82 (Viṣṇu in the form of a child lies on its end when the whole world is one mass of water), Ag. 115. 70, P. I. 38. 2; B (under Go. to the north of Vindhya) B. 161. 66–67; C (on Narmadā) BV, III. chap. 33, 30–32 (where Pulastya performed *tapas*).
- Alābutīrtha**—(under Viraja) B. 42. 6.
- Alakanandā**—Ādi 170. 22 (Gaṅgā is so called among gods). Acc. to Vā 41. 18, K. I. 46. 31, Vi. II. 2. 36 and II. 8. 114 it is one of the four streams of the Ganges and reaches the sea with seven mouths. Ādi 170. 19 speaks of the seven mouths. N. (II. 66. 4 ff.) states that the Ganges is called Alakanandā after it reaches the earth and begins to follow Bhagīratha's chariot. Bh. IV. 6.24 and V.17.5. The Bhagīrathī is joined by Alakanandā at Devaprayāga and the combined stream is then called Gaṅgā. N. II. 67. 72–73 say that Bhāgīrathī and Alakanandā meet near Badarīka-

śrama. According to I. G. I. vol. XV p. 60 there are five sacred confluences of the Alakanandā with other rivers viz. with Bhāgīrathī (Devaprayāga), Nandaprayāga, Karnaprayāga (confluence with Pindar river), Rudraprayāga (confluence with Mandākinī), Visnuprayāga. Vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 pp. 2 and 140.

Alēśvara—see Brahmeśvara.

Alltīrtha—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 37.

Āmalaka—A (under Stutasvāmī in U. P.) Var. 148. 67 ff; B (between Brahmagiri and Vedagiri peaks of the Sahya m.) TS p. 78.

Āmalakagrāma—(on m. Sahya) Nr. chap. 66. 7 ff. q. by T. K. p. 254. Dey p. 4 suggests that it is on the north bank of the Tāmaparnī.

Amarakahrada—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. P. 33.

Amarakantaka—(m. in the Bilaspur District of Central Provinces). Vide p. 705-6 above. Vā (77. 10-11 and 15-16), V. Dh. S. 85. 6 highly eulogise śrāddha on this m. M 188. 79, P. I. 15. 68 69 state that the 2nd of the three *puras* of Bāna burnt by Śiva fell on this m. K. II. 40. 36 (high merit of visiting it when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon)

Amarakeśvara—Linga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53

Āmardaka—Vide T. S. pp. 21-30 quoting SK. It is a Śivakṣetra, one of the twelve jyotirlingas and is so called because sins are crushed here (amar-deyāni pāpāni tasmād-āmardakam matam). On p. 22 of TS there is quotation from SK that in the four yugas it was respectively called Jyotirmaya, Mukti, Sparśa and Nageśvara. It is said to be a līnga on p. 22. Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' pp. 77-78 for a description of the temple of Naga-

nātha and plates CXIII-CXV for the front of the great temple and portions of the wall and pillars of the porch and of the Hall. This is probably the same as Āvandhyā Naganātha (Aundha in Survey of India maps) about 25 miles north-east of Parabhāṇī in the Hyderabad State.

Amareśa—A (on Narmadā) M. 186. 2; B (līnga in VS) L. I. 92. 37

Amareśvara—A (on m. Niśadha) Vām. q. by T. K. p. 236; B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 151; C NM 1535, Rāj. I. 267 (yātrā to famous cave of Amaranātha where Śiva is worshipped in līnga-shaped ice-block. This pilgrimage is now most popular in Kāśmīra. Ain. A. vol. II. p. 360 describes it and states that from New Moon the image increases in size for 15 days and decreases with waning moon)

Ambājanma (to east of Saraka) V. 83. 81 (it is Nāradaśīrtha)

Ambareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 118

Ambikāśīrtha—L. I. 92. 166

Ambikāvana—(on r. Sarasvatī). Bh. X. 34. 1-2

Amlu—(a very holy r. in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 34. 7

Amobaka—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 105, P. I. 18. 96-99 (Tapeśvara was so called and there were boulders as big as elephants)

Āmrātakeśvara—(under VS) M. 22. 51, 181. 28, Ag. 112. 3

Amśumati—(r.). Kg. VIII. 96. 13-15 (on which stayed an *asura* called Kṛṣṇa). According to Uṇhad-devatā (VI. 110) it was in the Kuru country; Rām. II. 55. 6 (near Yamunā).

Ānanda—Vide under Nanditāta.

Ānandapura—(under VS) K. I. 35. 15, P. I. 37. 18.

Ananta—a Valanava-kṣetra acc. to Bārhaspatyasūtra III. 120, Br. III. 13. 58.

Anantabhavana or Anantabrada—HC X. 253, 256 (now called Ananta-nāga, about one krośa from Maḍavā-

- vartanāga in the middle of the Vitastā river in Kāśmīra.
- Anantanāga—(not far from Punyodā). NM 1401-2. It is called Islamabad now and is at the foot of the western extremity of the Mārtāṇḍa plateau in Kāśmīra. SM p. 178
- Anantasāyana—(Padmanābha in Travancore) P. VI. 110.8, VI. 280. 19
- Anantatīrtha—(under Mathurā). Var. 155. 1
- Anaraka—A (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41. 22-24; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 1-3, K. II. 41. 91-92; C (to the west of Yamunā) also called Dhamarājatīrtha—K.I. 39.5, P.I. 27.56
- Anarakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113.
- Anāsaka—Var. 215. 89
- Anasūya-līṅga—(north of Goprekṣa, under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 42
- Andha—(a *nada*). Bh. V. 19 18, Devī Bhāgavata VIII. 11. 16 (andhaśonau mahānadau); Dey (pp 7 and 47) says it is the river Chāndan or 'Andhelā' which falls into the Gaṅgā in Bhagalpur
- Andhakeśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65.
- Andhona—(under Narmadā). P.I. 18, 110-113
- Angabbhūta—(a tirtha sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 51
- Āṅgārakūṇḍa (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
- Āṅgāravāhika—M. 22.35
- Āṅgāreśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp 55 and 98; B (under Narmadā) M. 190.9, P. I. 17.6
- Āṅgārakeśvara—A (under Gayā) Ag. 116.29; B (under Narmadā) K. II 41.6
- Āṅgāreśa (under Narmadā) M. 191.59 (probably the same as above)
- Āṅgirasatīrtha (under Narmada) K. II. 41. 31-33, P. I. 18.50
- Āṅgirasēśa (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 117
- Anitabha (r.) Kg. V. 53.9
- Āñjalikāśrama—Anu. 25. 52
- Āñjana (a m. near Brahmagiri, under Go.) B. 84. 2. Vide under Paisācatīrtha; Br. S. 14.5 says Āñjana is m. in the east
- Āñjasī—(r.) Kg. I. 104. 4
- Āñkola (under Narmadā) highly praised in M. 191. 118-122. Probably modern town of Anklesvar in Broach District. A. G. p. 322 identifies Ākrūreśvara with Anklesar on left bank of the Narmadā. Vide I A. 54 pp. 11-12
- Āñkūreśvara (under Narmadā) M. 194.1
- Ānnakūta (under Mathurā) Var. 164. 10 and 22-23 (Govardhana was called Ānnakūṭa)
- Antakeśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75
- Antarvedi (holy land between Gaṅgā and Yamunā) SK. I. 1.17. 274-275 (where brahmabatyā due to the killing of Vṛtra fell)
- Antasīlā (r. rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45. 103
- Antikeśvara (under VS) N. II. 49. 6-9
- Anūpā (r. rising from Kṛksavat m.) Br. II. 16.28
- Anyatah-plakṣa—name of a lotus lake in Kurukṣetra (Sat. Br. in SBE, vol. 44 p. 70)
- Āpagā—one of the seven (or nine) very holy rivers under Kurukṣetra—V. 83. 68, Vām. 34.7, P. I. 36.1-6 and Vām. 36. 1-4 (one krośa to the east of Mānuṣa), NM 158. Is it the same as Āpayā? Vide A. G. p. 185 where it is identified with the Ayak Nadi, a small stream rising in Jammu hills to the north-east of Stalkot. Cunningham (ASR of India, vol. XIV pp. 88-89) says that Āpagā or Oghavati is a branch of the Chitang.
- Āpām-prapatana—Anu. 25.28
- Aparanandā—(near Hemakūṭa) Ādi. 215.7, 110.1, Anu. 166.28. Dey (p. 9) says it is the same as Alakanandā.
- Āpastambatīrtha (under Go.) B. 130.1

- Āpayā—(a r. probably a tributary of the Sarasvatī between it and Drśadvatī) Rg. III. 23.4. Thomas suggests that it is the same as Aughavatī (JRAS vol. 15 p. 362 n. 5)
- Apsaras-kuṇḍa—(under Mathurā and Govardhana) Var. 164. 19
- Apsareśā—(under Narmadā) M. 194.16, P. I. 21.16, K. II. 42.24
- Apsaroyugasaṅgama—(under Go.) B. 147.1
- Arantuka—a dvārapāla. V. 83. 52 (vide p. 683 note 1551).
- Aravinda—(a b. under Gayā) Vā. 109. 15, N. II. 47.83 (reads Aravindavara)
- Arbuda—(m. Abu in the Aravali range in the Sirohi State) V. 82. 55-56 (there was Vasiṣṭha's āśrama), M. 22. 38, P. I. 24.4, N. II. 60.27, Ag. 109. 10. It is one of the five sacred hills of the Jainas, the other four being Satruñjaya, Samet, Sikkhara, Girnar and Candragiri. It is identified with Ptolemy's Apokopa (p. 76). There was a fire-pit thereon from which arose a warrior Paramāra, founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. Vide E. I. vol. IX. p. 10 (of Vikrama 1099) and E. I. vol. 19 Appendix p. 22 No 133 of *śālvat* 1116
- Arbudasarasvatī—(r. sacred to pitṛs) M. 22.38
- Ārcikaparvata—V. 125.16 (where Cya-vana and Sukanyā dwelt)
- Ardbacandra—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 3.
- Ardbakila—founded by Darbbin near Sarasvatī-aruṇā-saṅgama. V. 83. 153-157
- Arghyatīrtha—G. I. 81. 7
- Ariṣṭakuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 30 (where Ariṣṭa was slain)
- Ārjikiyā—(r.) Rg. X. 75. 5. Nir. IX. 26 states that the river was called Vipas (modern Beas) and Vipas was originally Uruñjirā
- Arjuna—(a tīrtha sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 43.
- Arjuniyā (r.) Devala q. by T. K. p. 249. Prof. K. V. R. Aiyangar (T. K. p. 283) following Dey p. 11 holds it identical with Bāhūdā, but the passage from Devala (on T. K. p. 249) shows that Arjuniyā and Bāhūdā are separately enumerated
- Arkakṣetra—same as Koṇārka
- Arkasthala-kuṇḍa (under Mathurā) Var. 157.11, 160.20
- Āṣabha—see under Rābha
- Ārṣiṣenāśrama—Anu. 25. 55
- Aruṇā-sarasvatīsaṅgama—three miles to the north-east of Pṛthūdaka-T. I. 27. 39, Śal. 43.30-31 and 42, Vām. 40.43
- Aruṇa—(m. on the other or west side of Kailāsa where Bhava dwells) Vā. 47. 17-18, Br. II. 18.18
- Aruṇā—A. (r. between Sarasvatī and Drśadvatī near Pṛthūdaka) Śal. 43. 30-33. Sarasvatī joined itself to Aruṇā to cleanse the rākṣasas of sins and Indra of brāhmaṇa murder; B. (a branch of the Kauṣīkī) V. 84.156; vide Journal of A.S. of Bengal, vol. 17 pp. 646-649 on the seven Kosis in Nepal of which the Aruṇā is the most important; C. (under Go.) B. 89. 1, P. VI. 176. 59. Vide Bom. G. vol. XVI p. 463 for Aruṇā stream.
- Aruṇā-varuṇā-saṅgama—(under Gautamī) B. 89.1 and P. VI. 176. 59
- Arundhatī-vaṭa—V. 84.41, P. I. 32. 6
- Aruṇā—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 60
- Āryāvarta—The Amarakośa speaks of it as the holy land (punyabhūmi) between the Himavat and Vindhya mountains. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 11-16 for detailed discussion of the extent of Āryāvarta according to different works and at different times
- Āśāḍha—līṅga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 93
- Āśāḍhūtīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 30
- Āśālīṅga—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92 148.
- Asi—(r. under Banaras) also called Suśkanadī. Vide pp. 627, 637 above.

- Asiknī**—(a r. now called Chenab) Rg. VIII. 20. 25, X. 75. 5, Nirukta IX. 26 observes that it was so called because its water was dark-coloured; later it was called *Candrabhāgā*. This was the *Acekinos* of the Greeks. Vide Bh. V. 19. 18
- Asikuṇḍa**—(under Mathurā) Var. 163. 13; Var. chap. 166 deals with the efficacy of Asikuṇḍa
- Asitā**—(a m. in the west) V. 89. 11-12 (on this m. *Cyavana* and *Kakṣasena* had their āśramas).
- Asitā**—(r. where *yogācārya* Asitā dwelt). A place fit for *śrāddha*, Vā. 77. 39, Br. III. 13. 39
- Asitagiri**—(where *yogācārya* Asitā dwelt) Br. III. 13. 39
- Asīmanvatī**—(r.). Rg. X. 53. 8. The *Āśv.* gr. (I. 8. 2-3) provides that the first half of the verse is to be employed as a mantra when a newly married girl boards a boat and the latter half when she crosses the river and gets down. Dey p. 13 says that it is the river *Oxus*. He assigns no reasons and I do not accept his view.
- Āsmapṛṣṭha**—(a holy stone slab in *Gayā*, even now called *Pretasīlā*). Anu. 25. 42
- Āśokatīrtha**—(near *Sūrpāraka*) V. 83. 13
- Āstamana**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191
- Āṣṭavakra**—(four miles from *Haridvāra*) Anu. 25. 41. Vide Dey p. 12
- Asthipura**—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 27. 62. It is to the west of *Thāneśvara* and south of *Aujasa-ghāṭ*. Here the bodies of the warriors slain in the *Bhārata* war were collected and cremated. Vide A. S. R. vol. 14 pp. 36-106 and A. G. p. 336 where it is mentioned that *Hsuen Tshang* was shown bones of very large size.
- Āsuriśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 67
- Āśvamedha**—(under *Prayāga*) Ag. 111. 14
- Āśvatīras**—(in the story of *Nala*) V. 79. 21
- Āśvatīrtha**—A (not far from *Kānyakubja*) V. 95. 3. Anu. 4. 17, VI. IV. 7. 15 (where sage *Reika* gave 1000 horses as bride-price to *Gādhī* for the latter's daughter *Satyavatī*), *Kālikā* 85. 51-57; B (under *Narmadā*) M. 194. 3, P. I. 21. 3; C (on *Go.*) B. 89. 43 (where the two *Āsvins* were born)
- Āśvatthatīrtha**—K. II. 35. 38—where *Nārāyaṇa* resides in the form of *Hayasīras* (location is not clear)
- Āśvinī**—Anu. 25. 21 (on the *Devikā* river)
- Āśvinos-tīrtha**—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 17, P. I. 26. 15 (same words as in V.).
- Āśviśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52
- Āṣṭatīrtha**—(under *Narmadā*) P. I. 21. 30
- Atibala**—(*Mahābalesvara* in *Satara District*) P. VI. 113. 29
- Ātmatīrtha**—(under *Go.*) B. 117. 1
- Ātreyatīrtha**—(on north bank of *Go.*) B. 140. 1
- Ātri's āśrama**—(after *Citravūṭa*) Rām II. 117. 5
- Ātriśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Āṭṭabāsa**—A (m. in *Himālayas*) Vā. 23. 191; B (a tīrtha sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22. 68; C (a *linga* in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 47
- Auddālakatīrtha**—V 84. 161
- Audyānakatīrtha**—P. I. 38. 68
- Anjasa**—(under Kurukṣetra) V. Dh. S. 85. 52, Vām. 22. 51 and 57. 51
- Aupamanyava**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 97
- Ausaja**—A—V. Dh. S. 85. 52 (*Sūrpāraka*, acc. to com. *Vaijayantī*). Jolly (SBE, vol. 7. p. 259 gives a different reading *Aujasa*, and queries whether it may not be *Auśija*; B (a boundary of *Samantapañcaka*) Vām. 22. 51 (*Rantukād Aujasam cāpi*)



**Uśānasa**—(an eminent tīrtha on Sarasvatī) same as Kapālamocana. V. 83.135, M. 22.31, Sal. 39.4 and 16-22, P. I. 27. 24-26, Vām. 39.1 and 14 (where Uśānas got sidhhi and became planet Venus), 42.24

**Anśiraparvata**—Vā. 77.29

**Avadhūta**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 93

**Avakīrṇa**—(under Kurukṣetra and Sarasvatī) Vām. 39. 24-35 (story of Baka Dālbhya who begged of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and when condemned by the latter made the whole of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's country an *āhuti* in Pṛthūdaka), Sal. 41.1, P. I. 27. 41-45 (where it is Darbhīn who is mentioned as bringing the four seas)

**Avantī**—A (country of which Ujjayinī was capital) Pāṇ IV. 1.176 ('striyam—*avantī*—kuntī—kurubhyas—ca'), Raghuvarṇa VI. 32; S 31. 10 (Vin-dānuvindāvāntyanu), Udyoga 166.6 (same words as in S); B Avantī (river starting from m. Pāriyātra) Vā. 45.98, M. 114.24, Br. II. 16.29; C (the capital of Mālava, Ujjayinī) B. 43.24, Ag. 109.24 (Avantī paramam tīrtham), N. II. 78. 35-36 (several names such as Viśālā, Amarāvati, Kuśasthali, Kāśakaśṅgā, Padmāvati, Kumudvati, Ujjayinī). Vide also L. I. 92. 7-8 and B. 194.19 (Sāndīpasi, teacher of Kṛṣṇa, dwelt in Avantipura). The Meghadūta (I. 30) speaks of Ujjayinī as Viśālā; Kāśikhaṇḍa 7.92 'pāpād-avantī sāvīśvām-avantitī nigadyate i yuge yuge śnyānāmāi kalāvujjayanitī ca'. Vide under Mahākālā

**Avatodā**—(r.) Bh. V. 19.18

**Avighuātīrtha**—(on north bank of Go.) B. 114.25

**Avimukta**—(same as Kāśī) V. 84. 79-80, Vi. V. 34.30 and 43, Vide pp. 618-642 above

**Avimuktesvara**—(līṅga in VS) L. I. 92.6 and 105, N. II. 49. 53-55 (where cocks are honoured)

**Ayodhyā**—(in Fyzabad District in U. P.) on the Ghāgrā. One of the seven holy cities (vide p. 678n above). It is also a place of pilgrimage for Jains, as some of their saints were born there. Atharvaveda X. 2. 31 and Tai. A. I. 27.2 (aṣṭācakrā nava-dvārā devānām pūr-Ayodhyā i tasyām hiranyayaḥ kośab svargo loko Jyoti-śāvṛtaḥ), V. 60. 24-25 and 70. 2 (capital of king Rṭuparṇa and of Rāma), Br. IV. 40. 91, Ag. 109. 24 (Ayodhyā pāpanāśanī). According to Rām. I. 5. 5-7 the country of Kosala had Sarayū flowing through it; Ayodhyā, 12 yojanas long and three broad, was Kosala capital founded by Manu. Kosala was one of the 16 *mahājānapadas* of India in ancient times (vide Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. IV. p. 252). Later on, Kosala was divided into two, viz. Uttara Kosala and Dakṣiṇa Kosala divided by the Sarjū or Ghāgrā river. The Raghu-varṇa holds Ayodhyā to be capital of Uttarakosala (VI. 71 and IX. 1). Vide also Vā. 88. 20 ff. for a long line of kings of Ayodhyā from Ikṣvāku and P. VI. 208. 46-47 (for Dakṣiṇa Kosalā and Uttara Kosalā). Sāketa is generally identified with Ayodhyā. Vide T. P. p. 496 (gives its boundaries from SK) and under Sāketa. Dr. B. C. Law contributes a well-documented and learned paper on 'Ayodhyā' to J. of the Ganganath Jha. R. Society, vol. I. pp. 423-443

**Ayogasiddhi**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98

**Ayonisaugama**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 58

## B

**Babhrutīrtha**—(where the Mahī river falls into the sea) SK I. 2. 13. 107

**Badarī**—(a holy place on Gandhamādāna where there was the hermitage of Nara and Nārāyaṇa) V. 90.25-32, 141.23, 177.8, Śānti 127.2-3, Bh. IX. 3. 36 and XI. 29. 41 (Nārāyaṇa-

- drama); M. 22. 73 (very fit for śrāddha), P. VI. 2. 1-7 (there is no *śūṣā* in Dakṣiṇāyana as the mountain is covered with snow). Also called Viśālā, Vide I. G. I. vol. VI pp. 179-180 for description. The temple of Badrināth is on the right bank of the Alakanandā.
- Badarikā—A. Vām. 2. 42-43; B. (near Mahendra m.), P. 139. 13, V. 85. 13; C. (somewhere in southern Gujarat). Vide E. I. vol. 23 Ellora plates of Dantidurga (pp. 25, 29)
- Badarikāśrama—A. (Badrināth in Garhwal, U. P.) Var. 141 (7 verses from it are quoted in T. K. pp. 215-216); Parāśarasmitī I. 5 states that Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, resided in this āśrama; M. 201. 24 says Mitra and Varuṇa practised *tāpas* here; Vi. V. 37. 34 (this āśrama was on Gandhamādāna and was the abode of Nara-Nārāyaṇa), Br. III. 25. 67 (same as in Vi); N. II. 67 (describes it at length and specifies the sub-tirthas); N. II. 67. 26 (says it is on Viśālā river); Bh. VII. 11. 6; B (at a short distance from Madhuvana on Yamunā) P. VI. 212. 1 and 43.
- Badarivana—P. I. 27. 66
- Badaripācāna-tirtha—V. 83. 179, Sal. 47. 33 and 48. 1 and 51 (Vasiṣṭha had his āśrama here).
- Bagalā—(a Devisthāna). Vide under Vaidyanātha.
- Bāhūdā—(a river near Sarasvatī), Anu. 165. 27, P. I. 32. 31, N. II. 60. 30, B. 27. 26, M. 114. 22 and Vā. 45. 93 (say it rises in Himavat). V. 84. 67 and 87. 27. Vide Dey. p. 16 for differing views on identification. and Pargiter (pp. 291-292 note); Vā. 88. 66 states that Yuvanāśva cursed his wife Gaurī who became Bāhūdā. Amarakośa gives Saltavāhinī as a synonym of Bāhūdā and Kṣīrasvāmīn comments that it was brought down by Kārtavīrya (who was called Bahuda, one who donated much).
- Bahulavana—(under Maibura) Var. 157. 8
- Bahunetra—(a tirtha on the Narmadā to be visited on trayodaśī) M. 191. 14
- Bāhyā—(r. rising from Sahya) Br. II. 16. 35.
- Bakulāśaṅgama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 27.
- Bakulavana (or Babulao)—(5th *vāna* out of 12 under Mathurā) Var. 153. 36. Vide p. 690 above
- Balabhadraliṅga—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 46.
- Balākā—Anu. 25. 19 (kanyākūpa upaspr̥ṣya Balākāyām kṛtodakāḥ)
- Bālakesvara—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Bālakesvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 19
- Bālāpa or Bālāpendra—(on bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 145. 1, 24 and 37 (a Ravikṣetra)
- Balesvara—(under Sripārvata) L. I. 92. 148
- Balikunda—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 76
- Bānagaṅgā—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 144. 63 (Rāvaṇa exposed it by shooting an arrow to the south of Someśvara)
- Bānatirtha—A (under Go.) B. 123. 214; B (under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 9-10
- Bānesvara-liṅga (under VS) SK. Kāṣṭhakaṇṭha 33. 139, L. q. by T. K. p. 48
- Bāñjulā—(probably same as Vāñjulā, which see) Br. II. 16. 31 (Bāñjulā from Rikṣa), Br. II. 16. 34 (B. from Sahya), Br. II. 16. 37 (B. from Mahendra)
- Bārhaspatya-tirtha—(under Go.) B. 122. 101
- Bhadrā—A (one of the four branches of the heavenly Gauges) Vi. II. 2. 34, Bh. V. 17. 5, Vām. 51. 52; B (the river on which Haribhara is situated) Nr. 65. 18
- Bhadradoha—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52

- Bhadrakāleśvara**—(śrāddha here leads to highest goal) *M.* 22. 74
- Bhadrakālī**—Acc. to *Bār. S.* III. 128 she dwells on *Vindhya*
- Bhadrakālīhrada**—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* p. 87
- Bhadrakarnāhrada**—*Ag.* 109. 17
- Bhadrakarnēśvara**—(a fit place for śrāddha) *V.* 84. 39, *K. II.* 20. 35, *SK VII.* 1. *Arbuda-khaṇḍa*—chap. 8, 1-2 (*līnga* on a pool of that name on *Arbuda m.*)
- Bhadratīrtha**—*A* (under *Narmadā*) *P.* I. 18. 94; *B* (under *Co.*) *B.* 165.1, *M.* 22. 50
- Bhadratuṅga**—*V.* 82. 80
- Bhadravana**—(6th out of 12 *vanas* of *Mathurā*) *Var.* 153. 37, 161. 7
- Bhadravata**—*V.* 82. 50, *P. I.* 12. 10, *Var.* 51.2 (on the north side of the *Himālaya*) and 98. 6
- Bhadrāvati**—(one of the four original streams of the *Ganges*, the other three being *Sitā*, *Alakanandā* and *Sucakṣuḥ*) *Br.* III. 56. 52
- Bhadreśvara**—*A* (on north bank of *Narmadā*) *M.* 22. 25, *K. II.* 41. 4; *B* (under *VS*) *L.* I. 92. 136, *L. q.* by *T. K.* pp. 52, 68
- Bhagavat-padī**—The *Ganges*. *Bh.* V. 17.1-9
- Bhāgirathī**—*M.* 121. 41 (which is one of the seven streams that started from *Bindusaras* and which following *Bhāgiratha's* chariot reached the sea)
- Bhairava**—(a *tīrtha*) *M.* 22. 31
- Bhairaveśvara**—(under *VS*) *L. I.* 92. 137
- Bhāṇḍāhrada** (under *Mathurā*)—*Var.* 157. 10
- Bhāṇḍīra**—(under *Mathurā*) *Var.* 153. 43 (the 11th out of 12 *vanas*), 156. 3; vide p. 691 above
- Bhāṇḍīraka Vata**—(near *Vṛndāvana*) *Bh.* X. 18.22, X. 19.13
- Bhāṅgatīrtha**—(under *Narmadā*) *M.* 191.52
- Bhāṇṇatīrtha**—(under *Co.*) *B.* 138. 1, 168.1
- Bhārābhūteśvara**—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* p. 93
- Bhārābhūti**—(under *Narmadā*) *M.* 194. 18, *K. II.* 42. 25, *P. I.* 21.18
- Bharadvājāśrama**—*Rām.* II. 54. 9-10, VI. 127. 1 and 17, V 102. 5-6. Vide *Citrakūṭagiri*. For a discussion of the real site of this āśrama, vide *Journal, Gangānāth Jha R. Institute*, vol. III pp. 189-204 and 433-474 (*Sbri R. M. Shastri*)
- Bharadvājatīrtha**—(see *Agastyatīrtha*) *Ādi* 216.4
- Bharatasya-āśrama**—*A* (under *Gayā*) *Br.* III. 13.105, *M.* 13.46 (*Devī* is here called *Lakṣmī-Aṅganā*), *Vā* 77. 98, 108. 35, and 112.24; *B* (under *Kausikī*) *K. II.* 37.38, *P. I.* 38.48
- Bharateśa**—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* p. 66
- Bhārgaveśa**—(under *Narmadā*) *M.* 192.1, *P. I.* 19.1
- Bhartṛsthāna**—*V.* 85. 60, *P. I.* 39.56 (where god *Mahāsena* is 'nityasannihita'). Same words in both *V* and *P*
- Bhārūṇāvāsa**—(in the country of *Matsya*) *Rām.* II. 71.5
- Bharukaccha**—(modern *Broach*) *S.* 51.10 (the inhabitants of *Bharukaccha* brought as presents to the *Pāṇḍavas* horses from *Gāndhāra* i. e. the country about *Peshawar*). *Ptolemy* and the *Periplus* call it *Barygaza*. It was called *Bhṛgupura* and *Bhṛgu-kaccha* also (the latter in *SK*, *Kāśīkhanda* 6.25). A *Valabhi* copperplate of *Dharaśena IV* in *Valabhi* samvat 330 (648-9 A. D.) was issued from a camp at *Bharukaccha*. There is a *Suppāraka Jātaka*, No. 463 where *Bharukaccha* is mentioned as a seaport (ed. by *Cowell*)
- Bhasmagātraka**—*L. I.* 92.137

- Bhaskakūṭādrī**—(under Gayā) Vā. 109. 15
- Bhāskarakeśetra**—(Koṅārka) Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes a verse 'Gaṅgāyām Bhāskarakeśetre &c.' (q. on p. 574 above); T. C. p. 16 and Prāyāścittatattva (p. 493) say that Prayāga is Bhāskarakeśetra, while T.S. p. 20 says it is Koṇāditya or Koṅārka. This is the correct view. M. 111. 13 and K. I. 36. 20 say 'Prayāga is Prajāpati-keśetra.' Vide p. 574 above. Dey p. 32 simply follows Prāyāścittatattva
- Bhāvatīrtha**—(under Go.) B. 153.1
- Bhedādevī**—(near Gaṅgodbheda)—the modern Budabrūr, west of Śrīnagara, to Kāśmīra; NM 1522
- Bhedagiri**—(sanctified by the Gaṅgodbheda spring) R. I. 35, SM. pp. 186-187
- Bhillatīrtha**—(on south bank of Go.) B. 169.1
- Bhima**—(r.)—same as Bhīmarathī, rising from Sahya m. and tributary of Kravā. Devaḷa q. by T. K. p. 250. Its source is adorned by the temple of Bhīmāsankara, one of the twelve Jyotiṃ-līngas and it falls into the Kravā river 16 miles north of Kai-chur
- Bhīmādevī**—(modern village Brān in Phāk *Pargana* on east shore of Dal lake in Kāśmīra) R. II. 135, HC. 4. 47
- Bhīmarathī**—same as Bhīmā. M. 22. 45, 114.29, B. 27.35, P. I. 24.32, Bhī. 9. 20, V. 87. 3, Vām. 13. 30. The Vakkaleri plate of Kīrti-varma II in *śaka* 679 (757 A. D.) mentions Bhīmarathī (E. I. vol. V. p. 200 at p. 204)
- Bhīmasvāmī**—Rock in Kāśmīra worshipped as embodiment of Gaṇeśa, SM. p. 148
- Bhīmātīrtha**—Ag. 109.12
- Bhīmāyāh sthānam**—V. 82. 84. Dey p. 33 identifies it with Takta-I-Bahal, 28 miles to the north-east of Pesha-war
- Bhīmeśvara**—(tirtha sacred to Piṭṛs under Narmadā) M. 21. 46 and 75, 191. 5, K. II. 41. 20 and II. 44.15, P. I. 18. 5
- Bhīmacanḍika**—(under VS) M 183. 62
- Bhīmeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
- Bhogavatī** or **Vāsukītīrtha**—A (under Prayāga). It is called the altar of Prajāpati; V. 85.77 (tirtham Bhogavatī caiva vedir-eṣā Prajāpateh), M. 106.46 and 110. 8, Ag. 111. 5, N. II. 63.95; B capital of Kākutha of the Ikāvāku race; Kal. 50.4
- Bhṛgu**—āśrama (on the north bank of Narmadā) SK I. 2.3. 2-6
- Bhṛgukaccha**—(on the north bank of Narmadā), vide under Bharukaccha. Here Bali performed Aśvamedha; Bh. VIII. 18.2
- Bhṛgukūṇḍa**—(under Stutasvāmī) Var. 148.43
- Bhṛgutīrtha**—(under Narmada) M 193. 23-60, K. II. 42. 1-6, P. I. 20.23-57. Dey p. 34 says it is Bheraghat containing temple of 64 Yoginis, 12 miles to the west of Jabalpur; V. 99.34-35 (at this place Paraśurama regained his energy taken away by Rāma)
- Bhṛgutuṅga**—(an āśrama on a mountain where Bhṛgu practised penance). A—Vā. 23. 148 and 77.82, V. 84.50, 90. 23, 130. 191; B V.Dh.S. 83.16, K. II. 20.33, M. 22.31 (a place very fit for śrāddha), which is near Amarakaṇṭaka acc. to Nanda Paṇḍita and acc. to others in the Hīmalāya; C (on the eastern bank of the Gaṇḍak) Var. 146 45-46; D (in Gurjaradeśa) SK., Kāśī-khaṇḍa 6. 25; E (near Vitastā and Himavat) Vām. 81. 33
- Bṛhaspatikūṇḍa**—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151.55
- Bṛhgisvara-līnga**—(under VS) SK. Kāśīkhaṇḍa 33. 129 and L. q. by T. K. p. 84
- Bhūmicanḍeśvara**—(under VS) Ag. 112.4
- Bhūmitīrtha**—Ag. 109. 12

- Bhūtilāyatīrtha**—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 158. 1 (where r. Candanā becomes *prāci*). Vām. 34. 47 mentions it, but its location is uncertain
- Bhūtesvara**—A (in Kashmir, now called Buthiser) NM 1309, 1324, 1327, R. I. 107. II. 148, HC 4.85. This is included in Nandikētra. Bhūtesa Siva's residence is on a mountain spur which stretches south-east from Haramukha peaks. Ain. A. vol. II. p. 364 refers to it; B (under VS) K. I. 35.10, P. I. 37.13; C (under Mathurā) Var. 169.19
- Bhuvaneśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
- Bilapatha**—(from where the Vitastā or Zhelum starts) HC 12. 15-17. Vide under Nīlakunḍa
- Bilvācala**—A Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 120
- Bilvaka**—(a very fit place for śrāddha) V. Dh. S. 85.52, M. 22. 70, K. II. 20.33, Anu. 25.13, N. II. 40.79
- Bilvapatraka**—P. VI. 129.11 (one of the 12 tīrthas of Siva)
- Bilvavana**—(10th out of the 12 *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153.42
- Binduka**—V. Dh. S. 85. 12 (some editions read Bilvaka)
- Bindumādhava**—(in VS) M. 185. 68, SK IV. 33.148, N. II. 29.61, P. VI. 131. 48
- Bindusaras**—A (on Maināka m. near Badarī) V. 145.44, Bhī. 6. 43-46, Br. II. 18. 31, M. 121. 26 and 31-32 (where Bhagiratha, Indra and Nara-Nārāyaṇa practised *tapas*), Bh. III. 21-33 and 39-44 (description); B (under VS) Siva bathed in it and the *kapāla* of Brāhmā that had stuck to his hand dropped from it and it became Kapālamocanatīrtha) N. II. 29. 59-60; C (under Ekāmra) B. 41. 52-54 (it is so called because Rudra collected drops of water from all holy places and filled it therewith); D (in Kāśmīra) it is a *dīkṣāla* in the east of the country, according to NM 1116-1117.
- Bindutīrtha**—same as Pañcanada which see.
- Bodhitaru**—(the Bo tree at Buddha Gayā) P. VI. 117.30. Vide under Mahābodhitaru. At the Bharhut stūpa (about 200 B. C.) there is a bas-relief showing the Vajrāsana throne of Buddha with the view of the Bodhi tree and an inscription 'bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi'; vide 'Mahābodhi' by Cunningham, p. 3. The Bodhi tree is said to have been cut down by king Śaśāṅka of Bengal in 600 A. D., but restored about 620 A.D. by king Purnavarman. Vide A. G. pp. 453-459 for Bodhi Gayā and p. 459 for Bodhitaru.
- Brahmagiri**—A. (m. from which Godāvarī rises on which Gautama had his hermitage) B. 74. 25-26, 84. 2, P. VI. 176. 56; B (the highest peak of Sabya and as a tīrtha under Kṛṣṇa-venyā) T. S. p. 78
- Brahmabṛada**—Bh. X. 28. 16-17 (probably used in a secondary sense), Br. III. 13. 52
- Brahmakṣetra**—(Kurukṣetra) V 83. 4-6, Vā 59. 106 and 107 and 97. 5
- Brahmakunḍa**—A (under Badarī) Var. 141. 4-6; B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 71 (where four Vedadhārās fall from Himalaya); C (under Gayā) Vā. 110.8
- Brahmakūpa**—(under Gayā) Vā. 111.25 and 31, Ag. 115. 37
- Brahmanadi**—(Sarasvatī is so called) Bh. IX. 16. 23
- Brāhmaṇakunḍikā**—(a tīrtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1499, 1501
- Brahmaṇas-tīrtha**—V. 83. 113, P. I. 27.2 (Brahmaṇas-ethānam), P. I. 38. 20
- Brāhmaṇi**—(probably the Bāmani, that falls into the Chambal) V. 84. 58
- Brāhmaṇikā**—(near Naimiṣa forest) P. I. 32.22
- Brāhmaṇusvara**—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 67

**Brahmapada**—(under Gonīṣkramaṇa) Var. 147.36

**Brahmaputra**—name as Lauhitya, which see

**Brahmāranya**—(under Gayā) P. I. 38.5

**Brahmasaras**—A (near Thanesar) Vā.

77. 51, M. 22. 12, Vām. 22. 55-60 and 49. 38-39. This lake is known

by various names, viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada or Pavanasaras &c.; B (under Gayā) V. 84. 85 (dharmā-ranyopasobhita) and 95. 11, Anu. 25. 98, Ag. 115. 38, Vā. 111. 30; C (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 37-39; D (under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 20

**Brahmasāras**—(under Gayā) K. II. 37. 38, N. II. 44. 66 (there is Brahmayūpa there)

**Brahmasthanā**—V. 83. 71, 83. 35, P. I. 27. 2

**Brahmasthanūpa**—P. I. 39. 33

**Brahmatāresvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 88

**Brahmatīrtha**—A (under VS) K. I. 35. 9, II. 37. 28, P. I. 37. 9-12 (Viṣṇu established it in the name of Brah-mā); B (under Gayā) P. I. 38. 69, N. II. 45. 102, Ag. 115. 36; C (under Go.) B. 113. 1 and 23, Br. III. 13. 56; D (on Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78. 19

**Brahmatūṅga**—Ag. 109. 12, P. I. 24. 28

**Brahmatūṅghrada** or **Brahmatūṅga-hrada**—Br. III. 13. 73, Vā. 77. 71-73 (śrāddha, japa, homa yield inexhaustible results here)

**Brahmavallī-tīrtha**—(under Sābhra-matī) P. VI. 137. 1

**Brahmavālukā**—V. 82. 106, P. I. 25. 13

**Brahmāvarta**—A (holy land between Sarasvatī and Dṛavati) Manu II. 17, Kal. 49. 71. The Meghadūta I. 48 (Nir. ed.) shows that Kurukṣetra was part of Brahmāvarta. It is a holy tīrtha. V. 83. 53-54, 84. 43, M. 22. 69, Ag. 109. 17; B (under Narmadā) M. 190. 7, 191. 70, P. I. 17. 5

**Brahmayoni**—A (on Sarasvatī)—same as Pṛthūdaka, Vām. 39. 20 and 23;

B (under Gayā) V. 83. 140 and 84. 95, P. I. 27. 29, N. II. 47. 54, Vā. 108. 83 (brahmayonim praviśyātha nirgacched yastu mānavah; param brahma sa yātiha vimukto yonisañkaśāt). Vide AG. p. 458 which states that a small temple now occupies the site of Aśoka's stūpa and p. 646 note 1470 above

**Brahmayūpa**—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 31-33, Ag. 115. 39

**Brahmesvaralīṅga**—A (under Sripār-vata) K. II. 41. 18, L. I. 92. 159-160 (also called Alesvara); B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

**Brahmodara**—Vām. 36. 7-8

**Brahmodaya**—(to the south of Vāg-matī) Var. 215. 102

**Brahmodbheda**—Var. 215. 91

**Brahmodumbara**—V. 83. 71

**Bṛhadvana**—(near Gokula where Nanda-gopa kept his cattle) Bh. X. 5. 26, X. 7. 33

**Budbudā**—(r. rising in the Himālaya) Br. II. 16. 25-26

**Budhesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 55, 97

## C

**Caitraka**—M. 110. 2

**Caitraratna**—(a vana) Vā. 47. 6 (on the banks of the Acchodā river), Br. II. 18. 7. Here Devī is called Madotkaṭā; M. 13. 28

**Cakra**—(near Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78. 19

**Cakradhara**—(Viṣṇusthāna in Kāśmīra, now known in a corrupt form as Takdar or Chākdhār) R. I. 38. It is a tīrtha of great sanctity, about a mile to the west of Bijbror (ancient Vijayeshvara). Vide K. R. p. 18 and SM. p. 171 (Cakradhara and Vijayesh-Siva are two images located close to each other). HC calls it Cakratīrtha (7.61) and also Cakra-dhara (7.64)

**Cakrasthita**—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 3

**Cakrasvāmin**—(under *Sālagrāma*) Var. 145. 38 (*cakrāṅkitasālas-tatra dr̥śyante*)

**Cakratīrtha**—**A** (under *Saukaratīrtha*) Var. 137. 19; **B** (under *Āmalakagrāma*) Nr. 66. 22; **C** (under *Setu*) SK. III. *Brahmakhaṇḍa*, chap. 3-5; **D** (in *Kāśmīra*) also called *Cakra-dhara* (which see); **E** (on *Go.*) D. 86.1, 109.1, 134. 1 (6 miles from *Tryambaka*)—though thrice mentioned, it appears to be one *tīrtha*; **F** (under *Mathurā*) Var. 162.43; **G** (under *Sarasvatī*) Vām. 42.5, 57.89, 81.3; vide *A*, G. p. 336 and under *Asthapura*; **H** (under *Dvārakā*) TP. pp. 536-537, Var. 159.58

**Cakravāka**—(a *tīrtha* sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22.42

**Cakrāvarta**—(under *Mandāra*) Var. 143. 36-38 (a deep lake)

**Cakreśvara**—(under *VS*) L. q. by T. K. p. 52

**Cakṣus**—(r. from *Himālaya*, a branch of *Gaṅgā*) M. 121.23, Vā. 47.21 and 39, Br. II. 16.20, Bb. V. 17.5, Dey p. 43 holds that *Cakṣus* is the river *Oxus* or *Amu Daria* and relies on *Matsya* 120-121 (of *Ānandaśrama* edition), which however does not help at all. It is strange that Dey on p. 13 also holds that *Aśmanvatī* is the river *Oxus*

**Cakṣus**—*tīrtha* (on south bank of *Go.*) B. 170.1

**Camasa** or **Camasodbheda**—**A** (where *Sarasvatī* appears again after disappearing in the desert) V. 82. 112, 130. 5 (*esa vai Camasodbhedo yatra dr̥śyā Sarasvatī*); P. I. 25. 18; **B** (under *Prabhāsa*) Sal. 35. 87, V. 88.20

**Camatkārapora**—(same as *Ānandapura* in modern *Ahmedabad District*) SK. VI. chap. 1-13

**Campā**—**A** (city on the *Bhāgīrathī* four miles to west of *Bhagalpur* and one of the six great cities of the times of the *Buddha*) V. 84.163, 85.14, 308.26, P. I. 38.70; M. 48. 91 (originally it was

called *Mālinī* but later was called *Campā* after king *Campa*). According to the *Mahāparinirbāna-sutta* the six great cities are *Campā*, *Rājagṛha*, *Srāvastī*, *Sāketa*, *Kauśāmbī*, *Benares* (SBE vol. XI. p. 99 and p. 247), *Vām*, 84.12 mentions *Cāṃpeya brāhmaṇas*. *Campā* is in the *Varaṇādī-gaṇa* (Pān. IV. 2. 82); **B** (river sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22.41, P. V. 11.35 (between *Anga* and *Magadha*, acc. to Dey p. 43). It was the capital of *Lomspāda* and of *Karna*

**Campakāranya**—(modern *Champaran* in *Bihar*) V. 84.133, P. I. 38. 49. *Vālmīki's* hermitage was near *Sangrampur* in the *Champaran District*

**Campakatīrtha**—(where *Gaṅgā* flows to the north) N. II. 40. 86

**Campakavana**—(under *Gayā*) Vā. 37. 16-22

**Caṇḍalā**—(r. rising from *m. Kṣyavat*) M. 114. 26

**Caṇḍavega**—(r. sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22. 28

**Caṇḍavegasambheda**—M. 22. 26, K. II. 44. 16, P. VI. 131. 67

**Caṇḍeśa**—(under *Sābhramatī*) P. VI. 162.1

**Caṇḍikeśvara**—L. I. 92. 166, Vām. 51.50

**Candrabhāgā**—(**A**) the river rises in the *Himālayas* in two streams, one is called *Candrā* (which issues from a large snow-bod on the south-east side of *Bāra Lācha* at a height of over 16000 feet), the other called *Bhāgā* rises on the north-west slopes of the pass. The two join at *Taṇḍī* and the united stream is known as *Candrabhāgā* or *Chenab*. The five rivers of the *Panjab* are; *Vitastā* (*Jhelum*, the *Hydaspes* of the Greeks), *Vipāśā* (*Beas*, *Hypasis* of Greeks), *Satadru* (*Sutlej*), *Candrabhāgā* and *Iravātī*. In 'Questions of *Milinda*' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) *Candrabhāgā* is one of the ten great rivers

- of India. V.Dh. S. 85. 49, S. 9. 19, M. 13. 49, Anu. 25. 7, N. II. 60. 30, NM. 159 and 162, HC. 12.44. Vide *Aśikū*; **B** (under Narmadā) M. 191.64, K. II. 41, 35, P. I. 18. 61; **C** (joins Tāpī) P. VI. 70.44; **D** (r. that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148. 12, 149.1; **E** (same as Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā)
- Candramas-tirtha**—(on Ārcikaparvata) V. 125.17
- Candrapāda**—(under Gayā) Br. III. 47. 18-19
- Candrapura**—(a city in Kāśmīra) NM. 1138 and 1156-7 (Mahāpadma Nāga flooded that city and there came into existence a lake, one yojana in length and breadth)
- Candratirtha**—**A** (at source of Kāverī) K. II. 37.23; **B** (under VS) P. I. 37. 14, K. I. 35.11; **C** (under Narmadā) M. 193. 75, K. II. 42. 15, Br. III. 13. 28
- Candravaśā**—(r.) Bh. V. 19.18
- Candravati**—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 310 (Diti became this river, as Yamunā became Vitastā)
- Candresvara**—**A** (on Candrabhāgā river and to the east of Dugdhesvara, on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 149.1; **B** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 49
- Candrikā**—(r. Candrabhāgā, modern Chenab) M 22.63
- Carmākhyā**—(under VS) K. I. 35.4
- Carmanvatī**—(r. modern Chambal that rises about 9 miles south-west of Mhow and falls into the Yamunā 25 miles south-west of Etawah town) Ādi. 138. 74 (Drupada ruled over southern Pañcāla up to Carmanvatī), V. 82. 54, Droṇaparva 67.5 (the name is due to the heaps of the hides of animals killed in Rantideva's *yajñas*), P. I. 24.3, Meghadūta I. 45 (refers to Rantideva); the word Carmanvatī occurs in Pān. VIII. 2.12
- Carmakoṭa**—M 22. 42
- Catuḥsamudra**—(a *kūpa* under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 89
- Catuḥsāmudriṇa**—(a *kūpa* under Ma-thurā) Var. 158. 41
- Catuḥsrota**—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 17
- Caturmukha**—(under Sarasvatī) Vām, 42.28
- Caturthesvara**—(under VS) N. II. 49.65
- Caturvedesvara**—(under VS) SK, Kāśi-khaṇḍa 33. 130
- Chāgalāṇḍa**—(a very fit place for śrā-dḍha) M. 13.43 (where Devī is called Pracaṇḍā), 22. 72
- Chāgaleśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 119
- Chāyākṣetra**—(sacred to Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 100 (town park of Mahā-lakṣmīpura is so called)
- Chinnapāpakṣetra**—(on Go.) P. VI. 174. 15
- Ciccikatirtha**—(under Go.) B. 164.1
- Cidambara**—(see under Mīnākṣī) Devī-bhāgavata VII. 38. 11. It is famous for its great Śiva temple and contains the 'air *linga*' i. e. no *linga* is actually visible but a curtain is hung before a wall and when visitors enter the curtain is withdrawn and the wall is exhibited. The temple has a hall of more than 1000 monolithic pillars
- Cintāṅgadesvara**—(under VS) P. I. 37. 14
- Cīramocanātirtha**—(in Kāśmīra) R. I. 149-150 (mentions the Kanakavāhinī, Nandīśa and this tirtha together). It is the confluence of the Kanakavāhinī and the river Sind, NM 1538-1545 (so called because the seven sages left their bark garments here and then went to heaven), SM p. 211
- Citābhūmi**—(Vaidyanātha or Deoghar in Sonthal *pargaṇa* containing the temple of Vaidyanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas) Śivapurāṇa I. 38, 55. Vide Dey p. 50.
- Citrāguptesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102



- Citrakūṭa—(hill, 65 miles south-west of Prayāga in Banda District of Bundelkhand and a railway station on Jhansi-Manikpur branch) V. 85. 38, Rām. II. 54. 28-29 and 93. 8 (ten krośas from Bhāradvājāśrama) Rām. II. 55. 9 (it is pitṛtīrtha), II. 56. 10-12, M. 22. 65 and Anu I. 25. 29, N. II. 60. 23 and 75. 26, Ag. 6. 35-36 (near Mandākinī r.) and 109. 23, P. I. 39. 54, Raghuvamśa XIII. 47; Meghadūta calls it Rāmāgiri.
- Citrakūṭā-(r. rising from Rṣapavata) Vā. 45. 99, M. 114. 25 (where Mandākinī and this r. are both mentioned as rising from Rṣavat)
- Citrāṅgadātīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35. 11, Vām. 46. 39 (Citrāṅgadesvara-līṅga)
- Citrāṅgavadana—(under the Sābhramati) P. VI. 141. 1
- Citrēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by K. T. p. 97
- Citropalā (r.) B. 46. 4-5 (rising from Vindhya and called Mahānadi)
- Citropalā—(probably same as the preceding) Bhī. 9. 34, M. 114. 25 (rising from Rṣavat), B. 27. 31-32 (rising from Rṣapāda)
- Cyavanasyaśrama—A (under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75, Vā. 108. 73. In Rg. I. 116. 10 Cyavana is said to have been rejuvenated by Aśvins; Sat. Br. 1.5.1-16 (SBE vol. 26 pp 272-276 he married Sukanyā, king Saryāta's daughter and became young by a bath in a pool); B (under Narmadā) V 89. 12, 121. 19-22; V. chapters 122-124 contain the story of Cyavana, Sukanyā and the Aśvins. V. 102. 4 narrates that the Kāleśyas devoured one hundred *munis* here. Dey p. 51 gives four different places as Cyavana's hermitage. Cyavana was son of Bṛghu and the Bṛghus are often associated with the region about the mouth of the Narmadā
- Cyavaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
- D
- Dadhīcatīrtha—V 83. 186, P. I. 27. 73-74 (where Sārasvata stayed and became prince of perfect men, Siddhirat)
- Dadhiceśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Dadhikarṇeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 94.
- Dākinī—(Bhīmśaṅkara) see note 1536
- Dakṣaprayāga—N. II. 40. 96-97
- Dakṣatīrtha—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46. 2 (to the south of Sthānūvata), Vām. 34. 20 (Dakṣāśrama and Dakṣeśvara)
- Dakṣeśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75
- Dakṣiṇa-gaṅgā—A (Godāvari in B. 77. 9-10, 78. 77; B Kāveri (in Nr. 66. 7); C Narmadā in SK, Revākhaṇḍa 4. 24; D Tungabhadra (in Vik. 4. 62)
- Dakṣiṇa-Gokarna—Var. 216. 22-23
- Dakṣiṇa-Māraṇa—(a tank under Gayā) N. II. 45. 74, Ag. 113. 17
- Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā—(Madurā in the Madras State) Bh. X. 79. 15
- Dakṣiṇa-pāṇcanada—V. Dh. S 85. 51 (the com. Vaijayanti says that the five rivers are Kṛṣṇā, Venā, Tungā, Bhadrā and Koṣṭhā)
- Dakṣinaprayāga (known as Mokṣavenī in Saptagrāma in Bengal) 'tat-Dakṣinaprayāgam tu Gaṅgāto Yamunāṣṣṭatā | anānāt tatrākṣayam puṇyam Prayāga iva labhyate' quoted by Gaṅgāvākyāvalī p. 296, which is itself quoted by T. P. p. 355. Dey p. 52 says that it is Trivenī on the north of Hughly in Bengal.
- Dakṣiṇa-sindhu—(a tributary of the Chambal) V. 82. 53, P. I. 24. 2, Meghadūta I. 30
- Dālbyāśrama (hermitage of Baka Dālbya, half a yojana from where Rāma and Lakṣmana were in the company of Sugriva and his hosts. P. VI. 46. 14-15.
- Damin (masculine noun) V 82. 71-75.
- Dāmodaranāga—a spring in Kāśmīra, which is the upper hamlet of village

- Khesamoh** (Khesamoh), the birth-place of poet Bīḥana. Vide SM p. 166.
- Dāṇḍaprākura** (under Kākāṁbhaka) Var. 140. 68-70.
- Dāṇḍa**—V 85. 15.
- Dāṇḍaka** (name of a territory, location being vague and probably it means no more than Dāṇḍakāranya) Rām. II. 9. 12 (dikām-āsthāya Kaikeyi dakṣiṇām Dāṇḍakān prati).
- Dāṇḍakāranya** or **Dāṇḍakavana**—V. 85 41, 147. 32, Var. 71. 10 (where Gautama performed *tapas*), B 88. 18, 110. 96 (Gautami is in Dāṇḍaka), 123. 117-120 (Gautami was five yojanas from the beginning of D.), 129. 55 (quintessence of the world), 161. 73 (D. is the seed of dharma and of mukti), Śai. 39. 9-10 (Janas-thāna is in D.), Rām. II. 18. 33 and 37, III. 1. 1, Vām. 84. 12 (refers to Dāṇḍakāranya brāhmanas) and 43. P V. 34. 58-59 (origin of name). Vide my paper on the 'Ancient Geography of Mahārāṣṭra' in JBRAS for 1917 at pp. 14-15 and the note and Pargiter in JRAS for 1894 on 'the Geography of Rāma's exile' p. 242. Dāṇḍakāranya probably comprised all forests from Bundelkhand or Bhopal in Central India right down to Godāvarī or to Kṛṣṇā. Br. S. XI. 56 says that a malignant comet in Hasta nakṣatra kills the chief of Dāṇḍakāranya.
- Dāṇḍakhāta** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 90.
- Dāṇḍśvara** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 90.
- Dardura** or **Durdura** (Nīlgrī Hills) V. 282. 43, Mār. 54. 12, Var. 214. 52, Raghuvaṁśa IV. 51 (near river Tāmraparṇī), Br. S. 14. 11.
- Dāravana**—K. II. 39. 66; same as Devadāravana, which see.
- Darvīśāṅkramana**—V. 84. 45, P. I. 32. 9.
- Dāṇḍakṣyātīrtha**—(under Narmadā) P. 1. 21. 14.
- Dasārṇa**—(r. rising in m. Rikṣa, on which śrāddha, japa, dāna most efficacious) M. 22. 34, K. II. 37. 35-36, Vā. 45. 99, 77, 93. Wilson (vol. II. p. 155) says that it is now called Dasān, which rises in Bhopal and falls into the Betwa. Mbh. cites Vārtikas 7 and 8 on Pān. VI. 1. 89 which explain the formation (vol. III. p. 69). Dasārṇa is a word meaning a country having ten forts or 'a river (Dasārṇa) having ten waters'. The Vārtikas are 'pra-vat-satara-kambalavasanaṇām carṇe' and 'ṛadaśābhyām ca'. Meghadūta I. 23-24 show that the capital of the Dasārṇa country was Vidīśā (modern Bhilsā) and the Vetravati (Betwa river) was near it. It is the Dosaron of Ptolemy (p. 71). Br. S. 10. 15 says that Saturn in Uttarāśādhā destroys Dasārṇas.
- Dasūsvamedhika** or **medhika** or **medha**—A (a tīrtha on the Gaṅgā) V. 83. 14, 85. 87, Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45, K. II. 37. 26, M. 185. 68 (in VS); B (under Prayāga) M. 106. 46; C (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 45, N. II. 47. 30; D (under Narmadā) M. 193. 21, K. II. 41, 104, P. I. 20. 20; vide Bom. G. vol. II. p. 348 for its sanctity; E (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 23; F (under Kurukṣetra) P. 1. 26. 12; G (under Go.) B. 83. 1; H (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116.
- Dattātreyā-līṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113.
- Daurvāsika**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 11.
- Devadāravana**—A (in the Himālayas near Badrināth) Anu. 25. 27, K. II. 37. 53-60, II. 39. 18 and 56, M. 13. 47 (Devī is called Puṣṭi here); B (Aundha in the Nizām's dominions) P. VI. 129. 27; C (near Vijayeshvara in Kāśmīra) HC. 10. 3.
- Devāgama**—(under Go.) B. 160. 1.
- Devagiri**—(a hill under Mathurā) Var. 164. 27, Bb. V. 19. 16.

- Devahrada**—A (under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 71, Ann. 25. 44; B (under Kṛṣṇa-Veṇā) V. 85. 37
- Devahrada**—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 146.
- Devakūṭa**—(sacred m.) V. 84. 141, P. I. 38. 57.
- Devalaśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 92
- Devaparvata**—(probably Aravali hills) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
- Devapatha**—V. 85. 45. P. I. 39. 47
- Devaprabha**—(under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 59
- Devaprayāga**—In Tehri State. Vide Alakanandā above (it is confluence of Bhāgirathī and Alakanandā); vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 p. 214
- Devāranya**—(a forest on r. Lauhitya) Vā. 47. 11 (devāranyam viśokam ca tasya tire)
- Devasāla**—(Viṣṇu is worshipped under name of Trivikrama here) Nr. 65. 15 q. by T. K. p. 252
- Devalīrtha**—A (on north bank of Go.) B. 127. 1; B (under Narmadā) M 191. 24, 193. 81, K. II. 42. 16, P. I. 18. 24; C (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 161. 1
- Deveśa**—(under VS) P. I. 37. 9
- Deveśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65
- Devikā**—A (r. rising in Himālaya and being after Sindhu and Pañcanada and before Sarasvatī) V. 82. 102-107, 222. 22 (4 yojanas in length and one-half yojana in breadth), B 27. 27, Vā. 43. 95, Ann. 166. 19, Vām. 81. 5. The VI. IV. 24. 69 says that Vṛatyas, Mlecchas and Śūdras will rule over the banks of the Sindhu, Dāvīkorvī, Candrabhāgā and Kāśmīra. Here 'Dāvīkorvī' means, as Śrīdhara says, the country on the Devikā; B (r. that joins Gaṇḍakī) Var. 144. 33, 112-113 (Devikā nāma devānām prabhāvācca tapasyatām 1 nitya amṛitā manu-  
 dbhūtā Gaṇḍakya militā śubbā), Var. 214. 48; C (under Gayā) Vā. 112. 30, 77. 41 (Vṛṣa-kūpa for śāddha on), Br. III. 13. 41. Ann. 25. 21 and 163. 19, K. II. 37. 25, P. I. 25. 9-14, N. II. 47, 27, VI. II. 15. 6, Vām. 78. 37—all these extol Devikā, but it is not clear what river is meant. NM 152-153 say that it is holy like Irāvati, is identified with Umā and located in Madra i.e. between Rāvi and Chenab. Pāṇ. (VII.3. 1) expressly mentions the river Devikā and the Mbh. thereon gives the illustration 'Dāvīkākūlāḥ śālayah' (paddy grown on the banks of the Devikā is so called). Pāṇini probably mentions some river in the Panjab. Dey p. 55 says that the southern portion of Sarayū is called Devikā or Devā. Vām. 84. 12 refers to Devikā (ritha brāhmanas, SK. VII Prabhāsa-māhātmya, chap. 278. 66-67 speak of Mūlasthāna (modern Multan) as situated on the Devikā; P. I. 25. 9-14 (3 yojanas long and 1 yojana wide). In VI. II. 15. 6 the city called Vīranagara is said to be situated on the bank of the Devikā and as founded by Pulastya. Devikā is not Sarayū, as in the Ann. 163. 19 and 21 they two are separately named. Br. S. 11. 35 says that a certain malignant *Ketu* would strike down even Devikā in the north. Pargiter (tr. of Mār, p. 292) identified it with the river Deeg or Degh in the Panjab, Dr. V. S. Agrawala with the Vular lake in Kashmir (J. U. P. H. S. vol. 16 pp. 21-22) and Mr. Jagannātha (in J. U. P. H. S. vol. 17 part 2 p. 78 supports Pargiter. With respect I agree with Mr. Jagannātha.
- Devikātāpa**—(Devī is called Nandinī here) M. 13. 38
- Devipīṭhas**—eight are enumerated in Kālikāpurāṇa 64. 89-91

- Devikūṭa**—Kal. 18. 41, where the feet of Sati's corpse fell
- Devīsthāna**—Devī-Bhāgavata VII. 38. 5-30 (enumerate numerous Devīsthānas such as Kolāpura, Tulajāpura, Saptarājā). The Matsya (13.26-54) enumerates 108 Devīsthānas.
- Dhanadevara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70
- Dhanuṣpāta**—(under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 33.
- Dhanvatīrūpā**—(r. rising in Pāriyātra m.) M. 114. 24.
- Dhānyatīrtha**—(under Gomatī) B 120.1
- Dhārā**—(r.) P. I. 28. 26, M. 22. 36
- Dharanītīrtha**—(irāddha most efficacious here) M. 22. 70.
- Dhārāpatanaka-tīrtha** (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 8
- Dhārātīrtha**—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190. 6
- Dharmahrada**—(under VS) N. II. 51.14
- Dharmarada**—same as Paūcanada, which see.
- Dharmaprastha**—(under Gayā) V. 84.99
- Dharmapṛstha**—(4 miles from Bodh-Gayā) P. V. 11. 74, N. II. 44. 54-55 and 78, K. II. 37. 38
- Dharmarājatīrtha**—(on the western bank of Jumnā near Prayāga) M. 108 27, P. I. 45. 27
- Dharmāranya**—(under Gayā) V. 82. 46, Arb. 166. 28-29, Vā. 111. 23, Vām. 84. 12 (brāhmaṇas of Dharmāranya), Ag. 115.34, N. II. 45. 100; vide Dr. Barua on 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol. I. pp. 16-17 for the view that it is part at least of the precincts of the Bodhgayā temple representing the jungle of Uruvelā or Uruvilvā of Buddhist Literature. Rām. I 32. 7 states that Dharmāranya was founded by Asūrtarajas, a son of Kuśa, son of Brāhmā; vide p 661 about Gayā; B (near Mahākālā) P. I. 12. 6-8; Br. S. 14. 2 mentions it, but location is uncertain.
- Dharmāstresvara**—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 133
- Dharmasthā**—(under Gayā) Vā. chap. 107 and Ag. 114. 8-28. Vide above pp. 657-58 for the story
- Dharmatīrtha**—(under VS) P. I. 37. 4, Ag. 109. 16, K. I. 35. 10, P. VI. 135. 17
- Dharmavati**—(river that falls into Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135. 16
- Dharmesvara**—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53; B (under Gayā) N. II. 45. 103, Vā. 111. 26
- Dharmodbhava**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 44-46
- Dhautapāpa**—vide Pāpaprāṇāna
- Dhautapāpā**—(r. rising in Hīmalaya) M 114. 22
- Dhautapāpesvara**—līṅga (under VS) SK IV. 33. 156
- Dhavalesvara**—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 144. 7 ff (supposed to be established by Indra)
- Dhenuka**—(under Gayā) V. 84. 87-89, P. I. 38. 7-10, N. II. 44. 68
- Dhenukāranya**—(under Gayā) Vā. 112. 56, Ag. 116. 32
- Dhenuvaṣa**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 40-43
- Dhruva-tapovana**—P. I. 38. 31
- Dhūmavati**—V 84. 22, P. I. 28. 23 (Dhūmavantī)
- Dhundi-Vināyaka**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 126 and SK. IV. chap. 57. 33 (give the etymology of Dhundi); for 56 Gaṇeśas, vide p. 638 above
- Dhūtāpāpa or Dhautapāpa or Dhautapura**.—A (on Narmadā) M. 22. 39, 193. 62, K. II. 42. 9-10; B (at Gokarna) Br. III. 13. 20 (Rudra practised tapas here); C (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 12, N. II. 47. 33. D (under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148. 58 (less than five krośas from Stutasvāmin), T. K. p. 223. AG. p. 401 says that Dhōpāpapura is on the right bank of the Gomatī (popularly

- Gumti) 18 miles to the south-east of Sultanpur; E (near Saṅgameśvara in the Ratnagiri District) vide I.G.I. vol. XXII, p. 50.
- Dhūtapāpā—A (r. in VS); vide p. 636 above; B (r. rising in Himālaya) Vām. 57. 80, Br. II. 16. 26
- Dhūtavāhinī—(r. rising in Rṣyavanta m.) M. 114, 26
- Dindipunyakara—(fit for śrāddha, probably in Deccan) M. 23. 77
- Dīpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 38, K. II. 41. 25-27 (it is Vyāsātīrtha-tapovana)
- Dīptoda—(probably the same as Bhṛgu-tīrtha) V. 99. 69 (where Bhṛgu, great-grand-father, and the father of Parāsurāma performed most severe penance)
- Dirghasattra—V. 82. 108-110, P. I. 25. 15-16
- Dirgha-Vṃsu (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 63
- Divākara—llūga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65
- Divaukaṣ—puṣkarinī V. 84. 118, P. I. 38. 35
- Drona—(m. in Bhāratavarsa) M. 121. 13, Bh. V. 19. 16, P. VI. 8. 45-46
- Droṇasārmapada—Ann. 25. 28 q. by T. K. p. 256. (reads Droṇadharmā)
- Droṇeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66,
- Droni—(r.) M. 22. 37 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible).
- Drumakṣetra—L. I. 92. 129 (probably near Kurukṣetra).
- Drūva-tapovana—P. I. 38. 31
- Drūvatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152. 58 and 180. 1
- Dr̥advatī (r. ). Vide p. 682 above. In Eg. III. 23. 4 it is mentioned along with Āpayā and Sarasvatī as a holy river for the worship of Agni. V. 90. 11, Manu II. 17 (calls it *devanadī*), N. II. 60. 30, Bh. V. 49. 18. It is identified by some with the Ghaggar and by others with the Chittang (Cambridge History of India, vol. I. p. 80). No trace of the river appears in any modern name. Cunningham's identification of it with Rākabī river 17 miles to the south of Thāṇesar has much to recommend it (A. S. of India, vol. XIV. p. 88).
- Drumacandēśvara—(a lūga in VS) L. I. 92. 136
- Dugdheśvara—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148 l (to the south of Khadga-dhara). Vide Bom. G. vol. IV p. 6.
- Durdhareśvara—(on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 146. 1 ff.
- Durgā—(acc. to Bār. S. III. 128 Durgā dwells on Vindhya).
- Durgā—sābhramatisaṅgama—P. VI. 169. 1.
- Durgā—(r. rising from Vindhya) Vā 45. 103, Br. II. 16. 33.
- Durgātīrtha—A (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 14-15; B (under Go.) B. 132. 8.
- Dvādasāditya-kuṇḍa (under Badarī) Var. 141. 24
- Dvaita-vana—Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 9 (Dvaita lake named after king Dvaitavana of the Matsyas), V. 11. 68. 24. 10 (commentary gives a fantastic etymology), 237. 13 (it had a lake), Śal. 37. 27 (visited by Balarama on Sarasvatī), Vām. 22. 12, 47. 56 (it was near Sānuhatya pool).
- Dvārakā—A—the name of this holy city does not occur in the Vedic Literature but the references to it in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are plentiful. It is one of the seven holy cities. Vide p. 678. It appears that there were two Dvārakās, one more ancient than the other. The ancient Dvārakā was situated near Koḍimar. A little mound which rises on the sea-shore between the mouths of the rivers Somat and Singāvra

these miles from Kodinar is surrounded by the ruins of a temple which popular Hindu belief declares to be the original Dvārakā, where Kṛṣṇa resided and whence transferred himself to Dvārakā in Okhamandala. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. VIII. (on Kathiawar) pp. 518-520 for Kodinar and p. 552 for Mūla Dvārakā. It was founded by Kṛṣṇa (with Rāivataka as a park and Gomanta as a hill) owing to constant invasions and harassment by Jarāsandha; it was two yojanas long and one yojana broad. Vide *Sabhāparva* 14. 49-55. The Var. (149. 7-8) makes it 10 yojanas long and 3 broad. Vide p. 688 above under Mathurā. B (14. 54-56) says that the Vṛjṇis and Andhakas left Mathurā through fear of Kālayavana, took counsel with Kṛṣṇa, ran to Kuśasthalī and built up Dvārakā: Vi. V. 23. 13-15. B 196. 13-15 say that Kṛṣṇa begged of the ocean a strip of twelve yojanas, built Dvārakā with large parks, mansions and strong walls and established the people of Mathurā there. When Kṛṣṇa passed away, the city was flooded by the sea and swept away, as stated in a prophetic vein by *Mausala-parva* 6. 23-24 and 7. 41-42, B 210. 55 and 212. 9. Vide also Vi. V. 38. 9 (the whole of Dvārakā except Kṛṣṇa's palace was swept by the sea) and BV IV. 129. 44 (except Rukmiṇī's palace). It is called the capital of Ānarta (*Udyoga* 7. 6) and was first called Kuśasthalī (*Sabhā* 14. 50). Vide M 69. 9 = P. V. 23. 10, B. 7. 29-32 and Ag. 273. 12 (Kuśasthalī being the earlier name of the capital). The present Dvārakā is near Okhā in Kathiawar. The *Harivaṃśa* II (*Viṣṇu-parva*) chapters 58 and 98 deal with the founding of Dvārakā. Some ancient Jaina works like the *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra* (SBE. vol. 45 p. 115) mention Dvārakā and Rāivataka park

(Girnar). The Jātakas also refer to Dvārakā. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's work on 'India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism' pp. 102, 239. The *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa* of the SK has a sub-section on Dvārakā in 44 chapters and over 2000 verses for the glorification of Dvārakā. It says 'the reward that is secured by (pilgrimage to) Vārāṇasī, Kurukṣetra and Narmadā can be secured at Dvārakā in half a twinkie (4. 32)': "Pilgrimage to Dvārakā is the 4th means of *mukti*. Man secures mukti by acquiring correct knowledge about Brahman or by dying at Prayāga or by mere bath in Gomati near Kṛṣṇa" (SK. VII. 4. 4. 97-98). The BV. (*Kṛṣṇajñanmakhaṇḍa*, *Uttarārḍha* chap. 103) has a hyperbolical description of the creation of Dvārakā, which is said to have been one hundred yojanas in extent. There is a work called *Dvārakā-pattalaka* compiled by Bīṇābāyī (the only Ms. of which is the one at B.O. R. I. in Poona) which has been published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri (1940). The Ms. is dated *saṃvat* 1574 (1518 A. D.). It summarises the *Dvārakā-māhātmya* in SK. A pilgrim on reaching Dvārakā first worships Ganeśa, then Balarāma and then Kṛṣṇa; he visits Rukmiṇī's temple on the 8th, 9th or 14th *tithī*, then visits Cakra-tīrtha, then Dvārakā Gaṅgā, then Saṅkhoddhāra, then bathes in the Gomatī. The temple of Dvārakā-nātha is on the north bank of the Gomatī creek. The main temple has five stories, is about 100 feet high from the ground and is surmounted by a conical spire rising to about 150 feet. Vide Dr. A. D. Pusalkar's paper in the Dr. B. C. Law presentation volume I, pp. 218 ff. for further information on Dvārakā;

B (there is Dvārakā in Indraprastha)  
P. VI. 202. 4 and 62

Dvārakā—Kṛṣṇatīrtha—M. 22. 39.

Dvāravatī—Same as Dvārakā. It contained the temple of Nāgeśa, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa (7. 104-105) states: 'since in this city there are entrance gates for all the four varṇas it was named Dvāravatī by the learned. Where even the bones of beings are marked with the sign of the wheel (discus), what wonder is there if the hands (of men) are marked with the figures of a conch or wheel?' In a Dvārakā-māhātmya stated to be taken from the Skandapurāṇa (D. C. Ms. No. 49 of 82-83, copied in *samrat* 1529 l. e. 1472-73 A. D.) it is stated that Mathurā, Kāśī and Avanti are easy of access (sulabha), but Ayodhyā, Māyā and Dvārakā are difficult of approach in the Kali age and in Ms. D. C. No. 63 of 1875-76 it is said at the end that the city is called Dvāravatī because it is the way to mokṣa. It is identified by Yule and others with Barake of the Periplus (Ptolemy pp. 187-188.)

Dvīdevakula—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 158

Dvīpa—(probably the island at the mouth of the Ganges) Nr. 65. 7 q. by T. K. p. 251 (where Viṣṇu is worshipped as Ananta Kapila)

Dvīpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 80, P. I. 18. 38 and 23. 76

### E

Ekadhāra—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 136. 12

Ekahansa—V. 83. 20

Ekāmra—(in Utkala, Orissa, about 20 miles from Cuttack). This is Rudra-tīrtha. Ekāmra is the ancient name, the modern one being Bhuvaṇeśvara. It was also called

Kṛttivāsa. B (chap. 41. 10-93) describes and glorifies this tīrtha, all those verses being quoted in T. C. pp. 176-180. It is said to be the destroyer of sin, equal to Benares, and as having eight sub-tīrthas and it was so called because in former ages there was one mango tree (B. 34. 6 and 41. 10-93). Vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 231-241 and Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II. pp. 56-98 for history, description, daily services and festivals &c. The chief temple is 160 feet high from the base to the top of the *kalasa*. In the Bhuvaṇeśvara Inscription (edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett) in E. I. XIII p. 150 it is stated that Candrikā, daughter of the Gaṅga king Anaṅga-Bhīma and widow of Haibaya prince Paramardīn, built a temple of Viṣṇu at Ekāmra. In that inscription among other matters there is a laudation of Utkala, of the sanctuary of Ekāmra and of the lake Bindusaras (mentioned in B. 41. 53-54). The date of the inscription is doubtful. But it is between *śaka* 1101-1200. There is a vast number of temples and shrines here. Vide Archaeological survey of India Report for 1902-3 pp. 43-44, Puraṣottamatattva (Jiv. I. p. 573) where Raghubānandana quotes several verses of B. chap. 41. There is Ekāmrapurāṇa in five aṅgas (parts) and 70 chapters (vide Mitra's Notices vol. IV pp. 138-140 No. 1561 for detailed analysis of contents and Ekāmra Candrikā which is a guide to pilgrims visiting Bhuvaṇeśvara and contains extensive quotations from Kapila-saṁhitā, Ekāmrapurāṇa, Śivapurāṇa and other works (vide Mitra's Notices, vol. IV. pp. 136-137 No. 1560 for analysis of contents).

Ekavīra—(under Go) B. 161. 3

Elāpura—(probably modern Ellora) M. 22.50 (a place very fit for śrāddha). A.G. p. 319 identifies Elāpura with modern Verival in Kathiawar. Talegaon copperplates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛmārāja I dated *saka* 690 (768-769 A.D.) indicate that the king built the famous Kailāsanātha temple in imitation of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī (E. I. XIII. p. 275); vide also E. I. vol. XXV. p. 25 (Ellora plates of Dantidurga of *saka* 663 i.e. 741-42 A. D.)

Erāṇḍīnarmadāsāṅgama—M. 194. 32, K. II. 41. 85 and II. 42.31, P. I. 18.41

Erāṇḍītīrtha—(r. tributary of Narmadā in the Baroda territory, called Uri or Or) M. 191. 42, 193.65, P. I. 18. 41.

## G

Gabbastīśa—(under VS) SK. VI. 33. 154

Gabbīraka—(a l. under Mandāra to the south) Var. 143. 42

Gadākūṇḍa—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 49

Gadālola—(a pool at Gayā on east side of Brahmayoni) Vā. 109. 11-13, 111 75-76, Ag. 115. 69; see above p. 665

Gajābhaya—(same as Hastināpura) Svargā-rohanaparva 5. 34

Gajākarna—(one of many pītītīrthas) M. 22. 38

Gajākṣetra—a Sivakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 122.

Gajāśaila—(m. south of Mānasa lake) Vā. 36. 24

Gajasābhaya or Nāgasābhaya—(same as Hastināpura) Vi. V. 35. 8, 19, 30-32, Vām. 78. 8, Bh. I. 4. 6 (com. explains 'gajena sahita ābhayo nāma yasya'); Bṛ. S. 14. 4 calls it 'Gajābhaya.'

Gajesvara—(under Śrīśaila) L. I. 92.156

Gālava—Vide Pāpasraṇīśana.

Gālaśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98

Gallikā—(r., same as Gaṇḍakī) P. VI. 76. 2 (where the Sālagrāma stones are found), VI. 129. 14

Gambhīrā—A (a r. that joins Vitastā below Vijayestara) HC. X. 192, SM. p. 170. Stein in note on R. VIII. 1063 says that it is the name of the lowest portion of the Vitastā river before it falls into Vitastā; B (r. in Central India) Meghadūta I. 40; Bṛ. S. 16.15 mentions Gāmbhīrikā r. It falls into the Sīprā.

Gānapatyatīrtha—(near Sābhramati on a hill called Viṣṇu) P. VI. 129. 26, VI. 163.1.

Ganātīrtha—A (one of many tīrthas where śrāddha leads to highest goal) M. 22. 73; B (under Sābhramati) P. VI. 133. 24

Gaṇḍakī—(rises in Himālaya and falls into Ganges at Sonapur in Bihar). It is the Kondochates of Arrian (A. I. p. 188). Ādi. 170. 20-21 (one of the seven great rivers that destroy sin), S. 20. 27, V. 84. 13, V. 222. 22 (Gaṇḍasābhayā is probably the same as Gaṇḍakī), P. I. 38, 30, IV. 20, 12 (it has pebbles marked with *akṣra*). The river is said to have sprang from the perspiration on Viṣṇu's cheek in Var. 144-106, Br. II. 16. 26. Viṣṇu gave a boon to it that he would always remain inside her in the form of Sālagrāma stone (Var. 144. 35-58) Gaṇḍakī, Devikā and a r. from Pulastyaśrama make Trivenī (Var. 144. 84). It is known in Nepāla as Sālagrāmi and in U.P. as Nārāyaṇī.

Gandhavatī—A (sacred r. near Ekām-raka, rising in the Udayagiri hills, though the Sivapurāṇa says it rises in the Vinodhya). See 'Antiquities of Orissa' by Mitra, vol. II. p. 98; B (a small tributary of Sīprā) Meghadūta I. 33

Gaṅgā—Vide pp. 388-396 above

Gaṅgādvāra—(the same as Haridvāra) V. 81. 14, 90.21, 142. 9-10, Anu. 25. 13, K. I. 15. 41 and 47 (here Dakṣa's sacrifice was destroyed by Vīra-bhadra), II. 20. 33 (as one of the



- best places for śrāddha), V. Dh. S. 85. 28, Ag. 4. 7 (Vāmana approached Bali here), P. V. 5. 3 and V. 26. 103. It is a Salivakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 129; M. 22. 10 (mentions Gaṅgādvāra and Māyāpurī separately in the same verse)
- Gandhakālī—(r.) Vā. 77. 74, Br. III. 13. 76
- Gandhamādāna—(m. on which Badrināth is situated) Nr. 65. 10 q. by T. K. p. 252; Vi. II. 2. 18 (to the south of Meru), Mār. 51. 19, V. 140. 22, 158. 38, Vi. V. 24. 5 (location of Nara-Nārāyaṇādrama), M. 13. 26
- Gandharvakūṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 163. 13
- Gandharvanagara—q. by T. K. p. 247
- Gandharvatirtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 13, Sal. 37. 10 (near Gargasrotah on Sarasvatī)
- Gaṅgā-Gaṇḍakī-saṅgama—T. P. p. 357
- Gaṅgā-Gomati-saṅgama—T. P. p. 358
- Gaṅgāhrada—P. I. 27. 63 (under Kurukṣetra), V. 83. 201, Ana. 25. 34
- Gaṅgā-Kauṣṭhī-saṅgama—T. P. pp. 357-358
- Gaṅgā-Mānuṣa-saṅgama—(near Kāśmīra) NM. 1457
- Gaṅgāvat—(under Narmadā) P. I. 20. 16 (near Gaṇeśvara)
- Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama—V. Dh. S. 85. 26, M. 22. 11 (it is 'sarvatīrthamaya'), P. I. 39. 4, T. P. pp. 355-356 (for Māhātmya)
- Gaṅgā-Sarasvatī-saṅgama—V. 84. 38, P. I. 32. 3
- Gaṅgā-Sarayū-saṅgama—Raghuvamśa VIII. 95, T. P. p. 357
- Gaṅgā-vadana-saṅgama—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 20
- Gaṅgāvārāṇa-saṅgama—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 45
- Gaṅgā-Yamunā-saṅgama—(i. e. Prayāga, which see) V. 84. 33
- Gaṅgeśvara—A (under VS) N. II. 49. 45; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 14
- Gaṅgodbheda—V. 84. 65, M. 22. 25, P. I. 32. 29, Ag. 109. 18
- Gargasrotas—(on Sarasvatī) Sal. 37. 14
- Gargeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 82
- Gārhapatyapada—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 50
- Garteśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 19, 176. 6
- Gārūḍa—(under Go.) B. 90. 1
- Garudakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 67
- Gaurī—(r.) Bhī. 9. 25. It is probably the Gourais of the Greek writers. Vide Ptolemy p. 111
- Gaurīa—(sacred to Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 98
- Gaurīśikhara—A—V. 84. 151, M. 22. 76 (fit place for śrāddha); B (a tirtha near Kāśmīra) NM. 1448-1449 (where Umā who was in complexion like a blue lotus became fair by practising *tapas*)
- Gaurītirtha—(under VS) M. 22. 31, K. I. 35. 3, P. I. 37. 3
- Gautama—(on Mandara m.) P. VI. 129. 8
- Gautamanāga—(in Kāśmīra, to the north of Anantanāga and on the way to Bavan) S. M. p. 178
- Gautamīśrama—(near Tryambakeśvara) P. VI. 176. 58-59
- Gautama-vana—V. 84. 108-110
- Gautameśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 22. 68, 191. 60, K. II. 42. 6-8, P. I. 20. 58; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115
- Gautamī—(i. e. Godāvarī). Vide pp. 707-711
- Gavām-bhavana—P. I. 26. 46
- Gayā—A—see pp. 643-679; B (one of the five dhārās at Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57-58
- Gayākedāraka (under Gayā) Ag. 113. 53
- Gayāśikramāṇa—Nr. q. by T. K. p. 252 (Vishnu's *guhya* name is Hari there).
- Gayāśiras—(hill named after *rājārj* Gayā) V. 95. 9, 87. 11, Vā. 103. 29 (it is one krośa in extent), Vām. 22. 20

- (it is the eastern *vādi* of Brahmā). Ag. 115. 25-26 (it is called Phalgutīrtha). Acc. to Barua in 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol. I. p. 7 it is the modern Brahmayoni hill. Vide p. 646 note 1470 above.
- Gayāśīra—(a set of rocky hills near Gayā town) V.Dh. S. 85.4; Buddha went to Gayasīra near Gayā with 1000 bhikṣus; vide Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134). Vide pp. 646 and 668 above
- Gayātīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 5.
- Gāyatrīsthāna—V. 85. 28
- Gāyatrīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70.
- Gāyatrītīrtha—(under Gayā) Va. 112. 21.
- Ghaṇṭābharaṇaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 154 15
- Ghaṇṭākarnahrada—(to west of Vyāseśa under VS) N II. 49. 28-29, L. q. by T. K. p. 86.
- Ghaṇṭeśvara—M. 22. 70
- Gharghara or-rā (modern Gogra or Ghagra, a holy river that rises in Kumaon and is the great river of Oudh) P. II. 39. 43, M. 22. 35 and P. V. 11.29 (both the latter have the same words 'nadau tau Soṇa-Ghargharau'). Vide TP p. 502 for Sarayū-Gharghara-saṅgama. The combined waters of Gogra and other rivers including the Sarayū are called Gogrā or Sarjū from Bahrapur. Vide I. G. I. vol. 12 pp. 302-303.
- Ghaṭeśvara—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 159. 3
- Ghaṭotkaca—(under VS) K I. 35. 8, P. I. 37. 8.
- Ghṛtakulā—(a r. under Gayā) V 105. 74, 112. 30.
- Girīkarnikā—M. 22. 39 (Dey p. 65 identifies it with Sabarmatī).
- Girīkuñja—P. I. 24. 34 (where Brahmā resides)
- Girīkūṭa—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75.
- Girinagara—(modern Junāgaḍ in Kathiawar). The hill near it was called Ujjayanta or Ūrjayanta in former times, but now it is called Girnar. Dey has a long note (pp. 65-66) on it. The *ṣādukhās* (stone with footprints) of Dattātreyā are shown on a spur of the hill. As there are Aśoka's edicts engraved here it follows that it was a well-known place in the third century B. C. The Junāgaḍ Inscription of Rudradāman (150 A. D.) mentions it in the very first line (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 42). Vide under Vastrāpatha.
- Girivraja—Capital of the kings of Magadha from Jarāsandha and his son Sabadeva; called Rājagṛha in Buddhist times. It is about 62 miles from Patna. Dey has a very long note on it (pp. 66-69); S. 21. 2-3 (it was surrounded and guarded by five hills called Vaiṭhāra, Vipula, Varāha, Vṛṣabha, Rṣigiri). Vide under Rājagṛha. Rām. I. 32. 7 states that it was founded by Vasu, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.
- Cobhileśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 94
- Gocarmeśvara—(under Sriparyata) L. I. 92 152
- Godāvarī—Vide pp. 707-711
- Godhana—(m) Br. II. 16. 22
- Gograha—(under Viraja in Oriṣa) B. 42. 6.
- Gokāmuka—(m) Bh. V. 19. 16.
- Gokarna—A (a place sacred to Siva on the western coast about 30 miles south of Goa in the Kumtā *Talukā* of North Kanara District) V. 85.24, 88, 15, 277. 55; Ādi., 217. 34-35 (ādyam paśūpateḥ sthānam darśanādeva muktidaṁ), Vā 77. 19, M. 22. 38, K. II. 35. 29-32, Br. III. 56. 7-21 (described as 1½ yojanas in extent in verse 7), Vām. 46. 13 (liṅga set up by Rāvaṇa), Br. III. 57-58 and N. II. 74 (narrate story of it)

- being flooded by the sea and of people going to *Paraśurāma* for succour). Vide *Epi. C.* vol. VII Shikarpur No. 99 (of 1113 A. D.) where *Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla's* tributary is styled 'lord of *Gokarna-pura*.' The *Lingapurāna* speaks of two *Gokarṇas* (I. 92. 134-135). *Kūrma* II. 35. 31 mentions *Uttara-Gokarṇa* and the *Varāhapurāna* (213. 7) mentions a southern and a northern *Gokarṇa*; **B** (on *Sarasvatī*) Var. 170.11; **C** (under *Mathurā*) Var. 171-173; **D** (under *VS*) L. q. by T. K. p. 113. M. 13. 30 says that *Devī* is styled *Bhadrakarnikā* at *Gokarṇa*.
- Gokarṇahrada*—V. 88. 15-16
- Gokarṇeśvara* (on a peak of the *Himālaya*) Var. 215. 118.
- Gokula*—(a *mahāranya*). Vide *Vraja*. P. IV. 69. 18, Bh. II. 7. 31.
- Gomaṇḍaleśvara*—(under *Śripārvata*) L. I. 92. 162 (established by *Nanda* and others)
- Gomanta*—(a hill). **A**—M. 13.28 (*Satī* is called *Gomatī* on *Gomanta*); **B** (a hill in the *Sahya* range near *Karavirapura*, *Krauñcapura* and near river *Veṇā*) *Harivaṃśa* (*Viṣṇuparva* 39. 11 and 19-20); **C** (hill near *Dvārakā* where *Kṛṣṇa* and the *Vṛṣṇis* migrated from *Mathurā* through fear of *Jarāsandha's* attacks) S. 14. 54, V. 88. 15-17, N. II. 60. 27. *Pargiter's* identifications (p. 289 note) are unsatisfactory.
- Gomatī*—(r.). **A**. In *Rg.* VIII. 24. 30 and X. 75. 6; it is invoked between *Kubhā* and *Kṛmu* (in X. 75. 6); hence it is probably modern *Gomal* a western tributary of the *Indus*; **B** (a river near *Sarasvatī*) V. 87. 7, P. I. 32. 37, *Vām.* 63. 61 and 83. 2; **C** (near *Dvārakā*), SK, VII. 4. 4. 97-98 and 5. 32, P. IV. 17. 69-70 and VI. 176. 35-36; **D** (the *Gumti* in *Udhi*, rising in *Himālaya* and falling into the *Ganges* below *Benares*) M. 114. 22, Br. II. 16. 25, Rām. II. 49. 11
- Gomatī-gaṅgā-saṅgama*—P. I. 32. 42, Bh. V. 19. 18, Ag. 109. 19.
- Gopāndri*—(m. in *Kashmir*, in the immediate vicinity of *Srinagara* near its southernmost corner, now known as *Takht-i-Sulaiman*) SM p. 157, R. I. 341 (mentions *Gopāndri* which is modern *Gopkār* on the *Dal lake*); vide K. R. 17
- Goniṣkramaṇa*—(also *Gosthalaka*) Var. 147. 3-4 and 52
- Gopīśvara*—(under *Mathurā*) Var. 157. 18 (where *Kṛṣṇa* sported with *gopīs*)
- Gopracāra*—(a site under *Gayā*) Vā. 111. 35-37 (where there is a grove of mango trees), Ag. 116. 6
- Gopratara*—(*Guptar* in *Fyzabad* in *Udhi*) V. 84. 70-71 (where *Rāma* gave up his physical body along with his army and servants), *Vām.* 83. 8, N. II. 75. 71, *Raghuvamśa* XV. 101
- Gopreksa*—(under *VS*) L. q. by T. K. p. 42, P. I. 37. 16, N. II. 50. 43 (*Gopreksaka*)
- Gopreksaka*—(*liṅga* under *VS*) L. I. 92. 67-68
- Gopreksēśvara*—(under *VS*) Sk. q. by T. K. p. 131
- Gorakṣaka*—Var. 215. 93
- Gorathapiri*—(in *Magadhbakṣetra*) S. 20. 30
- Gotirtha*—**A** (in *Naimiṣa forest*) V. 95. 3; **B** (under *Prayāga*) M. 110. 1; **C** (under *VS*) K. I. 35. 13; **D** (under *Narmadā*) M. 123. 3, P. I. 20. 3; **E** (under *Sābharāmāti*) P. VI. 156. 1
- Govardhana*—**A** (a hill near *Mathurā*) M. 22. 52, K. I. 14. 18 (where *Prthu* practised austerities), P. IV. 69. 39, Var. 163. 18, 164. 1 and 22-23, Vi. V. 11. 16. Vide p. 691 above; **B** (a town under *Gautamī* established by *Rāma*) B. 91. 1, Br. II. 16. 44. Inscription of *Uśavadata* near *Nasik* mentions *Govardhana* several times (*Bom. G.* vol. 16 p. 569). Vide p. 710 above.

Goviadatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 122. 100; P. I. 38. 50 (appears to be near Campakāranya)

Gr̥dhra-kūṭa—A (a hill under Gayā) Vā. 77. 97, 108. 61, 111. 22, Ag. 116. 12, N. II. 45. 95 and 47. 78; B (on the confluence of Sarasvatī and Suddhā, where Parāsurāma's hand stained with blood became clear) NM 1394-5

Gr̥dhra-vaṭa—K. II. 37. 38

Gr̥dhra-vaṭa—A (on the Gr̥dhra-kūṭa hill of Gayā) V. 84. 91, Ag. 116. 12, P. I. 38. 11 (bhasmanā snāna there), N. II. 44. 72, Vā. 108. 63; the tree does not now exist; B (under Sūkara-kṣetra where a Gr̥dhra became a man) Var. 137. 56

Gr̥dhreśvara-līṅga—(under Gayā on Gr̥dhra-kūṭa) Ag. 116. 11, N. II. 47. 78

Gubheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102

Gurukulyatīrtha—(on Narmadā) SK. I. 1. 18. 153 (where Bali performed Aśvamedhas)

### H

Hamśadvāra—(near Kashmir) NM 1464

Hamśakuṇḍa—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 46

Hamśapada—(near Viśākhayūpa) Vām. 81. 10

Hamśaprapātana—(under Prayāga) V. 85. 87, M. 106. 32 (to the east of Gaṅgā and north of Pratiṣṭhāna), K. I. 37. 24, P. I. 39. 80, Ag. 111. 10

Hamśatīrtha—A (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 30, N. II. 47. 30; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 72; C (under Sālagrāma to its east) Var. 144. 152-155 (explain why so called). Vide Yaksatīrtha.

Hanūmat-tīrtha—(under Go. on north bank) B. 129. 1

Hārakuṇḍa—(near Hārapura) L. I. 92. 164

Haramukūṭa—(Harmukh in popular language in Kāśmīra) NM. 1320, 1322, 1231; peak of the Himālaya

on the east of which is lake Kālodaka and which is itself near Uttara-mānasa. Vide H. C. IV. 87-88 and Vik. 18. 55. Al. (vol. I p. 207) says that the Jailam rises in the mountain Haramakot, where also the Ganges rises. Vide Stein's note on R. III. 448.

Haramuṇḍa—(a tīrtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1455

Haridvāra—(same as Gaṅgādvāra and Māyāpurī) It is in the modern Saharanpur District in U. P. and on the right bank of the Ganges. It is one of the seven holy cities (vide pp. 501 and 678) P. IV. 17. 66, VI. 21. 1, VI. 22. 18, VI. 135. 37 (Māṇḍavya practised penance here). See Beal's BRWW vol. I. p. 197, where Hiouen Tshang states that men of the five Indies call it the Gate of Gaṅgā and that hundreds and thousands of people gather to bathe and wash. I do not agree with Cunningham (A. G. p. 353) that Haridvāra is a comparatively modern name, since Alberuni mentions only Gaṅgādvāra. Both SK. IV and P. IV mention Haridvāra and it cannot be said that they both are later than Alberuni (i. e. 1030 A. D.). Probably Gaṅgādvāra was a more popular name in the 11th century than Haridvāra. Al. (vol. I. p. 199) tells us that the source of the Ganges is called Gaṅgādvāra.

Haribara-kṣetra—A (on Tuṅgabhadrā) Nr 65. 18 (q. by T. K. p. 253), P. VI. 176. 46 and VI. 183. 3, Var. 144. 145 (also called Devāṭa); it is on the boundary between Mysore State and Bombay State; B (the junction of the Gaṅḍakī with the Ganges at Sonapur, where Gajendra-mokṣa took place) Var. 144. 116-133. Vām. 85. 4-76 places the story of Gajendramokṣa on mountain Trikūṭa

Harikeśheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113

- Harikēśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 84 (probably the same as above)
- Haricāndra**—A (tīrtha under VS) M 22.52 (very fit place for śrāddha) 181.28, Ag. 112.3; B (on south bank of Go.) B 104.86 and 88
- Haricāndra**—(a m.) Devala q. by T. K. 250
- Haricāndreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 117
- Hariparvata**—(hill in Śrinagara)—same as Śārikāparvata or Pradyumnapiṭha. K. R. p. 17, Vik. 18. 15
- Hārīta-tīrtha**—(eminent place for śrāddha) M 22. 68 (beyond Vasīṣṭhatīrtha)
- Haritakivana**—Vide Vaidyanātha p. 678 and n. 1536 above
- Hariteśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 120.
- Hariyūpiyā**—(a r.) Rg. VI. 27. 5. Probably in Kurukṣetra.
- Harodbheda**—(fit place for śrāddha) M 22. 25
- Harsapathā**—(Śaci at Kāśyapa's prayer became H. in Kāśmīra) N M 309
- Hastatīrtha**—(v. l. Hamatīrtha) K. II. 42. 13 (on Narmadā)
- Hastinapura or Hastināpura**—(capital of Kurus, named after king Hastin, great-grandson of Bharata Daśyanti,). It is to the north-east of Delhi. Ādi 95, 34, Rām. II. 68. 13 (Hastinapura), Vi IV. 21. 8, Bh. IX. 22. 40. After it was swept away by Ganges, Nicaknu, grandson of Janamejaya, made Kauṣāmbi his capital. Pān. VI. 2. 101 (na Hāstina-phalaka-mārdeyāḥ) appears to know it as Hāstina-pura. The Mbh. (vol. I. p. 380 on Pān. II. 1. 16) offers the illustration 'anu-Gaṅgam Hāstina-puram'.
- Hastipādeśvara**—(a Sivaliṅga to the east of Sthāṇuvaṣa) Vām 46.29
- Hastipāleśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 76
- Hāṭaka**—(removes sins of crores of murders) P. IV. 17, 67
- Hāṭakeśvara**—Vām. 63.78 (on Saptagodāvara)
- Hayamukti**—(under Mathurā) Var. 160.23
- Hayasīras**—(fit place for śrāddha) Br. III. 13.46, Vā. 77.46
- Hayatīrtha**—M. 22.69
- Hemakūṭa**—(another name of Kailāsa, which see) Bhī. 6, 4, Br. II. 14.48 and 13 15 (Himavat and Hemakūṭa distinguished)
- Hetukeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 92
- Himālaya**—see Himavat
- Himavat**—In Rg. X. 121.4 and A. V. IV. 2. 5 the plural is used (Viśve himavantaḥ). But in A. V. V. 4. 2 and 8, VI. 24.1 the singular is employed. In Keapannisad III. 25 Umā Haimavatī is mentioned. In V. 158.19, Udyoga 11.12 and Pān. IV. 4. 112 Himavat is mentioned and in K. II. 37. 46-49 its length is given as 1080 yojanas. It is the Varsapārvata of Bharatavarṣa and the other seven chief mountains mentioned in note 1260 are 'Kulapārvatas'. M. 117-118 contain fine descriptions of trees, flowers, birds and beasts on it. Himālaya occurs in non-vedic works, e. g. Gītā X. 25. Himavat meant the whole mountain range stretching from Assam in the east to the mountains west of Panjab. Mār. 51.24 states that Kailāsa and Himavat stretch from east to west and are situated between two seas and that Himavat is to the north of Bharatavarṣa (which has seas on south, west, and east) like the string of a bow (Mār. 54.59)
- Himavat**—aranya—Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. 244
- Hiraṇvatī**—(carried a girl to Kosala) Vām. 34.8 (one of seven or nine very holy rivers), 64.11 and 19.90.32, Anu 166. 25, Udyoga 132. 7 (in Kuru-

- ksetra, where Pāṇḍavas pitched their camp), 160.1, Bh. 9.25
- Hiranyabāhu—(The Erannoboas of Greek writers, river Soṇa). Vide A. I. p. 68. It falls into the Ganges near Bankipore. Arrian (A. I. p. 186) regards Erannoboas and Sonos as distinct. It was called 'golden armed' probably owing to the colour of the sand in its bed or because particles of gold were found in it.
- Hiranyabindu—(on m. Kālāñjara) V. 87.21, Anu. 23.10
- Hiranyadvipa—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 68, P. I. 20. 66
- Hiranyagarbha—(a lūga under VS) K. I. 35.13, L. I. 92. 76, P. I. 37. 16, L. q. by T. K. p. 48
- Hiranyakāśipulūga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Hiranyākṣa—M. 22.52 (most efficacious about *dānas* here)
- Hiranyākṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 47
- Hiranyāsaṅgama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135.1
- Hiranyavāha—same as Soṇa and as Arrian's Erannoboas, which was the third great river, the other two being Indus and Ganges (vide A. G. p. 452)
- Hiranyavatī—(r. on which stood the Sāla grove of the Mallas and the Upavatana of Kāśināra). SBE, vol. XI. p. 85. It is the same as the Gaṇḍakī. Vide A. G. p. 453
- Hlādinī—(r.) Rām. II. 71.2 (Bharata coming from Kekaya country crossed it first and then Satadri)
- Homatīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.11
- Hṛṣīkeśa—(on the Ganges about 24 miles north of Haridvāra) Var. 146. 63-64 (Viṣṇu is deputed to stay there)
- I
- Ikṣu—A (r. from Himavat) Vā. 45. 96. Dey, p. 77 identifies it with Oxus. He equates Asmanvatī (p. 13) and Cakṣus (p. 43) with Oxus. Hence such identifications of his cannot be taken seriously; B (r. falling into Narmadā) M 191. 49
- Iksumati—A (r. flowing through Kumaon and Kanoj). From Pān. IV. 2. 85-86 (nadyām matup, madhvādibhyaś-ca) it follows that Pāṇini was aware of this river, as 'Ikṣu' is included in the madhvādī-gana). Rām. II. 68. 17 (going from Ayodhyā one first meets Mālīnī, then Gaṅgā at Hāstinapura, then Kurukṣetra and then Iksumatī), M 22.17 (favourite of the pitṛs and falls into the Ganges), P. V. 11.13; B (r. of the Sindhu-Sauvira country) Vi. II. 13, 53-54 (there was Kapila's āśrama on it where the king of Sauvira came and asked what is most beneficial in this *samsāra* which abounds in pain and sorrow), Bh. V. 10. 1
- Ikṣu—Narmadāsaṅgama—M 191. 49, K. II. 41.28, P. I. 18. 47
- Ikṣudā—(r. rising in m. Mabendra) M 114. 31, Vā. 43. 106 (reads Ikṣulā)
- Ilāspada—P. I. 26. 73
- Ilātīrtha—(under Go.) B. 108. 1
- Ilvalapura—(same as Mañimatīpurī) V. 96. 4
- Indirā—(r.) Vā. 108. 79
- Indradhvaja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 36
- Indradyumnasaras—A (under Puruṣottama, vide pp. 694-95, 700 above) B. 51. 29-30; B V. 199.9-11, Ādi 119.50 (beyond even Gandhamādana, where Pāṇḍu practised *tapas*)
- Indradyumneśvara—lūga of Mahātāla, SK. I. 2. 13. 209
- Indragṛāmatīrtha—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 144. 1
- Indrakūla—(m. beyond Gandhamādana) V. 37. 41-42, M. 22. 53 (sacred to pitṛs), NM 1443, Bh. V. 19. 16
- Indraloka—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 10-13
- Indramārga—Anu 25. 9 and 16, P. I. 27. 68
- Indranadī—(r.) Vā. 43. 26

Indrānīrtha—N. II. 40. 93

Indraprastha—(the modern village of Indrapat in Delhi District on the Yamunā, Old Delhi). Ādl 217. 27, Maṇṣala 7. 72. vi, V. 38.34 (Yādava Vajra was crowned king here by Arjuna after Kṛṣṇa passed away), P. VI. 196. 5, 60, 75-76 (it extended up to four yojanas to the south of Yamunā), 200. 5 (it was in Khāṇḍa-vavāṇa), Bh. X. 58.1, XI 30.48, XI. 31.25. Indraprastha is only one of five prasthaa, the others being Sonapat, Pānipat, Pilpat and Bāghpat

Indratīrtha—(under Go.) B 96. 1

Indratoyā—(r. on Gandhamādana) Anu 25. 11

Indreśvara—A (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92.152; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. 71

Irāvati—(modern Rāvi river in Panjab called Hydrotas by Greek writers). Nir. IX. 26 notes that the river Parusni invoked in Rg. X. 75. 5 was also called Irāvati; VDb.S.85. 49, M. 22. 19 (śt for śrāddha), Vā. 45. 95 (rises in Himālaya), Vām. 79.7,81.1, NM 149 (Irāvati tatbā punyā sarva-kalmaṣanāśini). The city of Lahore stands on it. The Mbh. (vol. I p. 382 on Pān. II. 1. 20 cites as examples 'dvīrāvātiko deśaḥ, trīrāvātiko deśaḥ'. Vide under Candra-bhāgā.

Irāvati—nadvalā-saṅgama—Vām. 79.51.

Īśānādhyakṣita—V 84. 8.

Īśāna-līṅga—(under VS) L. I. 92. 106 and 137 q. by T. K. p. 105

Īśāna-śikhara—(under Kedāra) Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 230

Īśatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 20. 69

## J

Jagannātha—see under Puruṣottama

Jāhnavi—(name of Gāṅgā) Vā. 91. 54-58 (story of sage Jahnu). N. II 41. 35-36 (Jahnu drank it and let it off through his right ear), Br. III. 56. 48 (Jahnu let it off from his belly), III. 66. 28.

Jahnuhrada—N. II. 40. 90

Jaigīṣavyaguhā—(under VS) L. I. 92. 53

Jaigīṣavyeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 91

Jāla—a Śāktakṣetra, acc. to Bār. S. III. 124.

Jalabindu—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 16

Jālandhara—A (hill) M. 13. 46 (Devī was called Viśvamukhī on it), 22. 64 (hill sacred to pitṛs); according to Kal. chap. 18.51 Devī is called Caṇḍī on Jālandhara hill, whereon her breasts fell when Śiva carried her corpse; B (a town on the Sutlej in the Panjab) Vā 104. 80 (Jālandhara pītha seen on the chest of Veda-puruṣa personified); one of the pīthas of Lalitā is probably Jālandhara; P. VI. 4. 19-20, Br. IV. 44. 93 (Jālandhara). Vide A. G. pp. 136-139

Jaleśvara—A (a Śivatīrtha, one of the eight *sthānas*) M. 181. 28 and 30, K. II. 40. 35; B (under Narmadā) M. 186. 15 and 38 (a *hrada* named Jaleśvara). K. II. 40. 22, P. I 14. 3. Its *utpatti* in M 187; C (Jaleśvara near Śālagrāma) Var. 144. 139-140

Jalpiśa—T. P. pp. 602-603 quoting Kālikāpurāṇa

Jāmadagnya-tīrtha—A (where the Narmadā falls into the sea) M 194. 34-35, P I. 21. 34-35 (calls it Jāmadagnitīrtha); B. M 22. 57-58 (on Godāvarī, very efficacious for śrāddha).

Jambira—campaka (under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 190

Jambukeśvara—(under VS) K. I. 35.4, P I. 37.4, L. I. 92.107, N. II. 50.67 (where demon Jambuka was killed by Śiva)

Jambulā—(r. rising from Rkṣapāda) Vā 45. 100

Jambūmārga—A (an āyatana) Devala q. by T. K. 250, Vi II. 13.33 (on the Ganges); Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

- separately mentions Jambūmārga and Kālāñjara as āyatanaś ; B (near Kurukṣetra) V. 82. 41-42, 89. 13 (on Asita m.), Anu. 25 51, 166. 24, M. 22. 21, Br. III. 13. 38; C (near Puṣkara) P. I. 12. 1-2, Ag. 109. 9, Vā 77. 38.
- Jambūnadī—(rising from Candra-prabha lake on slopes of Meru-Mandara peak) Br. II. 18, 68-69, Bh. V. 16. 19.
- Janakakūpa—(under Gayā) P. I. 38 28, V. 84. 111
- Janakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 119
- Janasthāna—Vide p. 710 above. V. 147. 33, V. 277. 42, Sal. 39. 9 (in Daṇḍakā-ranya), Vā 89. 194, B. 88. 1 (four yojanas in extent), Rām. VI. 126. 37-39, III. 21. 20, III. 30 5-6.
- Janeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 13. 11 (sacred to pitrs)
- Janmeśvara—M. 22. 42
- Japyeśvara—(or Jāpyeśvara) K. II. 43 17-42 (near the sea Nandi performed recitation of three crores of Rudra); Ag. 112. 4 (under VS)
- Jarāsandheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115
- Jatākūṇḍa—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 47 (to the south of Malaya mountain and north of the sea.)
- Jātismarabhrada—A (near Kṛṣṇa-Veṇā) V. 85. 38; B (uncertain location) V. 84. 128, P. I. 38. 45
- Jayanta—M. 22. 73, Vām. 51. 51
- Jayantikā—Br. IV. 44. 97 (one of the 50 pīṭhas sacred to Lalitā)
- Jayapura—(in Kāśmīra, capital of king Jayapīṭha, surrounded by water, also called Dvāravati in imitation of Śrīkṛṣṇa's Dvāravati) R. IV. 501-511, K. K. pp. 13-16, SM. pp. 197-198 (marked by the present village Andarkot).
- Jyātīrtha—M. 22. 49
- Jayavana—(modern Zevan in Kāśmīra) R. I. 220, Vik. 18. 70 (1½ gavyūti from Pravara-pura). Zevan is mentioned in Ain. A. (vol. II p. 358 as possessing a spring and reservoir considered sacred. Takṣakanāga is worshipped to this day in the large limpid pool situated close to the village Zevan. Vide A. G. pp. 101-102 for the situation of Jayavana; under Takṣakanāga which is near Zevan.
- Jayinī—P. I. 26. 16 (where there is Somatīrtha)
- Jeṣṭhīla—(near Campakāranya) V. 84. 134
- Jūānatīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35. 6, P. I. 37. 6
- Jñānavāpī—SK. IV. 33 (describes the origin and greatness of it); see p. 638 above
- Jvālāmukhī—(a Devīsthāna) Devī-Bh. VII. 38. 6
- Jvālāsaras—(on Amarakaṇṭaka m.) Br. III. 13. 12
- Jvāleśvara—(near Amarakaṇṭaka) M. 188. 80 and 94-95, P. I. 15. 69, 77, 78 (one of the Tripuras burnt by Śiva fell here). It appears that the reference is to jets of natural gas, which burn when ignited
- Jyeṣṭheśvara—(modern Jyethir on the Dal lake near Śrīnagara in Kāśmīra) R. I. 113, NM 1323-24. This was a forp of Śiva in a temple which was built by king Gopāditya of Kāśmīra. Stein in note on R. I. 113 states that there are three places in Kāśmīra called Jyeṣṭheśvara. R. I. 124 says that Jalauka, son of Aśoka, built a shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara, which would be the oldest temple in Kāśmīra.
- Jyeṣṭhapuṣkara—(on Sarasvatī) V. 200. 66, P. V. 19. 12, 18, 20 (it is said to be 2½ yojanas long and a half yojana in width)
- Jyeṣṭhasthāna—(near Koṭīrtha) V. 85. 62
- Jyotīrathā or—rathyā—(tributary of Śoṇa) V. 85. 8, P. I. 39. 8
- Jyotiṣmatī—(a tributary of Sarasvatī rising from a lake on Hemakūṭa) Vā. 47. 63, M. 121. 65, Br. II. 18. 66



Jyotsnā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II. 18. 71

## K

Kacaliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 112.

Kadalinadī—(where dāna is most efficacious) M. 22. 52

Kadamba—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 52 (where Vṛṣṇis became purified)

Kadambakhaṇḍa—(a kuṇḍa under Mathurā) Var. 164. 26

Kadambesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 161 (a liṅga established by Skanda)

Kādravātī—(a holy place for śrāddha, japa, homa etc.) Vā. 77. 82

Kailāpura—(one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 97

Kailāśaśikhara—(a peak of the Himālaya 22000 feet above sea level, 25 miles to north of Mānasa lake) V 139. 41 (6 yojanas high), 153. 1, 158. 15-18, M. 121. 2-3; Br. IV. 44. 95 (one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitādevī); vide Swami Pranavānanda's paper in J.U.P. H.S. vol. 19 pp. 168-180 and his book on 'Kailāsa Mānasarovara' and Sven Hedin's 'Trans Himālaya' (1909). Vide Dey pp. 82-83. Whether Kailāsa or the lake Mānasa is the source of four great rivers viz. Satlej, Indus, Brahmaputrā and Kārnālī is a moot point

Kākabhada (eminently fit for śrāddha) Br. III. 13. 85

Kākāśilā—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 76, Ag. 116. 4

Kakubha—(a m.) Bb. V. 19. 16

Kakudmatī—(r. rising in Sahya) P. VI. 113. 25 (Koyanā in Satara District). Vide under Kṛṣṇā and TS p. 79. The Koyanā falls into Kṛṣṇā near Karad in Satara.

Kālābhairava—(under VS) L. I. 92. 132

Kālākavana—western boundary of Āryāvarta acc. to Mbh. vol. I. p.

475 (on Pān. II. 4. 10) and vol. III p. 174 (on Pān. VI. 3. 109). Dr. Agrawala in J. U. P. H. S. vol. 14 part 1, p. 15 says that it was part of Śāketa.

Kālakesava—(under VS) K. I. 35. 7

Kālakoṭi—(in Naimiṣa forest) V, 95 3, Br. S 14. 4.

Kālānjara or Kālīnjara—A (hill and fort in Bundelkhand) V 85. 56, 87, 21, Vā 77. 93, Vām. 84 (temple of Nilakanṭha on it); Kālānjara was the capital of the Chandelas; vide E. I. vol. I. p. 217, E. I. vol. IV p. 153. For Kālāñjaramaṇḍala, vide E. I. vol. 19 p. 18 (plate dated *samvat* 893). Ain A. vol. II. p. 159 speaks of it as 'a stone fortress situated on a heaven-reaching hill. It contains many temples and an idol is there called. Kālā Bhairava, 18 cubits high, of which marvellous tales are related. Springs rise within the fort and there are many tanks.' Vide I. G. I. vol. VI p. 349; B (as an *ayatana*) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250; C (under VS) K II. 36. 11-38 (story of *rājarsi* Sveta who constantly muttered Satarudriya), P. I. 37. 15; D (shrine of Śiva under (to.) B 146. 1 and 43 (also called Yāyāta); E (said to be source of Narmadā called Kālīnjari and a Śiva shrine) SK, Kālīkā-khaṇḍa q. by T. S. p. 98; F (under Marhurā) Var. 176. 18 (printed as Kālīnjara); G R. VII. 1256 (some hilly district in Kāśmīra is meant).

Kālāñjaravana—M 181. 27 (Kālīnjara, a Śiva-tīrtha) q. by T. K. p. 241

Kālāpagrāma—(probably near Badarikā) Vā. 91. 7, 99. 437 (Devāpi stays there and will be Kṛtayuga-pravartaka when Kaliyuga will end), Bh. X. 87. 7.

Kālāpaka—(about 100 yojanas from Kedāra) SK. I. 2. 6, 33-34

Kālāpavana—P. I. 28. 3

- Kalāśākhyā-tīrtha**—(where Agastya sprang from a jar) N II. 40, 87
- Kālasarpis**—(a mahātīrtha of Kāśyapa) K. II. 37, 34, Vā 77, 87 (very fit for śrāddha), Br. III. 13, 98
- Kalāśeśvara** (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 99, P. I. 37, 7
- Kālatīrtha**—**A** (in Kośalā) V. 85, 11-12; P. I. 39, 11 (both have same words); **B** (under VS) K. I. 35, 2
- Kalaviśka**—**Ann** 25, 43
- Kālavimala**—(one of five tīrthas in Kāśmīra) HC 4, 83
- Kāleśa**—(under Gayā) Ag. 116, 23
- Kāleśvara**—**A** (under VS) L. I. 92, 136, L. q. by T. K. pp. 45, 72; **B** (under Narmadā) M 191, 85. In Br. IV. 44, 97 it is one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā.
- Kālībrada**—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145, 45
- Kālī**—**A** (r. flows through Saharanpur District in U. P.) M. 22, 20, Vām. 57, 79; this river divides Nepal from Saharanpur; vide I. G. I. vol. XXII p. 102; **B** r. called Kālī Sind which falls into the Chambal
- Kālikā**—(r. sacred to *pīṭṭṣ*) M. 22, 36
- Kālikā-saṅgama**—V. 84, 156, P. I. 38, 63 (same words in both), Ag. 109, 20
- Kālikāśikhara**—Devipurāna q. by T. K. p. 244
- Kālikāśrama**—**Ann** 25, 24 (on Vipāśa) NM 148
- Kālīndī**—(see under Yamunā) P. I. 29, 1
- Kāliya-brada**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 192, T. P. p. 515
- Kālīlakesvara**—(under Narmadā) K. II. 41, 88
- Kalmāyī**—(Yamunā) S. 78, 16
- Kālōdaka** (lake)—**A** Vīdh. S. 85, 35 (acc. to Vaijayanṭi com.), **Ann** 25, 60; **B** (lake situated on eastern half of mountain Haramukūṭa at 13000 feet above sea level) NM 1231-1233
- Kālōdakā**—(r. in Kāśmīrā) **Ann**. 25, 60, NM 1545
- Kalpagrāma**—(under Mathurā) Var. 166, 12 (shrine of Varāha in U. P. there); probably modern Kālpī
- Kāma**—a Śāktakṣetra, acc. to the Bār. S. III. 124.
- Kāmadhenupada**—(under Gayā) Vā 112, 56
- Kāmagiri**—(m.) Br. IV. 39, 105, Bh. V. 19, 16, Devī-Bh. VIII. 11, 11.
- Kāmākhyā**—**A** (a Rudratīrtha on Devikā river) V 82, 105, P. I. 25, 12 (same words in both); **B** (a Devīsthāna or temple of Tripurabhairavi on the beautiful Nilācala hill overhanging the Brahmaputrā river) Devī-Bhāgavata VII. 38, 15, Kal. 64, 2 (explains the name and the whole chap. is mahātmya). This last is about two miles from Gauhati and was famed even in ancient times; vide TP pp. 599-601. Vide Shri B. Kakati's paper on the Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā in 'Siddhabhārati' part II, pp. 44 ff. In Kal. 18, 42 and 50 it is said that on Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa, the private parts of Satī fell when her corpse was carried by Śiva and Devī is known as Kāmākhyā there.
- Kāmakōṣṭhaka** (Kāmakoṣṭi)—Tīrtha of Tripurasundarī—Kāmakṣī, Br. IV. 5, 6-10, IV. 40, 16 (in Kāñcī), IV. 44, 94 (one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā), Bh. X. 79, 14 (Kamakosīm purīm Kāñcīm)
- Kāmākṣā**—(in Ahicchatra) a Devīsthāna established by Sumada, P. IV. 12, 54-60
- Kāmākṣī**—(in the east) N. II. 69 (for mahātmya)
- Kamalākṣa**—(here Devī is called Mahotpalā) M. 13, 34
- Kamalālaya**—M. 13, 32 (here Devī is called Kāmālā)
- Kāmatīrtha**—(under south bank of Narmadā) K. II. 41, 55, G. I. 81, 9.

- Kambalāśvatarau Nāgau**—A (under Prayāga) M 106. 27, 110. 8, K. I. 37. 19 (on south bank of Yamunā), Ag. 111. 5; B two Nāgas (i. e. springs or pools) in Kāśmīra, NM 1052
- Kambalāśvatarākṣa**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102
- Kambotikeśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 60
- Kambutīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 136. 1
- Kāmeśvara-līṅga**—(under VS) SK. IV. 33, 122
- Kāmeśvaripīṭha**—(Kal. 84 describes the yātra)
- Kāmika**—(where Gaṇḍakī river joins Devikā) Var. 144. 84-85
- Kāmodāpura**—(on the Ganges) N. II. 68 (contains: Kāmodāmāhātmya). Four maidens arose at the churning of the ocean: viz. Rāmā, Vāruṇī, Kāmodā and Varā, of whom Viṣṇu accepted three and Vāruṇī was taken away by the asuras; chap. 68. 18, it is 10 yojanas above Gaṅgādvāra
- Kampanā** (r.)—V. 84. 115-116, Bhī. 9. 25
- Kāmyaka-āśrama** (of the Pāṇḍavas) V. 146. 6
- Kāmyaka-saras**—S. 52. 20
- Kāmyakavana**—A (on the banks of the Sarasvatī) V. 36. 41 (where Pāṇḍavas went from Dvaitavana), Vām. 41. 30-31; B (under Mathurā) 4th out of the 12 vanas
- Kāṇḍeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 92
- Kanakā**—(r. under Gayā) Vā 108. 80
- Kanaka**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. 189
- Kanakanandā**—(a river to the north of Muṇḍa-prstha at Gayā) N II. 44. 62, Vā 77. 105 (Kanakanandī), K. II. 37. 41-43 (reads Brahma-prstha)
- Kanakavāhinī** (r. in Kāśmīra now called Kankanaī flowing past Buthūr i. e. Bhūteśvara) NM 1545, R. I. 149-150 (flows into river Sind). See SM. p. 211. NM (1539-42) says that the confluence of Sindhu and Kanakavāhinī is equal to VS
- Kanakeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104
- Kanakhala**—A (on the Ganges about two miles from Haridvāra) V. 84.30, Anu 25.13, V Dh. S. 83.14, K. II. 37. 10-11, SK. I. 1. 2. 11 (where Rudra destroyed Dakṣayajña), Vā. 83.21, Vām. 4.57; vide T. P. p. 377; B (under Gayā between Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Mānasa) Vā. 111. 7, Ag. 115.23, N. II. 46.46; C (under Narmadā) M. 183.69, P. I. 20.67 (where Garuḍa practised *tapas*); D (under Mathurā) Var. 152.40-49 (where a barber Kāmpilya in Pāncāla country bathed in Yamunā and was born as a brāhmaṇa)
- Kāñcanākṣī**—(r. near Naimiṣa forest) Vām. 83.2
- Kāñcī** or **Kāñcīpurī**—vide pp. 711-712 above. A—one of these seven holy cities, capital of the Colas and a Devisthāna called Annapūrṇā, P. VI. 110.5, Devī-Bh. VII. 38.8, Br. IV. 5.6-10 and IV. 39.15, Bh. X. 79.14, Vā. 104.76, P. IV. 17.67, Bār. S. III. 124 (a Śākta-kṣetra). In a new Inscription of Jayavarman I from Cambodia a king of Kāñcī appears to be referred to (vide 'Inscriptions du Cambodge' edited by G. Coedes, vol. I p. 8 'adhārmikajana—dhvāntam navoditavivasvatā ī ākāñcīpura-nṛpa... (rest lost); B (under Narmadā, P. I. 17.8
- Kāñtipurī**—vide p. 678 note 1333 above. It may be noted that the text of the Ain. A. had Kāñtī. Vide Ain. A. vol. III. p. 305 n. 4, SK. IV. 7. 100-102, Māheśvara Khanda, sub-section Kedāra, 27.33 (the liṅga Allālānātha therein). Kāñtipurī in the Mirzapur District was the capital of the Bhāraśivas. Jayswal in 'History of India' (150-350 A. D.) p. 123 quotes as from Vi. the passage

- 'Navanāgāḥ Padmāvatyām Kāntipurīyām Mathurīyām...bhokṣanti'. The Venk. ed. of Vi. omits the words 'Kāntipurīyām Mathurīyām' and Dr. Hall in Wilson's translation, vol IV p. 217 notes that one of his best mss. does the same. Kāntipurī occurs in Br. III. 13. 94-95.
- Kaṇvāśrama—A (on the river Mālīnī in the Saharanpur District) V. 82. 45, 88. 11, VDb. S. 85. 30, Ag. 109. 10. In the Sākuntalā Act I Kaṇvāśrama is said to be along the bank of the Mālīnī; in Śat. Br. 13.5.4. 13 we read 'Śakuntalā Nāḍapityapsarā Bharatam dadhe,' on which the commentator Harisvāmin states that Nāḍapit was the name of Kaṇva's āśrama; B on Carmanvatī, four miles south-east of Koṭā in Rajputana. Vide Dey p. 89
- Kanyā (on the southern sea, same as Kumārī, Cape Comorin) Bh. X. 79. 17 (Kanyākhyām Durgādevīm dadarśa sah); see under Kumārī
- Kanyābrada—Anu 25.53
- Kānyakubja—(one of the 50 pīṭhas of Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 94; V 87. 17 (where Viśvāmitra drank soma with Indra); M. 13. 29 (Devī is called Gaurī in Kānyakubja i. e. Kanoj); Anu 4.17, P. V. 35 (Kāma established image of Vāmana here on the southern bank of river Kālīnadi which ultimately falls into the Ganges), P. VI. 129. 9. The Mbh. (vol. II. p. 233 on Pān. IV.1.79) mentions Kānyakubjī. Rām. I. 32. 6 says Mahodaya was founded by Kuśanābha, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā. The A. C. p. 182 states that Kānyakubja, Mahodaya, Kanyākubja, Gādhipura are synonyms (verses 973-74). Vide under Mahodaya and A. G. pp. 376-382; Ptolemy mentions it (p. 134) as Kanagora and Kanogiza.
- Kanyākūpa—Anu 25. 19
- Kanyā—samvedya—V. 84. 136, P. I. 38. 52.
- Kanyāśrama—V. 83. 189, P. I. 12.5, 27. 75, 39. 35.
- Kanyātīrtha—A (near the sea) V. 83. 112, 85. 23, K. II. 44. 9, P. I. 39. 21; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 76, K. II 42. 21; C (in Naimiṣa forest) V. 95. 3, P. I. 27. 1
- Kapālamocanātīrtha—A (in VS) V. 83. 137, SK IV. 33. 116, N. II. 29. 38-60 (Śiva cut off one of Brahmā's head, which stuck to his hand from which he became free at this tīrtha), Śal. 39. 8, M. 183. 84-103, Vām. 3. 48-51, Var. 97. 24-26, P. V. 14. 185-189, K. I. 35.15 (same story is these five purāṇas); B (on Sarasvatī, otherwise called Auśanasa) Vām. 39.5-14 (where sage Rahodara got rid of the head of a rākṣasa sticking to his neck and killed by Rāma), Śal. 39.9-22 (same story of Rahodara); vide ASR. of India vol. XIV pp. 75-76 for the situation of this (10 miles to the south-east of Sadhora), legend of Śiva being freed from sin of cutting Brahmā's head and description; C (under Avantī) N. II. 78.6; D (in Kāśmīra, modern Degām in Śūpiyan *pargana*) R. VII. 266 (and Stein's n), HC X. 249, XIV. 111; E (in Māyāpura i. e. Haridvāra) P. VI. 129.28
- Kapāleśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. 58
- Kapardīśvara (one of the gubya līngas in VS) K. I. 32.12, I. 33.4-11 and 28-49, P. I. 35.1
- Kapateśvara (on the southern side of the Kāśmīra valley close to modern Kōṭhara) R. I. 32, HC XIV. 34 and 135, NM 1178, 1202. 1329-1357 (legend how Śiva shows himself in the disguise of a piece of wood); SM pp. 178-179, Ain. A. vol. II p. 358 says 'in the valley of Kotihar

is a deep spring...when its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandalwood appears'

Kāpila (under VS) K I, 35.9

Kapilā—A (a stream under Gayā) Vā. 108.57-58, Ag. 116.5; B (river on the south side of Narmadā) M 186.40, 190.10, K. II. 40.24, P. I. 13.35 (same verse in last two). It joins Narmadā at Barwasi in Central India.

Kapiladhārā—Vām. 84.24. Dey p. 4 (under Amarakaṇṭaka) says that the first fall of the Narmadā from Amarakaṇṭaka is called Kapiladhārā in Skandapurāṇa

Kāpiladvipa—(Ananta is Viṣṇu's *guhya* name there) Nr 65.7 q. by TK p. 251 (which reads 'Anantam kapilam dvīpe')

Kapilahrada (under VS) V. 84.78, N II. 50.46, P I. 32.41, L I. 92.69-70, N. II. 66.35 mentions under Haridvārā a tīrtha of that name

Kapilānāgarāja—V. 84.32, P. I. 28.32 (same verse in both)

Kapilāsāṅgama—A (with Narmadā) M. 186.40, P. II. 18.1, VI. 242.42; B (under Go.) B 141.1 and 28-29

Kapilātīrtha—A (under Virāja in Orissa) B 42.6; B (on north bank of Narmadā) M 193.4, K II. 41.93-100, P I. 17.7, V 83.47, T. S. p. 100; C (on the south bank of Go.) B 155.1-2 (also called Āṅgīrasa, Āditya and Saimbikeya).

Kapilātīrtha—(under Kapateśvara in Kāśmīra) HC 14.113

Kapilāvṛṇa—(near Nāgātīrtha and Kanakhala) V. 84.31, P. I. 28.31

Kapileśālīṅga—(under VS) SK IV. 33.158

Kapileśvara-līṅga—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 57, 107; B (under Narmadā) P II. 85.26

Kapisi—(r. in Utkala i. e. Orissa) Raghu. IV. 38. May be identified with Kasai flowing through Midnapur.

Kāpisi—(r.) Pāṇ. IV. 2.99 mentions it; it is the Kapisene of Greek writers.

Kāpota—(under Go.) B 80.5 and 92

Kāpotakātīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 155.1 (here the r. turns to the east).

Kapoteśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92.156

Karabhātaka—(modern Karad in the Satara District on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Koyanā) S. 31.70, Vik 8.2. It is mentioned in inscriptions from about 200 B. C. Vide Cunningham's 'Bharhut stūpa' p. 131 for a donation of the guild of Karabhāka, pp. 135 and 136 for gift of pillars by certain inhabitants of Karabhāka. Coins of the *Kṣatrapas* ruling up to 300 A. D. were found at Karad. Vide Bom. G. vol. I part 1 p. 58; and Talegaon copperplates of Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja I dated *śaka* 690 (768 A.D.) in E. I. vol. XIII p. 275.

Kārandhama (on the south sea) Ādi 216.3

Karāñjatīrtha (under Narmadā) M. 190.11

Kārantuka (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 22.60. Vide p. 683 above

Kārapacava (on the Yamunā) Pañcavimsa Br. 25.10.23, Āsv. Sr. XII. 6, Kātyāyana Śr. S. 24.6.10

Karapāda (shrine of Śiva) Vām. q. by TK p. 235

Kārapavana (near source of Sarasvatī) Śal. 54.12 and 15

Karatoyā (r. flowing through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra in Bengal and being the western boundary of Kāmarūpa) V 85.3, S. 9.22, Anu. 25.12. The Amarakośa says that Karatoyā and Sadānīrā are synonyms. Acc. to Mār. 34.25 it rises in the Vindhya, while Vā. 45.100 says it rises in Kāpāda. In Sm. C. I. p. 132 the

- mantra* in invoking the river begins 'Karatoye Sadānīre' (thus identifying the two)
- Kāravatī** (a place fit for śrāddha) Br. III. 13.92
- Karavīra**—A (modern Kolhapur) M. 13.41 (*Karavīra* Mahālakṣmī) = P. V. 17.205, M. 22.76, Anu 25.44, P. VI. 108.3; E. I. vol. III p. 207, 210, a grant of Śilāditya Vyayāditya of *śake* 1065 mentions Kṣullakapura which appears to be meant for Kolhapura. It occurs as Kollāpura in Miraj plates of Jayasimha II (a Cālukya) in 1024 A. D. (E. I. vol. XII p. 303, 306). Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for the spelling of the name; B (capital of Brahmvarta on Drśadvatī) Kālikāpurāṇa 49.71, NM 147; C (city in Sabya near Gomanta hill) Harivamśa (Viṣṇuparva) 39. 50-64
- Karavīraka-tīrtha**—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 70; B (under Kujāmṛaka) Var. 126.48-51
- Kardamāla**—A (under Gayā) M 22.77, Ag. 116. 13, N II. 60. 24; B (under Sābhramatī) P VI. 165. 7 and 10.
- Kardamāśrama**—(near Bindusaras) Bh. III. 21. 35-37
- Kardamila**—V. 135. 1 (where Bharata was crowned).
- Karkandha**—Vām. 51. 52
- Karkotakesvara**—(under Narmadā) M 191. 36
- Karmavarohana**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by TK p. 190
- Karmesvara**—(under Śrīparvatā) L. I. 92. 152
- Karnabṛada**—(near Gaṅgāsarasvatī-saṅgama) P. I. 32. 4
- Karṇaprayāga**—Vide under Alakanandā and U. P. Gazetteer, vol. 36 (for Garhwal) p. 172
- Kārtikeya**—A (Devī is called Yaśaskarī here) M. 13.45; B (under Go.) B 81. 1, G. I. 81. 9.
- Kārtikeya-kuṇḍa**—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 61
- Kārtikeyapada**—(in Gayā) Vā 109. 19. 111. 54
- Kāśī**—Vide pp. 618-642 above. It is probably the Kassida of Ptolemy (p. 228). AC (p. 182) notes that Kāśī Varāṇasī, Vārāṇasī and Śīvapurī are synonyms (verse 974)
- Kāśmīra-maṇḍala**—The ancient name seems to have been Kāśmīra. The Mbh (vol. II. p. 119) on Pān. III. 2. 114 employs this form (ābhijānāsī Devadatta Kāśmīrāṇ gamīyāmah). Kāśmīra as the name of a country occurs in the Sindhvādigaṇa (Pān. IV. 3. 93). In NM the country is called Kāśmīra in many verses such as 5, 11, 43, 50, but sometimes Kāśmīra also. Later works also like H. C. 14. 45 employ the form Kāśmīra; the Vik (18. 1 and 18) uses the form Kāśmīra. NM (292-93) derives the name from *ka* meaning water (kam vāri Harinā yasmād-deśād-asmād-apakṛtam | Kāśmīrākhyam tato hyasya nāma loke bhaviṣyati). Ptolemy speaks of it as Kaspeiria and states that the country was situated below the sources of Bidaspes (Vitastā), Sandabal (Candrabhāgā) and Adris (Irāvātī). Vide Ptolemy pp. 108-109 and NM 43. The Vanaparva speaks of the whole country of Kāśmīra as holy (130. 10). Ain. A. (vol. II p. 354) notes that the whole of Kāśmīra is regarded as holy ground. Vide also V 82. 90, S. 27. 17, Anu 25. 8. According to a treaty in 1846 with the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu the territories of the Maharaja are 'situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Rāvi' I. G. I. vol. XV p. 72. The Kashmir valley is approximately 84 miles in length and 20 to 25 miles in breadth (I. G. I. vol. XV p. 74). Stein (SM p. 63) says that its extent is confined to the great valley drained

by the head waters of the Vitastā and to the minor slopes of mountains that surround it. Hsien Tsang (Beal's B R W W vol. 1. p. 148) states that 'Kāśmīra kingdom is about 7000 *li* (one *li* being equal to about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles), that as the country is protected by a dragon it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people, that they love learning and are well instructed and that (p. 149) the country was once a dragon lake and that afterwards it became dry'. The words of Hsien Tsang refer to an ancient legend according to which Kāśmīra was originally a lake (called Satīśaras) 6 *yojanas* long and 3 *yojanas* wide and later became Satīśara (NM 64-66), that Umā herself is the country of Kāśmīra (NM 31), that the divine Vitastā rising in the Hīmalayas is like the *śimantā* (line parting the hair) of this holy land (NM 45). The legend runs that Viṣṇu conferred a boon on Vāsuki-nāga who prayed to Viṣṇu when Garuḍa began to devour all nāgas that he should stay in the Satīśara along with the other nāgas, that no enemy would kill any nāga (NM 105-107) and that Nīla was made king of nāgas in the Satīśara (NM 110). The residence of Nīla is the famous fountain near the village of Vērnāg in the Shāhabād *pargana*. A certain demon called Jalodbhava grew in the Satī lake and killed men (NM 111-123 and Vām. 81. 30-33). Nīla approached the sage Kāśyapa the father of all Nāgas, at whose intercession Viṣṇu asked Ananta-nāga to pierce the hills and make the lake dry and then killed the demon Jalodbhava (R. I. 25). Then Viṣṇu asked the Nāgas to live in peace and harmony with men, Satī became the river Vitastā. Vide Kūrma II. 43. 4. Nāga in Kashmir means the tutelary

deity presiding over the several holy springs, pools and lakes in which Kāśmīra abounds. Both NM (1130-31) and R (I. 38) state that there is not a spot in Kāśmīra even as small as a grain of sesamum which is not a tīrtha and has not a nāga as its presiding deity. In Ain. A. (vol. II. p. 354) Abul Fazl notes that there were in his day 45 shrines of Mahādeva, 64 of Viṣṇu, 3 of Brahmā and 22 of Durgā and that in 700 places there were graven images of snakes which were worshipped and about which wonderful stories were told. R (I. 72) and NM (313-314) say that the country of Kāśmīra is Pārvatī, that the king thereof should be deemed to be a part of Śiva and that none who desires prosperity should disobey (or disrespect) the king. R (I. 42) summarises in one verse the peculiar features of Kāśmīra viz. 'learning, lofty dwellings, saffron, water containing ice and grapes; these are common here, although rare in the three worlds'.

Kāśyapapada—(under Gayā) Vā. 109. 18, 111. 49 and 58

Kāśyapatīrtha—A (called Kālasarpiḥ) Vā. 77. 87, Br. III. 13. 98; B (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 157. 1

Kāśyapeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 73

Kaṭheśvara—(near Candrabhāgā) M. 191. 63-64

Kātyāyaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 120

Kauberā—one of the Sārasvatatīrthas, Deva q. by T. K. p. 250

Kauberatīrtha—Śal. 47. 25 (where Kubera secured the lordship of wealth)

Kaumārīrtha—(a lake) Br. III. 13. 86

Kaunaṭa—Vām. 51. 53

- Kaundinyasaras**—(Kramasāra is so K called in Kāśmīra) NM 1481-1483
- Kausāmbi**—(modern Kosam, about 30 miles to the west of Allahabad on the Jumna); Rām. I. 32, 6 states that it was founded by Kuśāmba, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā; T.K.p. 246. The Mbh. mentions it several times (vide vol. III. pp. 50, 134 on Pāṇ. VI. 1.31 and VI. 2. 130). Vide AG pp. 391-398 and under Hastinā-pura. A. C. (p. 182) says it is the capital of the Vatsa country. Vide 'Early History of Kausāmbi' by Nagendranath Ghosh. The Kausāmbi Pillar edict of Aśoka (C. I. I. vol. 1 p. 159) mentions the mahāmātras of this city. In JRAS for 1898 pp 503-519 Vincent Smith disputes the identification of modern Kosam with Kausāmbi. Vide E. I. vol. XI p. 141 on different views about the location of Kausāmbi.
- Kausikabrada**—(on r. Kauśikī) V. 84. 142-143, P. I. 38. 58 (where Viśvāmītra obtained the highest *siddhi*).
- Kauśikī**—A (r. from Himālaya, modern Kusi) Ādi 215. 7, V. 84. 132, M 22. 63, 114. 22, Rām. I. 34. 7-9, Bh. IX. 15. 5-12 (Satyavatī, daughter of Gāndhī, became r. Kauśikī), Vām. 54. 22-24 (so called because it was the dark *kośa* of Kālī cast off by her when she became fair), 78. 5, 90.2, Vā. 45.94, 91. 85-88. This river was called Pārā by Viśvāmītra (Ādi 71. 30-32); B (under Gayā) V. 87. 13, Vā 108. 81 (Kauśikī brahmadā jyesthā). Here brahmadā is apparently an adjective of Kauśikī and not the name of another river as Prof. Diksitar (Purāna Index, vol. II. p. 507) thinks.
- Kauśikī**—Koka-saṅgama—Var. 140.75-78
- auśikī-mahā-hrada**—Vā 77. 101, Br. III. 13. 109
- Kauśikī**—saṅgama (with Drṣadvatī) P. I. 26. 89, Vām. 34. 18. This seems to be another Kauśikī apart from the two mentioned above.
- Kauśikī-tīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 40
- Kauśikyārūpā**—saṅgama—V. 84. 156, P. I. 38. 63
- Kaustubheśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K 60
- Kāverī**—A (r. in south India rising in Sahya m.) V 85. 22, Anu 166. 20, Vā 45. 104, 77. 28, M. 22. 64, K, II. 37. 16-19, P. I. 39. 20, P. VI. 224. 3, 4 and 19 (is called Marudvṛdhā), Nr 66. 7 (says that Kāverī is Dakṣiṇa-Gaṅgā); there is a fine description of it in the Tamil epic Śilappadikāram (X. 102 ff, pp. 160 ff of Prof. Dikshitar's translation); B (a r. rising in the Rajpipla hills and falling into Narmadā on its northern bank opposite Śukla-tīrtha) M. 189. 12-14, K. II 40. 40, P. I. 16. 6-11 (Kubera got *yakṣādhipatyā* here), Ag. 113. 3.
- Kāverīsaṅgama**—(with Narmadā) Ag. 113. 3 and vide under B above.
- Kāyasōdhana**—V. 83. 42-43
- Kāyāvarohana**—A (modern Kārvān, 15 miles south of Baroda and in the Dabhoi Taluka) Vā 23. 221-222 (here Nakulī or Lakulī, the founder of Pāśupata doctrines, flourished), M. 22.30, K. II. 44. 7-8 (state that this was a shrine of Mahādeva and the doctrines of Mahēśvara were promulgated here), E. I. vol. XXI pp. 1-7 (Mathurā Inscription of Candragupta II dated in Gupta year 61 i. e. 380 A. D. shows that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished in the 2nd century A. D.; B (a Sivatīrtha in Benares) M. 181.26. In M. 13.48 Devī is said to be styled Mātā in Kāyāvarohana)



- Kedāra**—A (one of the eight Śivā-tīrthas in Benares) V. 87, 25, M 181, 29, K. I. 35, 12 and II. 20, 34 (a very fit place for śrāddha), Ag. 112, 5, L. I. 92, 7 and 134; B (in Tehri Gaḍhwal and called Kedāra-nātha) VDb.S.85, 17; it is 11750 ft. above sea level; there are five Kedāras, viz. Kedāranātha, Tuṅga-nātha, Rudranātha, Madhyameśvara and Kāpeśvara. Vide U. P. Gazetteer, vol. 36 p. 173 (for Garhwal); C (in Kāśmīra) HC 8, 69 (one krośa below Vijayēśvara); D (under Gayā) N. II. 46, 46; E (of Kapiśhala) P. I. 26, 69.
- Keśava**—A (in Benares) M. 185, 68; B (under Mathurā) Var. 163, 63
- Keśatīrtha**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21, 40
- Keśītīrtha**—(under Ganges) TP p. 515
- Ketaktivana**—Vide under Vaidyanātha.
- Ketumālā**—(r. in the west) V. 89, 15
- Khaḍgadharātīrtha** or **Khaḍgadhbhāreśvara**—P. VI. 147, 1 and 67. Vide Bom. G. vol. IV p. 6 for description
- Khaḍgapucchanāga**—(in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 251 (about 1½ krośa above Vijayēśvarakṣetra, now called Khan-bal in Anantanāg pargana)
- Khaḍgatīrtha**—A (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 140, 1; B (under Go.) B 139, 1 (on the northern bank)
- Khadīravana**—(under Mathurā) Var. 153, 39 (7th vana out of 12)
- Khaṇḍatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 137, 12 (also called Vṛṣa-tīrtha)
- Khāṇḍava (vana)**—boundary of Kurukṣetra in Tai. Ā. V. 1, 1. Vide above p. 651. The name occurs in Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa 25, 3, 6, Ādi 223–225, Bh. I. 15, 8, X. 58, 25–27, X. 71, 45–46, P. VI. 200, 5
- Khāṇḍavaprastha**—(a city) Ādi 61, 35, 221, 15, Bh. X, 73, 32 (where Kṛṣṇa, Bhīma and Arjuna returned after destroying Jarāśandha)
- Khaṭvāṅgeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 56
- Khonamuṣa**—(in Kāśmīra) Birth place of poet Bilhana and famous for saffron cultivation. Vik. I. 72, XVIII. 71 (reads Khonamukha), SM p. 166 (modern Khunamoh, which has two hamlets).
- Kilikileśa**—(under Gayā) Ag. 116, 31.
- Kimdatta**—kūpa—V 83, 98
- Kimśukavana**—Vā 38, 27–32 (between Vasudhāra and Ratnadhāra)
- Kimśuluka**—name of a m. acc. to Pān. VI. 3, 117 (vanagiryoh sañjñāyām koṭara-kimśulukādīnām). The Kāśikā mentions five forests (including Koṭaravana) and six giris (including Kimśuluka), which cannot be identified with certainty.
- Kimyajña**—P. I. 26, 74.
- Kindāna**—P. I. 26, 74, V. 83, 79
- Kiṅkiṇīkāśrama**—Anu 25, 23
- Kiraṇā**—(r.) Vām. 84, 5. Vide p. 636
- Kiraṇēśvara-lūga**—(under VS) SK IV. 33, 155
- Kiṣkindhā**—(about two miles from lake Pampā to the north-east) V. 280, 16, Rām. IV. 9, 5, IV. 14, 1 &c. Mbh. (vol. III. p. 96) on Pān. VI. I. 157 mentions 'Kiṣkindhā-guhā'. The word occurs in the Sindhvādī gaṇa (Pān. IV. 3, 93). It is identified with modern Vijayanagar and Aneḡundi. Vide I. G. I. vol. XIII. p. 235, Br. S. 14, 10 calls Kiṣkindhā a country in south-east.
- Kiṣkindhaguhā**—Vā. 54, 116 (probably the same as Kiṣkindhā).
- Kiṣkindhaparvata**—M 13, 46 (Devī is called Tārā on that m.)
- Kokā**—(r.) Var. 214, 45, B. 219, 20
- Kokāmukha**—(or Varāhākṣetra, on the Trivenī above Nāthapura in Purnea District) V. 84, 158, Anu. 25, 52, Var. 122 (is Kokāmukha-māhātmya), 123, 2, 140, 10–13 (q. by T. K. pp. 213–214), B 219, 8–10 (gods asked a damsel 'Kāśī bhadre prabhuḥ Ko vā bhavatyaḥ'), K. I. 31, 47, II. 35, 36

- (It is a Viṣṇutīrtha), P. I. 38.65; Var. (140.60-84) says that the kṣetra is fiveyojanas in extent and that there is an image of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation. Vide E. I. vol. 15 pp. 138-139 for an Inscription of Budhagupta recording the installation of Kokāmukhasvāmin, and Dr. B. C. Law Presentation Volume I. pp. 189-191, I. H. Q. vol. XXI p. 56
- Kokila—(under VS) P. I. 37.16, P. V. 11, 10
- Kolāhala—(a m.). Vā. 45. 90, 106. 45, Br. II. 16.21, Mār. 54.12, Vi. III 18. 73; same as Brahmayoni hill according to Dr. Mitra. Vide pp. 646, 656 above. According to the Ādi. 63. 35 it is in Cedi country and barred the flow of river Śūktimatī.
- Kolāpura—(modern Kolhāpur, one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh. VII 38. 5, P. VI. 176. 42 (where there is a shrine of Lakṣmī), 182. 1 (asti Kolhāpuram nāma nagaram Dakṣiṇā-pathe) and 11. Acc. to Br. IV. 44. 97, it is sacred to Lalitā. In a grant of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya of Śake 1065 (1143 A.D.) occurs the word Kṣullakāpura, which is another name of Kolhapur; E. I. vol. iII. p. 207 at pp. 209-210. The grantor is described as 'one who has obtained the favour of a boon from goddess Mahālakṣmī'. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I. of Śake 793 (871 A. D.) it is stated that the king, in order to ward off some public calamity, cut off his left finger and dedicated it to goddess Mahālakṣmī (E. I. vol. 18. p. 235 at p. 241). This Mahālakṣmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur. Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for Kollāpura.
- Kolla—a Śāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124
- Kollagiri—Ag. 110. 21, Bh. V. 19. 16
- Koṇārka or Koṇādītya—(in Orīṣa I, e. Orissa, about 24 miles north-west of Jagannātha Purī). It means 'the sun of Kona'. Koṇākona appears to have been the ancient name. It is a most exquisite memorial of sun-worship. It contains magnificent ruins of a temple of the Sun, which was built by the Gaṅga king Narasimhadeva (1238-1264 A.D.). It is a glorious and most beautiful example of north Indian Hindu architecture ever erected. It had a tower over 180 feet in height and a porch (*mandapa*) in front of 140 feet high. See Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II pp. 145-156 and Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 288 and 'Sungod of Koṇārka unearthed' (with illustrations) in Modern Review for 1945 pp. 67-72. The Sun temple shows some of the finest animal sculptures executed in India. Vide B. 28, verses 2, 9. 11, 47, 65 and 29.1 and T. C. pp. 180 ff. It is probably the Kannagara of Ptolemy (vide Ptolemy p. 70)
- Kośalā—(r. near Ayodhyā) P. I. 39. 11, VI. 206 13, 207. 35-36, 208. 27. In a grant of Vākātaka king Narendrasena he is praised as honoured by the kings of Kośalā (Kosala), Mekala and Mālava. Vide E. I. vol. IX p. 271.
- Koṭarā-tīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 152.2 and 13 (associated with Aniruddha for whom Kṛṣṇa fought with Bāṇāsura.)
- Koṭarā-vana—named by Pāṇ. VI. 3.117 and VIII. 4.4. Vide under Kimsuluka and Pāṇ. VIII. 4.4 for the names of five *vanas*.
- Koṭikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18.36
- Koṭīśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. 54; B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 157; C (under Pañcanada) Vām. 34.29; is it the Koṭīśvara, which is a famous place of pilgrimage on the western shore of Kachh, Close to the Indus and the ocean? A. G. pp. 303-4 and Bom. G. vol V. pp. 229-231

- Koṣṭitīrtha**—A (near Pṛthūdaka) Vām. 51.53, 84. 11-15 (where Śiva assumed one crore of forms for crores of sages eager to see Śiva); B (near Bhartṛsthāna) V. 55. 61; C (under Prayāga) M. 106. 44; D (under Mathurā) Var. 152. 62, 154. 29; E (under Narmadā) M. 191. 7, K. II. 41. 34, P. I. 13. 33 and 18. 8 (a crore of asuras were killed there); F (on south bank of Go.) B. 148. 1; G (near Gaṅgādvāra) V. 82. 49, V. 84. 77, N. II. 66. 29; H (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 6; I (in Pañcanada) P. I. 26. 14, Vām. 34. 28 (so called because Hara collected there the waters of crores of tīrthas); J (in Kāśmīra near Hāramūla, modern Koṭisar) K. R. p. 12
- Koṣṭivāṭa**—(under Kōkāmukha) Var. 140. 47-50, 147. 40
- Kramasāra**—(a lake in Kāśmīra, called Viṣṇupada also) NM 1481-82
- Kratutīrtha**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 9
- Krauñcapāda**—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 75-77 (a sage in the form of Krauñca bird practised *tapas* on it), N. II. 46. 52, Ag. 116. 7
- Krauñcapadi**—Anu. 25. 42
- Krauñcaparvata**—(part of Kaiāśa on which Mānasa lake is situated) Tai. Ā. I. 31. 2 mentions this m. (Sudarśane ca Krauñce ca Maināge ca mahāgīraṇ), Rām. IV. 43. 26-31, Bhī. 111. 47 (pierced by the missile of Śkanda), Śal. 17. 51 and 46.83-84.
- Krauñcāranya**—(three krosas from Janasthāna) Rām. III. 69. 5-8
- Kriyā** (r. rising from Rikavat) Br. II. 16. 29
- Kṛkalāsātīrtha**—(also called Nṛgatīrtha) T. P. p. 543, Anu. 6. 38 and chap. 70; Rām. (VII. 53) narrates how king Nṛga became a chameleon.
- Kṛmicandēśvara**—(one of the eight *Śivasthānas* in Banaras) M. 181. 29
- Kṛśodaka**—Var. 215. 87-88
- Kṛpā**—(r. rising in m. Suktimat) M. 114. 32, Br. II. 16. 38
- Kṛpānītīrtha**—(on hill Mundaprṛṣṭha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1253, 1460
- Kṛṇā**—A (r. rising in Sahya at Mahābaleśvara) B. 77.5, P. VI. 113. 25, Vām. 13. 30; B Vām. 78. 7, 90. 2 (Viṣṇu as Hayaśiṣa on the river); compared to its length and modern importance the river Kṛṇā is rarely mentioned as Kṛṇā, but generally as Kṛṇa-Venṇā or-Venṇā. It is the third largest river of the Deccan and southern India, the other two being the Godāvarī and the Kāveri. In the Mahābaleśvara *mahātmya* (JBBRAS vol. X. at p. 16 five rivers called Gaṅgā are said to rise from the top of Sahya near Mahābaleśvara viz. Kṛṇā, Venṇī, Kakudmatī (Koyṇā), Sāvitrī (that falls into the Arabian sea near Bāṅkor) and Gāyatrī (supposed to combine with Sāvitrī).
- Kṛṇa-gaṅgā**—(under Mathurā) Var. 175. 3
- Kṛṇagaṅgodbhavatīrtha**—(under Mathurā) Var. 176. 43 (the whole chap. deals with its *māhātmya*).
- Kṛṇagiri**—(m.) Vā. 45. 91, Br. II. 16. 22
- Kṛṇatīrtha**—(near Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81.9
- Kṛṇa-Venṇā**—Bhī. 9.16, M. 22. 45, Ag. 118. 7, B. 27. 35, Vā. 45. 104; occurs in Emperor Khāravela's inscription in E. I. vol. XX at p. 77 as Kaṇha-bennā). The Anu. 166. 22 mentions Venṇā and Kṛṇa-Venṇā separately. In the Alas plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govind II. dated *śaka* 692 (769 A.D.) the confluence of Kṛṇaverṇā and Musī is referred to (E. I. vol. VI. 208).
- Kṛṇā-Venṇā**—(as one river and same as above) P. VI. 108. 27 (confluence of Kṛṇā and Venṇā), VI. 113. 3 and 25 (Kṛṇā is the body of Kṛṇa); Sm. C. I. p. 132 gives a mantra for the bath in Kṛṇā-Venṇā. Vide, TS pp. 67-83, of which p. 70 states that all

rivers rising from Sahya destroy sins the moment they are remembered and that *Kṛṣṇa-Veṇyā* is the best of all such rivers. *Māhuli* about four miles from *Satara* is at the confluence of *Kṛṣṇā* and *Yennā* (which stands for *Veṇyā*).

*Kṛṣṇa-Veṇī*—(same as above two) *M.* 114. 29, *Rām.* V. 41. 9. In *T.S.* pp. 67-83 there is a *māhātmya* of *Kṛṣṇaveṇī* from *SK*.

*Kṛtāmālā*—(r. rising in Malaya) *Vā* 45. 105, *B.* 27. 36, *M.* 114. 30, *Br.* III. 35. 17, *Bh.* VIII. 24. 12, *X.* 79. 16, *XI.* 5. 39, *Vi.* II. 3. 13. *Dey* p. 104 says that it is the river *Vaiga* on which *Madurā* is situated. See under *Payasvinī*. The *Bhāgavata* says *Manu* practised penance on this river and helped the fish (*avatāra*) to grow.

*Kṛtaśauca*—*M.* 13. 45, 179. 87, *Vām.* 90. 5 (has an image of *Nṛsimha*), *P.* VI. 280. 18

*Kṛttikāṅgaraka*—*Anu.* 25. 22

*Kṛttikāśrama*—*Anu.* 25. 25

*Kṛttikātīrtha*—(under *Go.*) *B.* 82. 1

*Kṛttivāsa*—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* p. 40

*Kṛttivāsaśivarāllāṅga*—(in *VS*) *K.* I. 72. 12 (verses 16-18 explain why it is so called), *P.* I. 34. 10, *N.* II. 49. 6-9 (different names in different yugas, this being the one in *Tretā yuga*)

*Kṛmū*—(r.) *Rg. V.* 53. 9 and *X.* 75. 6. It is generally held to be modern *Kurram* that falls into the *Indus* on its western side near *Isakhel*. *Vide Dey* p. 103 for other views.

*Kṣamā*—(r. rising from *Rayavat*) *M.* 114. 25

*Kṣemesvara*—(under *VS*) *L. q.* by *T. K.* 117

*Kṣiprā*—(r. rising in *Vindhya m.*) *M.* 114. 27, *Vām.* 83. 18-19. Some printed works write it as *Śiprā* (*Vāyu* 45. 98) or *Siprā*. The printed *Matsya* says that *Kṣiprā* rises from

*Vindhya*, while in 114. 24 it mentions *Siprā* as rising from *Pāriyātra m.* The printed *Brahma* (chap. 27) mentions *Siprā* twice, one rising from *Pāriyātra* (verse 29) and the other rising from *Vindhya* (verse 33). It is doubtful whether there were two rivers of the same name. The *Brahmaṇḍa* II. 16. 29 and 32 (*Kṣiprā* in both places) is just like the *Brahma*.

*Kṣiravati*—(r.) *V.* 84. 68 (reached after *Sarasvatī* and *Bāhūdā*)

*Kṣīrikā*—(where there is *Nīlakaṇṭha*) *Vām.* q by *T. K.* p. 238

*Kṣudhātīrtha*—(under *Go.*) *B.* 85. 1

*Kuberatūṅga*—(a fit place for *śrāddha*) *Vā* 77. 78, *K.* II. 37. 31, *Br.* III. 13. 80

*Kubhā*—(probably modern *Kabul* river) *Rg. V.* 53. 9 and *X.* 75. 6. It is the *Kophes* of *Ptolemy* and *Kophen* of *Arrian* (*A. I.* p. 179). The *Kabul* river joins the *Indus* at *Ohind*, a few miles north of *Attock*. *Pāṇ.* V. 1. 77 (*Uttarapathenā-bṛtam ca*) mentions *Uttarapatha* (the road in the north that crossed the *Sindhu* near *Attock*)

*Kubjaka*—*N.* II. 60. 25, *G. I.* 81. 10 (*Kubjake Śrīdharo Harīḥ*)

*Kubjāmṛaka*—(it had a hermitage of *Raibhya* near *Gaṅgādvāra*) *V.* 84. 40, *M.* 22. 66, *P. I.* 32. 5. *VDh. S.* 85. 15, *K.* II. 20. 33, *G. I.* 81. 10 hold it a very eminent place for *śrāddha*. *Var.* 125. 101 and 132 and 126. 33 appear to identify it with *Māyātīrtha* (i. e. *Harīdvāra*). *Var.* 126 contains a *māhātmya* of this place and 23 verses of it are quoted in *T. K.* pp. 206-208 without a single word by way of comment. *Chap.* 126. 10-12 explain why it is so called (a mango tree was seen by sage *Raibhya* as informed by *God* and he became bent in reverence). There is doubt about its exact

- location. Var. 179. 26-31 aver that Mathurā is superior to Saukara-tirtha, which again is superior to Kubjāmraka. Var. 140.60-64 explain how the holy place Hṛīkeśa came to be so called. On the whole it is better to take Kubjāmraka as a sacred spot in Haridvāra itself or very near it.
- Kubjāsāgama—(with Narmadā) P. II. 92. 32
- Kubjāśrama—(a Viṣṇusthāna with an extent of one yojana) K. II. 35. 33-35.
- Kubjāvāna—P. I. 39. 34
- Kubjikāpīṭha—(where Satī's private parts fell while her corpse was being carried by Śiva). Kālikā 64. 53-54 and 71-72
- Kuṣṭhmalā—(a r.) M. 22. 46 (śrāddha performed here is very efficacious)
- Kubhū—(r. sprung from Himālaya) M. 114. 21, Vā 45.95, Br. II. 16. 25, Vām. 57. 80, B. 27. 26; In M. 121. 46 the word 'Kubhū' occurs as the name of a people or a country after Gāndhāras and Aurāsas. It cannot be definitely identified with any modern river.
- Kukkuṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. 98
- Kulampuna—V. 83. 104, P. I. 26. 97
- Kuleśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 177. 55
- Kuliśi—(r.) Kg. I. 104. 4
- Kulyā—(r.) Anu. 25. 56 q. by T.K. p. 247
- Kumāra—P. I. 38. 61
- Kumāra-dhārā—V. Dh. S. 85. 25, Vā. 77. 85, V. 84. 149 (which springs from Pītāmaha's lake), Vām. 84. 23, K. II. 37. 20 (near Svāmītirtha), Br. III. 13. 94-95 (near Vyāsa's seat for dhyāna and Kāntipurī)
- umāra—kośalā-tirtha—Vā. 77. 37
- Kumārakoṣī—V. 82. 117, P. I. 25. 23, Ag. 109. 13
- Kumārātirtha—Nr. 65. 17 q. by T.K. p. 252
- Kumāreśvaraliāga—SK. I. 2. 14. 6 ff, Vām. 46. 23
- Kumārī—(Cape Comorin, where there is a temple of Kumārī Devī in which there is a fine image of the goddess as a maiden). Ptolemy mentions it as Koumaria while the Periplus refers to it as Komar or Komare; V. 88. 14 (in the plural as 'Kumāryah' in the Pāṇḍya country), Vā. 77. 28, Br. III. 13. 28. Br. II. 16. 11 and M. 114. 10 state that the 9th dvīpa of Bharatavarṣa extends from Kumārī to the source of the Ganges. Śabara on Jaimini, X. 1. 35 asserts that the word 'Caru' is used in the sense of *sthālī* from the Himālaya to the Kumārī country.
- Kumārīla—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra) Vām. 81. 11
- Kumbha—(a place fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77. 47
- Kumbhakarṇāśrama—V. 84. 157, P. I. 38. 64 (same verse in both)
- Kumbhakoṇa — (modern Kumbhakonam) in Tanjore District) SK. III. Brahmakhaṇḍa 52. 101
- Kumbhīśvara — (under VS on the eastern bank of Varāṇā) L. q. by T.K. p. 45
- Kumudākara — (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 25-26
- Kumudvatī—(r. rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45. 102, B. 27. 33
- Kuṇḍaleśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 12; B (near southern gate of Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 149
- Kundavana—(third out of the twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 32
- Kuṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 68
- Kuṇḍina—Nr. 65. 19, Vām. q. by T.K. p. 239; also called Vidarbhā (acc. to A. C. p. 182 verse 979)
- Kuṇḍīprabha—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148
- Kuṇḍoda—(a hill near Kāśī) V. 87. 25-26

- Kuñjātirtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 9
- Kuraṅga**—Anu. 25. 12
- Kurujāngala**—(Sirhind in Punjab, fit place for śrāddha) M. 21. 9 and 28, Vā. 77. 93, Vām. 22. 47 (it is between Sarasvatī and Drśadvatī), 84. 3 and 17, K. II. 37. 36, Bh. III. 1.24, X. 86. 20. Vide p. 688 above
- Kurujāngalāranya**—Devīpurāṇa q. by T.K. p. 244
- Kurukṣetra**—Vide pp. 681-686 above. The Kurukṣetra-mahātmya mentions 180 holy places in it, though popular belief is that there are 360. Vide A. G. p. 332
- Kuśāplavana**—V. 85. 36
- Kuśāstamba**—Anu. 25. 28 q. by T.K. p. 246
- Kuśāsthali**—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 16
- Kuśāsthali**—A (same as Dvārakā and capital of Ānarta) Vi. IV. 1. 64 and 91, M 12. 22, 69.9, Vā 86. 24 and 88.1, Bh. VII. 14.31, IX. 3. 28 (Revata, son of Ānarta, founded this city inside the sea and ruled over Ānarta), XII. 12.36 (Kṛṣṇa founded this city), Br. III. 61. 20 (in Ānarta). Vide p. 746 above; B (capital of Kosala, where Kuśa son of Rāma began to rule) Rām. VII. 107. 17, Vā 88. 199; C (same as Kuśāvati former name of Kusinārā where occurred Buddha's Nirvāṇa). SBE vol. XI. p. 248 note
- Kuśātarpaṇa**—(under Go.) B 161. 1 (also called Praṇītāsāṅgama)
- Kuśātirtha**—(under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 33
- Kuśāvarta**—A (near Nasik Tryambakeśvara) V Dh.S. 85.11, B. 80.2. M 22. 69. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 651; B (near Haridvāra) Anu. 25. 13, N II. 40. 79, Bh. III. 20. 4
- Kuśāvati**—(capital of Kosala on the Vindhya slopes where Kuśa ruled) Vā 88.199, Rām. VII. 107. 7. In the Mahāsudassana sutta (SBE XI. p. 248) it is stated that Kusinārā was the city of king Mahāsudassana under the name Kuśāvati
- Kuśodaya**—(v. I. Kuśeśvara) M. 22. 76
- Kuśikasyāśrama**—(on r. Kauśikī) V. 84. 131-132
- Kuśiṣaṭa**—Nr. q. by T.K. p. 252
- Kuśmāṇḍeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 103
- Kuśumeśvara**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 112-117 and 125
- Kūṭaka**—(m.) Bh. V. 6.7 (Kūṭaka), V. 19.16 (Kūṭaka)
- Kūṭāśaila**—(m.) Vā. 45. 92, Br. II. 16. 23 (probably the same as Kūṭaka above)

## L

**Lakṣmaṇācala**—N. II. 75. 74

**Lakṣmanātirtha**—A (under Go.) B 123. 215; B (under Setu) SK III. Brahmaparvāṇḍa 52. 106-7 (tonsure of the head only at this tirtha). The tirtha is on a river rising in Brahmagiri on the southern frontier of Coorg and falling into the Kāveri. IGI vol. 16. p. 131

**Lakṣaneśvara**—(under VS) N. II. 49.64

**Lakṣmītirtha**—(under Go.) B 137.1

**Lalitā**—(in VS) N. II. 49. 41, L. q. by TK. p. 96; M. 22. 11 mentions it, but it seems that it was on the Ganges somewhere.

**Lalitaka**—(tirtha of Santanu) V 84.34, P I. 28.34, N. II. 66.37

**Lāṅgala-tirtha**—(under Narmadā) P I. 18.51

**Lāṅgali-līṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by TK p. 105

**Lāṅgalinī**—(r.) S. 9.22, Mār. 54. 29 (Laugulinī from Mahendra), Vām. 83. 14 q. by TK. p. 235. The town of Chicacole in Ganjam District of Madras State stands on the left bank of the Lāṅgulya, 4 miles from its mouth. I.G.I. vol. X, p. 217

**Lapeṭikā**—(r.) V. 85. 15

- Lauhitya**—(r. Brahmaputrā) V. 85. 2, Vā 47. 11, 77. 95, M 121. 11-12 (a *nada* which springs from a lake called Lohita at the foot of Hemāś-  
rṅga mountain), Anu 25.46, P.I. 39.2 (same verse as in V 85.2) and V. 52 54, Kālikāpurāṇa 86. 26-34. From Raghuvamśa IV. 81 it appears that Lauhitya was the western boundary of Prāgyotisa. Vide TP. pp. 601-602 for *māhātmya*. The form Lauhitya occurs in Yaśodharman's inscription (about 532-33. A. D.): vide 'Gupta Inscriptions' p. 142 at p. 146
- Laukika**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 13
- Lavanā**—r. flowing close by the city of Padmavati situated on confluence of Pārā and Sindhu. Vide Mālatīmādhava, Act IX. verse 2
- Lavaṇakātirtha**—(on Sarasvatī) P I. 26. 48
- Lāvṛbhikā**—(near Campā) P I. 38. 71
- Līṅgasāra**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 51
- Līṅgi-Janārdana**—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 61
- Lobaḍaṇḍa**—M. 22. 65, Vām. 90. 79 (Viṣṇu as Hṛṣīkeśa here). Śrāddha is most efficacious here.
- Lohajaṅghavana**—(9th out of twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 41
- Lohakūṭa**—N. II. 60. 24
- Lohārgala**—(a Viṣṇusthāna in Himālaya) Var. 140. 5 (that Mleccha kings support or resort to it), 144.10, 151. 1-83 (verses 7-8 say that thirty *yojanas* from Siddhavata in the midst of mlecchas is Lohārgala). Var. 151 verses 13-14 explain why it is so called, 151. 79 says it is twenty-five *yojanas* in extent. The T. K. (pp. 228-229) quotes twelve verses on it from Var. 151. Dey p. 115 surmises that it is probably Lohāghāṭ in Kumaon
- Lohita**—(same as Sona) Anq. 166. 21; In Br. II. 16-27 Lohita seems to be meant for Brahmaputrā.
- Lohita-Gaṅgaka**—(same as Lauhitya) Kal. 86. 32-34
- Lokapāla**—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 28-31
- Lokapālesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by TK. p. 105
- Lokoddhāra**—V. 83. 45, P. I. 26. 41 (same verse in both)
- Lolārka**—(under VS) M. 185. 68 (one of the five principal *tīrthas* in Banaras), K. I. 35. 14, P. I. 37. 17 (reads Lokārka), Vām. 15. 58-59. Vide p. 634 above
- Loṇārakuṇḍa**—(in Viṣṇu-Gayā) P. VI. 176. 41. Loṇār is a salt lake in the Buldana District of Berar, the fabled den of the giant Loṇāsura whom Viṣṇu vanquished. It is a place of great antiquity and held in great veneration. Aie. A. vol. II. describes it (pp. 230-231) and states that brāhmanas call it Bishan Gayā. One of the best remaining examples is Berar of the medieval temples is that at Loṇār known as the temple of Daitya-sūdana. It is a Vaiṣṇava shrine. Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' (1931) pp. 68-72 for description of the great temple and of several temples around the margin of a lake in an extinct volcanic crater and plates CIII-CV.

## M

- Madavāvartanāga**—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 252.
- Mādhavatīrtha**—(on Śrīśaila) P. VI. 129. 12
- Mādhavavana** M. 13. 37 (Devi is called Sugandhā here)
- Madhūdakā**—(r.) Vām. 57. 80
- Madhukaitabha-līṅga**—(in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Madhūkavana**—(between Agastyaśrama and Pañcavajī) Rām. III. 13.23
- Madhukulā**—(r. under Gayā) Vā 106. 75, 112. 30.

- Madhumatī**—A (r. in Kāśmīra) NM 144 (falls into Vitastā), 1444 (shrine of Durgā established on it by Śaṅḍilya), Vik. 18, 5; B (river that flows through Nadia and Backergunge Districts of Bengal and falls into the bay of Bengal; C (r. that joins the river Sindhu in Central India); vide *Mālatīmādhava*, 9th Act prose passage after verse 3.
- Madhunandini**—(r.) Vām. 81, 16
- Madhupura**—(under Pṛthūdaka) P. I. 27, 38
- Madhupurī**—same as Mathurā; Bh. VII. 14.31, Vi. I. 12, 2-4
- Madhurā**—A (the same as Mathurā, capital of Śūrasaṇa country) Br. III. 49.6, Vi. I. 12, 4. Vide pp. 687-690 above and Rām. VII. 70.5; B (modern Madurā, the ancient capital of the Pāṇdyas, called Dakṣiṇa-Madhurā). Vide 'Masimekhalai in its historic setting' (p. 20) by Dr. S. Krishna-swamy Aiyangar. Madhurā is only the Tamil way of pronouncing Mathurā. Vide Journal, Mythic Society, for 1942, vol. 32 pp. 270-275 for Madurā and Tamil literary tradition and Prof. Dikshitar's translation of the *Śilappadikāram* pp. 201-208 for a fine description of it and p. 255 for the conflagration in Madurā due to the curse of Kannaki
- Madhurātirtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135, 18
- Madhusravā**—(r.)—A (under Gayā) Vā 106, 75, 112.307 34, N. II. 47, 27; B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34, 7, 39, 36-38, V 83, 150 (both read Madhusrava)
- Madhuvana**—A (under Mathurā) V. I. 12, 31 so called because demon Madhu occupied it), K. II. 36.9, Var. 153, 30, Vām. 83.31, 90, 14, Bh. IV. 8, 42 (on the banks of Yamunā) IX. 11, 14 (Śatrughna founded Mathurā in Madhuvana). Growse in 'Mathura' identifies it with Maholi five miles to the south-west of present Mathurā (pp. 32, 34); B (one of seven *vanas* in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 34, 5
- Madhuvatī**—(a Devīsthāna) P. I. 26.88
- Madhvātirtha**—G. Uttarakhaṇḍa, Brahmakāṇḍa 26, 46-47. This is rather suspicious
- Madhuvilā**—(r.) same as Samāṅgā. V. 135.1
- Madhyama-Puṣkara**—(see Puṣkara), P.V. 19, 38, Vām. 22, 19.
- Madhyameśvara-līṅga**—A (under VS) K. I. 32, 12, K. I. 34, 1-2, L. I. 92, 91, 135, P. I. 34, 10 (one of the five main līṅgas in Banaras); B (under Śriparvata) L. I. 92, 151
- Madhyandiniyaka-tirtha**—(under Mathurā) Var. 177, 46 (to the west of Vaikuṇṭha tirtha)
- Madoṭkaṭa**—P VI. 129, 9 (9th among 108 tirthas of Jambudvīpa)
- Madrā**—(r. rising in Viṇḍhya) Vā 45, 102
- Madravā**—(a hill) Br. III. 13, 52 and 57. This probably is the same as Maṇḍavā below
- Māgadharānya**—K. II. 37, 9, Vām. 11, 7, 84, 35
- Mahābala**—A (Mahabaleshwar in Satara District) P VI. 113, 29. Vide JBBRAS, vol. X, pp 1-18, for Mahābalesvara māhātmya; B Mahābaleśvara of Gokarṇa. Vide Gokarṇa plates of Kadamba king Kāmadeva in *śaka* 1177 (1236 A. D.) in E. I. vol. 27 p. 157.
- Mahābhairava**—(one of eight Śiva-tirthas) M. 181, 29, K. II. 44, 3 Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
- Mahābodhitaru**—(the pipplā tree at Gayā under which Buddha obtained Enlightenment) Ag. 115, 37, M. 22, 33, N. II. 45, 103, Vā. 111, 26; verses 27-29 of Vā 111 are addressed to the tree. P.VI. 117, 26-30 explain how Bodhitaru became touchable on Saturday and untouchable on other days. Vide Dr. Barua in 'Gaya



- and Buddha-Gayā' vol. I, p. 234 as to the invocation in Vā 111. 27-29 being to the Bo-tree and vol. II. pp. 2-9 for the vicinities of this tree and Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' p. 3 for the mention of Mahābodhi in Dharmapāla's Inscription dated 850 A.D.
- Mahā-Gaṅgā—Ann. 25. 22 q. by T.K. p. 246, V Dh. S. 85. 23 (com. says it is Alakanandā).
- Mahāgaurī—(r. from Vindhyā) M 114. 28, Vā 45. 103
- Mahāhrada—(near Badrināth) K II. 37. 39, Ann 25. 18 q. by T. K. pp. 245-246
- Mahākālā—A (Śiva in Ujjayinī, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas) V. 82. 49, M. 13. 41, 22. 24, 179. 5 (fight of Śiva with Andhakāsura took place in Mahākālavana in the country of Avanti), B. 43. 66, SK. IV. 1. 91; B (a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 137
- Mahākālavana—(in Avanti territory) M. 179. 5
- Mahākāśī—Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239
- Mahākūṭa—(a hill fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77. 57, Br. III. 13. 58. It is doubtful whether it is the same as the collection of temples on the hills to the east of Badāmi known even now by the name of Mahākūṭa. The local tradition connects this spot with the destruction of the demon brothers Vātāpi and Ilvāla. Vide I. A. vol. X. pp. 102-103 for an inscription of about 696-734 A.D. here
- Mahālakṣmīvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 69
- Mahālaya—V. 85. 91 (dānam dadyāt Mahālaye), V Dh. S. 85. 18, M. 181. 25, K. II. 20. 33 (very fit for śrāddha), II. 37. 1-4 (where Pāsupatas worship Mahādeva), P. V. 11. 17, Br. III. 13. 82-84, Vām. 90. 22, P. I. 37. 16
- Mahālayakūpa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 63
- Mahālaya-līṅga—(under VS) I. 92. 134
- Mahālīṅga—(sacred to pitṛa) M. 13. 33, 22. 34 (Devī is called Kapilā here and śrāddha here is most efficacious)
- Mahāmunda—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 56
- Mahāmundeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
- Mahānāda—M. 22. 53 (dāna is most efficacious here)
- Mahānadi—A (r. starting from Vindhyā, flowing in Orissa near Cuttack and falling into the Bay of Bengal). Br. 46. 4-5, K. II. 35. 25; Br. II. 16. 28 says it rises in Pāṛtyātra; B (r. under Gayā, probably Phalgu) P. I. 38. 4, Vā 108. 16-17, 110. 6, Ag. 115. 25, V. 84; C (in Draviḍa) Bh. XI. 5. 40
- Mahānala—a liṅga established by Mṛtyu (under Go.) B 116. 1
- Mahānandā—(r. in north and east Bengal rising in Himālaya near Darjeeling and joining the Ganges in Māldā District). Vide I. G. I. vol. XX. pp. 413-414 (under Furnea)
- Mahāpadmanāga—(a lake in Kāśmīra) NM 1120-1122, 1157 (one yojana in length and width). It is same as Ullola and modern Vollar lake. Vide R. IV. 591 for one story, NM 1123-1159 for the story of the wicked Saṅgulanāga and K. R. pp. 9-10 for both
- Mahāpāsupatesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105
- Mahāpura—(a tirtha) Ann 25. 26
- Mahārudra—M. 22. 34
- Mahāsāla—M. 22. 34, P. V. 11. 27
- Mahāsālanadi—M. 22. 42
- Mahāsaras—Mahābhārata q. by T. K. p. 246
- Mahāsthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 160. 22; one of five *sthālas*, the other four

being Arkasthala, Virasthala, Kuśasthala and Puṇyasthala.

Mahāśrama—V 84. 53, P. I. 32.17

Mahāśoṇa—same as Śoṇa—S. 20. 27

Mahatkuṇḍa—(under VS) L. by T.K. p. 70

Mahati (r. from Pāriyātra) M. 114. 23, Vā 45. 97.

Mahāvana—(the 8th vana out of 12 at Mathurā)—same as Vraja. Var. 153. 40, 161. 8. Modern Mahaban town is near the left bank of the Yamunā. Kṛṣṇa spent his childhood here.

Mahātīrtha—K. II. 37. 12 (tatrābhyarcya Hṛṣīkeśam śvetadvīpam sa gacchati).

Mahāvenā—P. V. 11. 27

Mahendra—(a m. range extending from the mouths of the Ganges or Orissa to Madurā) Bhī. 9. 11, Udyoga 11. 12, M 22. 44, P. I. 39. 14 (Inhabited by Parāśurāma), V. 85. 16, Bh. V. 19. 16, Vām. 13. 14–15, 83. 10–11, K. I. 47. 23–24. A Śāktakṣetra according to Bār. S. III. 124. In the Ganjam District there is a peak called Mahendragiri about 5000 feet high. Rām. IV. 67. 37 shows that Hanūmān used it as a springing board when he jumped off towards Laṅkā. Raghuvamśa (IV. 39–40) shows that Kāliṅga country had some portion of Mahendra in it. Pargiter (p. 284 n) holds that it is the portion of the Eastern Ghats between Godāvarī and Mahānadī and hills in Berar. I do not agree. Rām, IV 41. 19–21 speak of Mahendra after Paṇḍyakavāta and as entering the ocean, while Bh. X. 79. 11–12 speak of it after Gayā and before Saptagodāvarī. Veṇā, Pampā. Allahabad stone pillar Ins. of Samudragupta mentions it (C. I. I. vol. III. at p. 7)

Mahēśvarapura—(where Vṛśadhvaja i.e. Śiva was to be worshipped) V 84. 129–130.

Māheśvara—(modern town in the K. D. 98

Indore State on the north or right bank of the Narmadā) M. 188. 2, P. I. 15. 2. I. G. I. Vol. 17. p. 9 asserts that it is the ancient Māhiṣmatī.

Mahēśvara-dhārā—V. 84. 117, P. I. 38. 34

Mahēśvarakuṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 67

Mahēśvarapada—P. I. 38. 36, V 84. 119

Mahī—One of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' SBE vol. 35 p. 171; Mahī occurs in the Nadyādi-gaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 97); B (a r. rising in Gwalior state and falling into the sea southwards near Cambay) SK I 2.3.23, I. 2.13.43–45 and 125–127, V. 222. 23, Mār. 54. 19 (rising from Pāriyātra). It is the Mophis of Ptolemy (p. 103) and Mais of Periplus.

Mahisāgarasaṅgama—SK. I. 2. 3. 26.

Māhītīrtha—Vām. 84. 36

Māhiṣmatī—(on Narmadā). Pargiter identifies with Omkāra Māndhātā (an island) while Mr. Haldar and others hold that it is Mahēśvara, Māndhātā island is attached to Nemaḍ District of Central Provinces. Udyogaparva 19. 23–24, 166. 4, Anu. 2. 6, P. II. 92. 32, VI. 115. 4, Bh. IX. 15. 22 (Sahasrārjuna imprisoned Rāvaṇa); the Mbh (vol II. p. 35, Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyām sūryodgamānam sambhāvayate) on Vārtika 10 to Pāṇ. III. 1. 26; in the Suttanipāta (SBE vol. X part 2 p 188) the disciples of Bāvarī going to the north to meet Buddha first go to Paṭiṭṭhāna of Ataka and then to Māhiṣmatī; vide 'Mahisamaṇḍala and Māhiṣmatī' by Dr. Fleet in JKAS for 1910 pp. 425–447 and Barwani plate of king Subandhu in E. I. vol. XIX. p. 261 of the year 167 issued from Māhiṣmatī (It belongs to the end of the 5th century).

Mahodaya—(generally identified with Kanoj) Vām. 83. 25, 90. 13 (Haya-

- griva here). Vide Daulatpur plate of Bhojadeva I in Harsa *śaivāt* 100 (corresponding to about 706 A.D.) in E. I. vol. V. p. 208 at p. 211. It was also called Kūśasthala; vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 28, 30 where Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. is said to have devastated Mahodaya; but in Bara copperplate of the Gurjar Pratihāra Bhojadeva dated *śaivāt* 893 (836-7 A.D.) Mahodaya is said to be a skandhāvāra (encampment) and Kānyakubja is separately mentioned in the same record, thereby showing that the two were not quite identical (E. I. vol. 19 at p. 17).
- Maināka**—(m. near Badārī) A. V. 139. 17, V. 145. 44, Anu. 25. 59, Br. III. 13. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16; B (m. in west near Gujarat) V. 89. 11; C (m. near Sarasvatī) K. II. 37. 29. Both Dey p. 121 and Prof. Aiyangar p. 29 (of T.K.) hold that it is the Sewalik range. Vide Pargiter pp. 287-288 note, which makes out three mountains named Maināka, that are slightly different from those stated here.
- Maitreyī-līṅga** (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 47
- Makruṇā** (r. rising from Rkṣa) Vā. 45. 101.
- Mālā** (a river) S. 20. 28
- Malada**—(in Kāśmīra) P. I. 25. 4
- Malandarā**—(r.) M. 22. 41 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible)
- Malaprabhāṇī** or **Malāpahārīnī**—(r. rising from Sabya about 22 miles south-west of Belgaum) modern Malaprabhā; SK q by T.S. pp. 80 and 101. Vide Bom. G. vol. XXI. on Belgaum District p. 12 for legend. The famous village of Ayyāvole or Aivalli or Aihole is on this river, 16 miles to the east of Badāmi. Vide I. A. vol. VIII. p. 243 for Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D. Parasūrāma is said to have washed his blood-stained axe in the Malaprabhā here. Vide Bom. G. vol. 23 p. 545.
- Malāpabā**—(r. in the south). There is a town called Muniparnā on its bank where there is 'pācāṅga Mahēśvara'.
- Mālārka**—(shrine of the Sun under Śābhramatī) P. VI. 141. 1 and 142. 1
- Malaya**—(one of the 7 principal mountains of India) V. 282. 43, 319. 32, Bhī. 9. 11, K. I. 47. 23 (the sea could be seen from its top.), Vā. 45. 88, B. 27. 19. Ragh. (IV. 45-51) shows that Malaya was on the Kāverī where it falls in the sea and that cardamom and sandalwood grew thereon; and also on Tāmraparnī. It is the mountain of the Pāndya country (Raghuvamśa IV. 49-51). Agastya had his hermitage on it.
- Malayaja**—P. VI. 129. 12 (one of the numerous tirthas where Viṣṇu and Śiva resided).
- Malayārjunaka**—tirtha (under Mathura beyond Yamunā) Var. 157. 1.
- Mālīnī**—(r. on which was situated Kanvaśrama) Ādi. 70. 21 and 72. 10. According to Hiouen T'sang it was on this river that the District of Malāwar in west Rohilkhand was situated. Vide A. G. pp. 349-350.
- Mallaka**—(on western bank of Ganges) P. V. 5. 74 (where Sati burnt herself)
- Mallikākhyā**—(a great m.) P. IV. 17. 68
- Mallikārjunaka**—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 155
- Mallikēśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 6
- Mālyavat**—(The Anegundi hill on Tuṅgabhadra.) Rām. III. 49. 31, IV. 27. 1-4 (on north of it in a deep cave on Prasavaṇa Rama dwelt for four months in the rainy season), V. 280. 26, 282. 1 (not far from Kiskindhā)
- Mālyavatī**—(r. near Citrakūṭa) Rām. II. 56. 38.
- Mānasa**—A (lake in Himālayas embedded between Kailāsa on the north and Gurū Māndhātā on the south) V. 130. 12, Br. II. 18. 15 and M. 121.

- 16-17 (from which the Sarayū rises). Vām. 78.3, 90. 1 (where Viṣṇu appeared in the Matsya form); vide under Kailāsa. Sven Hedin in vol. III. of his *Trans-Himalaya* (1913) p. 198 says 'there is no finer ring on earth than that which bears the names of Manasarowar, Kailāsa and Gurla Mādhātā; it is turquoise set between diamonds'. The Mānasa lake is at a height of 14950 feet above sea level; **B** (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 29; **C** (to the west of Mathurā) Var. 154. 25; **D** (near Prayāga on the north bank of the Ganges) M. 107.2; **E** (in Kāśmīra, modern Mānasbal) Vik. 18. 55. K. R. p. 9; **F** (under Narmadā) M. 194.8, P. I. 21. 8; **G** (under Gayā, there are two pools, Uttaramānasa and Dakṣiṇa-mānasa) Vā. 111. 2, 6, 8, 22
- Vandagā**—(r. rising from Suktimat) M. 114. 32, Vā. 45. 107
- Mandakīnī**—**A** (near mountain Citrakūṭa and rising from Rikṣavat) V. 85. 58, Anu 25. 29, Rām. II. 93. 8 and III. 5. 37, Vā. 45. 99, Ag. 109. 23, Br. II. 16. 30, M. 114. 25; **B** (a sub-tirtha under VS.) L. q. by T. K p. 56; **C** (r. springing from a lake Mandodaka at the foot of Kailāsa) M. 121.4, Br. II. 18. 1; **D** (near Kiṣkindhā) Rām. IV. 1. 95
- Maṇḍaleśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 66
- Mandara**—(m.) VI. II. 2. 18 (it is to east of Meru) and Mār 51. 19; V. 139. 5, 142. 2, 163.4 (extended up to the sea in the east), and 31-33. Udyoga 11. 12, L. I. 92. 187 and 188. 6-12 (gods afraid of Andhaka took refuge on Mandara), N. II. 60. 22, Vām. 51.74 (from Pṛthūdaka Śiva came to Mandara), and practised tapas), M. 184.18. 13. 28 (Devi is styled Kāmacārīṇī on m. Mandara), Bh. VII 3. 2 and VII. 7. 2 (Hiraṇyakaśipu here)
- Mandāra**—Var. 143. 1-51 (Mandāra-māhātmya). Var. 143. 2 says it is a sacred place on the south bank of the Ganges and situated on Vindhya and dear to all Bhāgavatas. It puts forth flowers only on dvādaśī and caturdaśī (verse 13). T. K. (pp. 217-218) quotes ten verses from Var. 143 without any comment. A. G p. 508 conjectures it to be south of Bhagalpur in Bihar.
- Mandavā**—Vā. 77. 56 (a bill very fit for śrāddha)
- Mandavāhini**—(r. from Suktimat m.) M. 114. 32, Vā. 45. 107.
- Māṇḍavya**—(a tirtha where Devī is styled Māṇḍavyā) M. 13. 42.
- Māṇḍavyeśā**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 119
- Maṇḍodaritirtha**—M. 22. 41 (removes sins at sight and śrāddha most efficacious)
- Maṅgalā**—(a Devisthāna in Gayā) Devī-bhāgavata VII. 38. 24
- Maṅgala-prastha**—(bill) Bh. V. 19. 16
- Maṅgalā-saṅgama**—(under Go.) B. 122. 94 and 100 (otherwise called Govinda)
- Maṅgaleśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. II. 92. 33
- Maṇikarnī** or **Maṇikarnikā**—(under VS) M. 182. 24, 185. 69, N. II. 40. 87 and 49. 44, P. VI. 23. 44; vide p. 635 above
- Maṇikarnīśvara**—(under VS) N. II. 49. 45, L. q. by T. K p. 103
- Maṇikuṇḍa**—(under Stutasvāmīn) Var. 148. 52
- Māṇikyeśvara**—(in Kāśmīra) P. VI. 176. 80-82
- Maṇimat** or **Maṇimanta**—(near r. Devikā) V. 82. 101, P. I. 25. 8 (same words in both), Vām. 81. 14
- Maṇimatī**—(r.) M. 22.39 (very efficacious for śrāddha); Br. S. 14. 20 says Maṇimat is a m.
- Maṇimatihrada**—Vām. 90. 7 (Śiva was called Sambhu here)
- Maṇimatīpuri**—(the same as Vātāpi.

- puri and Durjayā) V 96. 1 and 99. 30-31.
- Maññāga—V. 84. 106, P. I. 38. 24 (same verse in both)
- Manipūragiri—(under Stulasvāmin) Var. 148. 63 ff.
- Mañjūlā—(a r.). Bh. 9. 34
- Māhkuṇṭhā—(near Malaya) Vām. 83. 16
- Māhkuṭi—(r. from Rṣavat) Br. II. 16. 31
- Manohara—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 7, K. II. 42. 20, P. I. 21. 7 (the same verse in all three)
- Manojava—P. I. 26. 87, V. 83. 93 (same verse in both)
- Mañtreśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 137
- Manujesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104
- Manuliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 114
- Mānuṣa—(under Kurukṣetra) P I. 26. 60-63, Vām. 35. 50-56
- Manyutīrtha—(under Go.) B. 162. 1, Bh. X. 79. 21 (puts it somewhere between Māhismatī and Prabhāsa)
- Māriceśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 71
- Mārjāra—(under Go.) B. 84. 19
- Mārkaṇḍeyaśradda—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 67; B (near Putuṣottamatīrtha) B. 56. 73, 57. 2, 60. 9 (bath in it on Caturdaśī specially destroys all sins), N. II. 55. 20-22
- Mārkaṇḍeyatīrtha—A (on the Gomati-Gaṅgāsāngama) V. 84. 81, P. I. 32. 41-42, Prof. Aiyangar's note on p. 291 of T. K. that it is at the junction of the Sarayū and Gaṅgā is not correct; B (under Go.) B 145. 1
- Mārkaṇḍeśvara—A (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 154-155; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 11; C (under Puruṣottama) N. II. 55. 18-19
- Markaṣītīrtha—(In Tripurī i. e. modern Tevar on the Narmadā, 7 miles to the west of Jabalpur) mentioned by T. S. p. 101
- Mārtāṇḍa (temple of the Sun in Kāśmīra) Modern Martan or Maṭan, 5 miles to north-east of Islamabad. Its popular name is 'Bavan' (Bhavana). It overlooks the finest view in Kāśmīra. The temple originally built by king Lalitāditya in the 1st half of 8th century is now in ruins. There are two magnificent springs traditionally called Vimala and Kamala about a mile from the temple. Vide R IV. 192, NM 1073 (for Vimalanāga), Stein's translation of R, vol. I. p. 141 and II. pp. 465-466. Atn. A. (vol. II. pp. 358-359) describes Maṭan. The tīrtha has remained to this day one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Kāśmīra.
- Mārtāṇḍapādama (under Gayā) Brahmapurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 166
- Marudgana—Anu. 25. 38
- Marudvṛdhā—A (r.) Rg. X. 75. 5. The Nir. IX. 26 takes it as an attribute of all rivers named in Rg. X. 75. 5, meaning 'that are swollen or lashed up by the wind or Maruts'. It appears that it is a river in Kashmir called Maruwardwan, a tributary of the Chenab, as Stein says (vide JRAS for 1917 pp. 93-96); Bh. V. 19. 18; B Kāveri is called Marudvṛdhā in P. VI. 224. 4 and 19
- Marusthala (under Puruṣottama) N. II. 60. 22
- Mārutālaya (under Narmadā) M. 191. 86, K. II. 41. 41 (to the west of Mātītīrtha), P. I. 18. 81 (same verse)
- Māreśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 77
- Mātalīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 76
- Mātaṅgakeśetra—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 58-59 (a stream that falls into Kauśīkī)
- Mataṅgapada—(under Gayā) N. II. 44. 57, Vā. 108. 25
- Mataṅgasya Śrāma—A (under Gayā) V 84. 101, Ag. 115. 34; B (in VS) V. 87. 25

- Mataṅgasya** Koḍāra—V 88. 17, P. I. 39.15 (same verse in both)
- Mataṅga-vāpi**—A (under Gayā) Vā. 111. 23-24, Ag. 115. 34, N. II. 45. 100, V.Dh. S 85.38; B (in Kosālā) Vā. 77. 36; C (on Kallāsa) Br. III. 13. 36
- Mataṅgeśa**—(under Gayā) Ag. 115. 35
- Mataṅgeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87
- Mātharavana**—(near Payoṃbī) V.88.10, Vā. 77.33, Br. III. 13.33
- Mathurā**—Vide pp. 682-692 above and A. G. pp. 373-375 for Mathurā and Vṛndāvana
- Mātṛ**—Sal. chap. 46 enumerates numerous Mātṛs
- Mātṛgrha**—(where śrāddha yields *śrāntya*) M. 22. 76
- Mārtīrtha**—A (under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 58, P. I. 26. 54; B (under Narmadā) K II. 41. 40; C (under Go.) B 112.1
- Matsyanadi**—(holy r.) M 22. 49
- Matsyaśilā**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 79-83
- Matsyodapāna**—Nr. q. by T. K. p. 251
- Matsyodari**—(near Oṅkāreśvara and to the south of Kapileśvara in VS) L. q. by T.K pp. 58-59, SK. IV. 33. 120 and IV. 73. 135. The Tri. S. p. 140 remarks 'matsyākāram Kāsi-kṣetram udare yasyā iti vyutpattya Gaṅgaiva Matsyodari-sānjña'
- Māyāpuri**—(same as Gaṅgādvāra and Haridvāra) M. 13. 34 (Devī is called Kumārī here), 22. 10, Vā. 104. 75, G. I. 81. 7, SK. IV. 7. 114 (kecid-ūcur-Haridvāram mokṣadvāram tataḥ pare : Gaṅgādvāram ca kepyābuh kecin-Māyāpuram punaḥ n.). Māyā occurs in the Nadyādigaga (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 97). It is one of the seven holy cities of India. Vide p. 678 above and p. 762 under Kanakhalā. Hiouen Thsang mentions it as Mōyulo (Māyura). Māyāpura is now a ruined site at the head of the Ganges canal. Vide A.G. pp. 351-354
- Māyātīrtha**—(under Kubjāmra and on the Ganges) Var. 125. 101, 126. 33
- Medhātīthi**—(a holy river) V. 222. 23
- Medhāvāna**—P. I. 39. 52 (place for śrāddha)
- Medhāvika**—V. 85. 55
- Meghakara**—M. 22. 40, P. V. 11. 34
- Meghanāda**—(under Narmadā) P. II. 92. 31
- Meghaṅkara**—(a town on r. Prañitā) P. VI. 181. 5
- Megharāva**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 17. 4
- Mehatnu**—(r.) Rg. X. 75.6 (a tributary of the Kṛmu, which see)
- Mekala**—(a range of hills in C. P.). Narmadā is called Mekalakanyakā (daughter of Mekala)
- Mekalā**—P. V. 11. 34 (is it a river?)
- Mekalā**—is a country or people in Rām. IV. 41.9, Br. S. 14. 7 and 16.2
- Mekhalā**—(a tīrtha in Meghaṅkara town) P. VI. 181. 16, M. 22. 40-41 (from this it appears that Mekhalā here means probably the middle part of the town Meghaṅkara)
- Merukūṭa**—Nr. 65 q. by T. K. p. 253
- Meruvara**—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 32-35
- Mināksi**—(temple of, is situated in Madurā) Devī-Bh. VII. 38. 11
- Mirikāvāna**—(near Mekala regions) Br. III. 70. 32
- Mīśraka**—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 85-86 (Vyāsa mixed all tirthas here), V. 83. 91-92. It is possible that the Mīśrakāvāna occurring in the Koṣarādi-gaṇa (Pāṇ. VI. 3. 117) refers to this.
- Mitrāpada** (a tīrtha on the Ganges) M. 22. 11
- Mitravāna** (Konārka or Sāmbapura in Orissa) SK. Prabhāsakhaṇḍa I. 100. 3 (there are three Ādityasthānas, Mitravāna, Muṇḍira and Sāmbāditya)
- Mitrāvaruṇa** (under VS) L.q. by T.K. p. 47

- Mitrāvaruṇasayor—āsrama (on r. Yamunā near Kārapavasa) Śal. 54. 14-15
- Modāgiri (m.) S. 30. 21
- Mokṣakeśvara (under VS.) L. q. by T.K. p. 112.
- Mokṣarāja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 35
- Mokṣatirtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152. 61 (to the south of Rṣatirtha). T. S. p. 101 quotes three verses from Revākhaṇḍa about it.
- Mokṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 48
- Mṛgadhūma—(there is Rudrapada) P.I. 26. 94, V. 83, 101 (it is on the Ganges)
- Mṛgakāmā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II. 18. 71
- Mṛgaśṛṅgodaka—(on r. Vāgmatī) Var. 215. 64
- Mṛtyuñjaya—(under Viraja) B 42. 5
- Mucukunda—(under Mathurā) Var. 158. 28
- Mucukundeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. 114
- Mukti-kṣetra—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 105
- Muktimat—(a m.) Br. III. 70 32. Is it a misreading for Suktimat?
- Muktiśthānas—26 sthānas such as Prayāga, Naimiṣa, Kurukṣetra, Gāṇḍavāra, Kānti, Tryambaka, Sapta-godāvāra are named in SK, Kāsi-khaṇḍa 6. 21-25
- Mukujā—(r. from Rṣyavanta) M. 114. 26, M. 13. 50 (Devī is worshipped here as Satyavādinī)
- Mūlasthāna—(modern Multan)—ancient capital of the Mallas. A. G. pp. 220-224 and 230-236. It was known under various names such as Kāśyapapura, Sāmbapura, Prahlādapura, Ādyasthāna (Al. Sachau I. 298)
- Mūlatāpī—(river Tāpī is so called, from its source at Multāi, which is a corruption of Mūlatāpī) M. 22.33 (Mūlatāpī Payoṃni ca). Multai is a village in Betul District, C. P. and contains a sacred tank which is popularly deemed to be the source of the Tāpī. In the printed Padma V. 11. 25 the words 'Sūlatāpī Payoṃni' are a misreading of 'Mūlatāpī Payoṃni'. Vide I. G. I. vol. 18 p. 21 for Multai.
- Mūli—(r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31
- Muṇḍapṛṣṭha—A (a hill situated on the western bank of the Phalgu river at Gayā) K. II. 37. 39-40, N. II. 45. 96, Ag. 115. 22 and 43-44, Vā 77. 102-103, 108, 12 and 111. 15, Br. III. 13. 110-111 (Mahādeva practised severe tapas here). It is no other than the hill on which there is Viṣṇupada, the very centre of Gayāyātrā. On this hill, according to the legend of Gayāsura, the back of the giant's head rested. Vide pp. 656, 665 above; B (a hill in Kāśmīra) NM 1247-1254
- Muṇḍeśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 116
- Mūjavat—A (a m.) In Rg. X. 34. 1 soma plant is called Maujavata and the Nir. IX. 8 explains that Mūjavat is a mountain on which soma grows. In A. V. the form Mūjavat occurs and *takman* (evil spirit of disease) is asked to go to Mūjavat and to Bāhikas beyond it. In A. V. 22. 5 the form is Mūjavantaḥ. It appears to be some m. far to the north-west of India.
- Muñjavat—(m. in Himālayan range) Āsvamedhika-parva 8. 1 (where Siva practises penance), Br. II. 18. 20-21 (where Siva resides and from which rise Sailoda lake and Sailoda river), Var. 213. 13 (to the north of Mandara)
- Muñjajaṭa—(on the Ganges, which is a Sivaśthāna) V. 85. 67, P. I. 39. 63 (same verse in both)

Murmurā—(one of the several rivers that are the mothers of āres) V. 222 23

## N

Nābhi—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 82

Nadantikā—V. Dh. S. 85. 19 (very fit place for śrāddha).

Nādesvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 127; B (probably same as Bindusaras) N I. 16. 46 (on Himavat, where Bhagīratha practised *tapas*)

Nadiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 103

Naga—(a hill under Gayā) Vā, 108.28

Nāgadhanvan—(not far to the south of Sarasvatī) Śal. 37. 30 (Vāsuki's image is established there)

Nāgakūṣa—(included under Gayāśīras) Vā, 111. 22, N. II. 45. 95

Nāgapura—Hastināpura, V. 183. 36

Nāgasābhaya—Hastināpura, on the right bank of the Ganges, 22 miles to north-east of Meerut. Vā. 77.271, M. 50. 78, Nr. 65. 11 q. by T.K p. 252 (Govinda is *guhya* name of Viṣṇu here). The printed text (Govindam nāma sāyake) is corrupt. It should be 'nāgasābhaye.' Vide under Hastināpura.

Nāgatīrtha—A (under VS) M. 22. 33, K I. 35. 7, P I. 28.33; B (under Go.) B 111. 1; C (under Tripuṣkara) P V. 26. 51; D (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 14; E (location uncertain) V. 84. 33

Nāgesvara—(a *śāpovana* on Narmadā) M. 191. 83

Nāgodbheda—(where Sarasvatī is seen, though lost in the desert elsewhere) V 82. 112, Ag. 109. 13

Nabūṣesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 115

Naimiṣa or Naimiśa—(a forest) A country round Nimsār on the Gomati, 43 miles from Lucknow. In Rāṭhaka Samhitā X. 6 we have

'Naimiṣyā vai sattram-ānata'; while in Pāṇcavimśa Br. 25. 6. 4 occurs Naimiṣya and Kauṣītaki Br. 26. 5 has Naimiṣyānam' and 28. 4 also. In the great Epic and Purānas it is mentioned very often; vide V. 84. 59-64 (all tirthas on the earth are centred in Naimiṣa), V 87. 5-7 (on Gomati in east), M. 109.3 (most holy on the earth), K. II. 20. 34, K. II. 43. 1-16 (very dear to Mahādeva), Vā 2.8, Br. I. 2.8 (both derive it as 'bhramato dharmacakraṣya yatra nemir-aśīryata' from 'nemi' rim of a wheel and 'r.' 'to be shattered'), B 1. 3-10 (fine description); Vāyu (I. 14-15) makes it clear that the great sattra of the sages of Naimiśāranya was in Kurukṣetra on the Dṛmadvatī But Vā. 2.9 and Br. I. 2.9 say that it was on the Gomati. It is possible that Gomati is only an adjective. It was here that enmity between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra flourished, Kalmāṣapāda was cursed by Śakti and Parāśara was born. VI. III. 14.18 states that by a bath in Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Naimiśa-gomati and other rivers and by honouring pits one destroys all sins. B—Br. S. XI. 60 says that a malignant Ketu in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā destroys king of Naimiṣa,

Naimiṣa—kuṇja (on Sarasvatī) V. 83. 109, P. I. 26. 102

Nairṛtesvara—(under VS) L.q. by T.K. p. 117

Nakulagaṇa—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46. 2. This probably refers to the followers of Lakuliśa (often written as Nakuliśa). Vide E I. vol. XXI. pp. 1 ff (Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II dated Gupta-samvat 61 i. e. 380 A. D.) which shows that Lakulī founder of Pāśupata sect flourished in 1st quarter of second century A.D.; compare Vāyu 23. 22-25 for Nakulī and Kāyārohaṇa as his siddhikṣetra.



- Nākulesatīrtha—(Lakulīśatīrtha?) M. 22. 77, Vām. 7. 26 (Nākulesvara on Narmadā where Cyavana bathed).
- Nakuli—(r. rising from lake Viṣṇu-pada) Br. II. 18. 68
- Nakulīśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 107
- Nakulīśvara—K II. 44. 12
- Nalakūbhesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 103
- Nalinī—A—one of the three streams of Gaṅgā proceeding east, Vā. 47. 38 and 56, M. 121. 40, Rām. I. 43. 13; B (a r. in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 101
- Nandā—V 87. 27, Vā. 77. 79, Ādi. 215. 7, V 110. 1 (near Hemakūṭa), Anu. 166. 28, Bh. VII. 14. 32, Var. 214. 47. Even all these passages do not convey the exact position. Bh. IV. 6. 24 (in the context) indicates that it was near Kailāsa and Saugandhikavana. Bh. (IV. 6. 23-24) places Nandā and Alakanandā near Saugandhikavāna
- Nandanā—(r. rising in Rikṣavat m.) M. 144. 25, Vā 45. 97, B 27. 28 (both last read *candamū*, which seems to be a misreading)
- Nandanavana—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K. p. 187
- Nandāsarasvatī—the r. Sarasvatī came to be so called. Vide P, V. 18. 456
- Nandāvari—(r) Devala q. by T.K. p. 249 mentions after Kauṣikī. Prof. Aiyangar (TK p. 289) takes it to be the Mahānandā in U. P. east of the Kosi river
- Nandigrāma—(where Bharata as representative of Rāma during latter's exile guarded the kingdom) V. 277. 39, 291. 62, Rām. II. 115. 22, VII. 62. 13, Bh. IX. 10. 36. It is Nundgaon in Oudh about 8 miles to the south of Fyzabad.
- Nandigubā—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K. p. 193
- Nandiksetra—(in Kāśmīra) R. I. 36, NM 1204-1328 (story of Nandīn being born as son of Sītāda). It is the high valley at the east glaciers of Haramukha peaks which contain the sacred Kālodaka lake
- Nandikeśa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6
- Nandīkūṇḍa—A (in Kāśmīra) Anu. 23. 60, NM. 1459, Ag. 219. 64; B (from which Sābhramati rises) P. VI. 132. 1 and 13
- Nandīkūṭa—(v. I. Nandīkūṇḍa) Anu. 23. 60 q. by T.K. p. 248
- Nandīnī—(r.)—V. 84. 155, P I 38. 62
- Nandīnī-saṅgama—(under Go.) B 128. 1 and 73-74
- Nandīparvata—(in Kāśmīra) HC. 4. 30 and 32 (near Haramukūṭa-Gaṅgā)
- Nandīśa—(Śiva worshipped in Nundkol in Kāśmīra, but in its extended sense applied to the whole sacred territory from the lakes on Haramukūṭa down to Bhūtesvara) R. I. 124
- Nandīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 57
- Nandītata—(under Go.) B. 152. 1 and 40 (also called Ānanda)
- Nandītīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 37, K. II. 41. 90, P I. 18, 37 (same verse in latter two)
- Nāradakūṇḍa—(under Lobhārgala) Var. 151. 37
- Nāradatīrtha—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 16-17, P I. 18. 23 (same verse in both)
- Nāradesvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 5; B (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 53
- Nāraka—V. 83. 168 (some mss. read Anaraka and some 'Naraka')
- Nāraka—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 36, 20. 1-2
- Nārasimha—(under Gayā) N II. 46. 46
- Narasimbāwāna—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1520
- Nārasimhatīrtha—A (on the north bank of Go.) B 149. 1; B (destroys sin at very sight) M. 22. 43

- Nārāyaṇasaras**—(at the mouth of the eastern branch of Indus called Kori) Bh. VI. 5. 3 and 25, Śivapurāṇa II. 2. 13. 13. It is Sindhu-samudra-saṅgama. It is 81 miles north-west from Bhuj, capital of Cutch and between Koteswar and the sea. There was a great lake in ancient times and a temple of Ādi Nārāyaṇa. Vide Bom. G. vol. V. pp. 245-248
- Nārāyaṇāśrama**—(near Badarī) V. 145. 26-34, 156. 14 (Naraṇārāyaṇa-sthānam Badarīyabhivisrutam), Bh. VII. 14.32, IX. 3.36 (Badarīyākhyam gato rāja Nara-nārāyaṇāśramam), X. 87. 4-7
- Nārāyaṇasthāna**—V. 84.122, P. I. 38. 39
- Nārāyaṇatīrtha**—A (under VS) P. I. 37.5; B—B 167.1 and 33 (also called Vipratīrtha under Go.)
- Nārītīrthāni**—(in the Draviḍa country on the sea) V. 118. 4, Ādi. 217. 17 (dakṣiṇe sāgarāṇiṣṭhe pañca tīrthāni santi vai). Vide Pañcāṅgaras
- Narmadā**—Vide pp. 703-707 above
- Narmadā**—Eraṇḍi-saṅgama T.P. p. 383
- Narmadāprabhava**—TP p. 383, P. I. 39.9; V. 85. 9 reads 'Śoṇasya Narmadāyāśca prabhede'
- Narmadeśa**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 73, P. I. 18. 69
- Narmadesvara**—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 2
- Nāsikya**—(modern Nasik) Vide pp. 709-710 above and Vā 46. 130
- Naubandhana**—(mountain peak to the west of Kāśmīra) NM 62-63
- Naubandhanasaras**—(on the border of Kāśmīra and Panjab) NM 64-66, 165-166 (also called Viṣṇupada and Kramasāra), HC 4. 27
- Nepāla**—(modern Nepal) Var. 215. 38, Vā 104. 79, Devī—Bh. VII. 38. 11. (Gubyaḥkālī is a mahāsthāna in). Vide A.G. pp. 450-452; Br. IV. 44. 93 (one of the fifty pīṭhas), Bṛ. S. 4. 22. The country is named in Allahabad Ins. of Samudragupta (C. I. I III. p. 14)
- Nigamodbhodbhaka**—(one *gavyūti* to the west of Prayāga) P. VI. 196. 73-74, 200. 6 (in Indraprastha). Dey p. 140 says that it is Nigambod Ghāt in old Delhi on the Yamunā.
- Nihkīrā**—(a lotus pool on Krauñcāpada in Gayā) Vā 108. 84, N. II. 44. 64, 47. 35, Ag. 116. 8 (reads Nīścīrā)
- Nihkīrā-saṅgama**—N. II. 47. 35.
- Nilācala**—A (a small hill or mound at Purī in Orissa on which the temple of Jagannātha is deemed to be situated) Vide Nilaparvata; B (hill near Gauhati on which temple of Sati stands)
- Nilagangā**—(under Go. and rising in Nilaparvata) B 80. 4
- Nilakanṭhaliṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 118
- Nilakanṭhatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 168. 1
- Nilakūṇḍa**—A (a pītṛtīrtha) M. 22. 22; B Nilakūṇḍa, Vitastā and Śūlaghāta are three names of the same tīrtha or spring in Kāśmīra. NM 1500, HC 12. 17.
- Nilanāga**—(king of Nāgas and protector of Kāśmīra) NM 295-301, R. I. 28, HC. 12. 17, SM p. 182. It is to the south of Bring in Shahabad *paragaṇa*; popularly known as Vērṇāg, the traditional source of Vitastā. Ain. A. vol. II. p. 361 describes Vērṇāg as the source of Bihat (Vitastā) and remarks (p. 363) 'Nilanāg, the basin of which measures 40 bighas. Its water is exquisitely clear and is considered a sacred spot and many voluntarily perish by fire about its border'
- Nilaparvata**—A (near Haridvāra) Anu. 25. 13 'Gaṅgādvāre Kuśāvarte Bilvake Nilaparvate | tathā Kanakhale snātvā dhūtāpāpmā divam vrajet' L. q. by T. K. p. 245, VDH. 85. 13.

- M. 22. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16, K. II. 20. 33, *Devī-Bh.* VII. 38 (*Devisthāna Nūlambā*); B (mound on which *Puruṣottama* shrine stands) P. IV. 17. 23 and 35, IV. 18. 2, SK. q. by T. P. p. 562
- Nīlatīrtha*—Vām, q. by T. K. p. 238
- Nūlavana*—Rām. II. 55. 8 (one *krośa* from *Citrakūṭa*)
- Nūlotpalā*—(r. rising from *Rkṣa* m.) Vā. 45. 100
- Nimbārkatīrtha*—(on *Sābhramatī*) P. VI. 151. 1 and 14 (near *Pippalāda-tīrtha*)
- Nimnabheda*—(on north bank of *Go.*) B 151. 1
- Nirajetvara*—(under *Narmadā*) P. I. 18. 6
- Nirāñjana*—(An *Ādityatīrtha* on the north bank of *Yamunā* near *Prayāga*) M. 108. 29, T.K. p. 149 (reads *Nirūjaka*)
- Nirāñjana*—a river which has *Mohanā* as tributary and after confluence it flows past *Gayā*; it is famed in Buddhist works. They are *Magon* and *Errenyals* of *Arrian* (*Ptolemy* p. 97)
- Niravindaparvata*—Ann. 25. 42
- Nirjareśvara*—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 103
- Nirvindhya*—(river rising in *Vindhya* and falling into *Chambal*) B. 27. 33, M. 114. 27, Mār. 113. 33, Br. II. 16. 32, *Meghadūta* I. 28. Acc. to Bh. IV. 1. 17-19, Vi. II. 3. 11, the river starts from m. *Rkṣa* and sage *Atri* had his hermitage on it; Mār. chap. 113 narrates the story of *Vidūratha* whose capital was near *Nirvindhya* and *Vatsapri*, son of *Bhalaṇḍana*
- Nirvirā*—(r.) V 84. 138-139 (it had *Vasisthāśrama* on its bank)
- Nisadha*—(m.) V. 188. 112; Al. (vol. II. p. 142) says that near the mountains *Nisadha* is the lake *Viṣṇupada* whence comes the river *Sarasvatī*. Therefore *Nisadha* seems to be a part of the great *Himālayan* range. Vide also *Vāyu* 47. 64
- Niṣadhbā*—(r. rising in *Vindhya*) Br. II. 16. 32. Vā 45. 102
- Nisākaraṅginga*—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 65
- Nisāirā*—appears to be a variant reading for *Nirvirā*; M. 114. 22 reads 'nisāirā'
- Nisphaleśa*—K. II. 41. 8
- Niṣṭhāśaṅgama*—(where there was *Vasisthāśrama*) P. I. 38. 56
- Niṣṭhāvāsa*—P. I. 38. 54
- Niṣṭhivī*—(r. rising in *Himavat*) Br. II. 16. 26
- Nivāsalinga*—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 89
- Nūpā*—(r. rising from *Pāriyātra* m.) Br. II. 16. 28, Mār. 54. 23 (reads 'Nūpi')

## O

- Oghavati*—(r. in *Punjab*) Bhī. 9. 22, M 22. 71 (*śrūddha* and *dēva* very efficacious here). Vām, 46. 30, 57. 33, 58. 115; *Prthūdaka* (modern *Pehoa*) was situated on it. From *Śal.* 38. 4 and 27 it appears that it was a name of *Sarasvatī*. Vide *Dey* p. 142 for different views about identification
- Ojasa*—(under *Kuruṣetra*, probably same as 'Aujasa' above) Vām. 41. 6, 90. 17
- Omkāra*—A (one of five *guhya* līṅgas in VS) K I. 32. 1-11, L. I. 92. 137, P. I. 34. 1-4; B (*Omkāra Māndhātā*, one of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas* on an island in *Narmadā* about 32 miles north-west of *Khandwa*) M 22. 27, 186. 2, P. II. 92. 32, VI. 131. 67, SK. I. 1. 17. 209. In the *Halāyudha-stotra* engraved in the *Amareśvara* temple at *Māndhātā* on the left bank of the *Narmadā* dated in *samvat* 1120 (1063 A.D.) in E. I. vol. 23 p. 173 it is said that *Omkāra* dwells in *Māndhātāpura* on the confluence of *Narmadā* and

Kāverī. Vide above under Māhismatī

Omākāśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 118

P

Padmāvati—Sal. 46. 9 (one of the Mātṛs); the city is called Narwar. Vide A. G. p. 250 and the Khajurāho Inscription of *sainvat* 1058 (1001–2 A. D.) for a description of the town which was the scene of Bhavabhūti's *Mālati-Mādhava* (E.I. vol. I. p. 147 at p. 151). Narwar is supposed to be the home of Nala, king of Nisadha

Paisācatirtha—(On the south bank of Go.) B 64. 1–2 and 18 (also called Āñjana). B. 150.1 speaks of a Paisācatirtha on the north bank of Go. It is doubtful whether these two are entirely different tirthas.

Paitāmabātirtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 4–5, K. II. 42. 18

Pālamajjara—(near Sūrpāraka) Br. III. 13. 37

Pālapañjara (m.) Vā 77. 37 (śrāddha here most efficacious), Br. III. 13. 37 (reads Pālamajjara)

Palāsaka—(where Jamadagni performed sacrifices) V. 90. 16 (Palāsakesu punyeshu)

Palāśini—(r.) A (near Girnar in Kathiwar). Vide under Raivataka and Rudradāman's Junagadh Inscription (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 43) and Skandagupta's Ins. of 457 A.D. (C.I.I. III. at p. 64); B (r. Paddair which falls into the sea near Kaliṅgapatam in Ganjam) Mār. 54. 30 (rising from Suktimat), Vā. 45. 107

Pālesvara—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 134. 2 (where image of Candī is established)

Pampā—(r. tributary of Tuṅgabhadra) Bh. X. 79. 12, Vām. 90. 16

Pampā—(v. I. Japā or Jayā) P. I. 26. 20–21 (said to be the door of Kuru-kṣetra)

Pampāsaras—(Lake Pampā near Rśyamūka in the District of Bellary) V. 279. 44, 280. 1, Rām. III. 72. 12, 73. 11 and 32, VI. 126. 35, Vanaparva 280. 1, Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 12 (saptagodāvarīm Venām Pampām Bhimarathim tatah)

Pampātirtha—M. 22. 50, Bh. VII. 14. 31

Pañcabrahma—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 62

Pañcagaṅgā—The five rivers called Gaṅgā are Bhāgirathī, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Pinākinī (Pennar) and Kāverī. But in Drona 54. 23 (Pañcagaṅgāsu sā punyā) only northern rivers seem to be meant

Pañcakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 63

Pañcalakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65

Pañcakunda—A (under Dvārakā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 226; B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 43 (where five dhārās from himakūṭa fall)

Pañcanada—(the five rivers in Punjab) V. 82. 83, Mausala 7. 45, Vā. 77. 56, K. II. 44. 1–2, L. I. 43. 47–48 (near Japysēvara), Vām. 34. 26, P. I. 24. 31. The Mbh. (vol. II. p. 239 on Pāṇ. IV. 1.88) derives Pañcanadaḥ (Pañcanade bhavaḥ) from Pañcanadam. The five rivers in Vedic times were Sutudrī, Vipās, Paruṣṇī, Asikni and Vitastā and in modern times they are called Suttlej, Bias, Rāvē, Chenab and Jhelum. The union of these five rivers is called Panjnad in modern times and then the combined stream unites with the Indus a few miles above Mithankot. Br. S. XI. 60 states that a malignant Ketu in Dhaniṣṭhā kills the king of Pañcanada and Br. S. 14.21 states it is a country in the west. Vanaparva 222. 22 mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and Pañcanada separately (Sindhun nadam Pañcanadam Devikētha

- Sarasvatī). For Pañcanada as a country, vide *Sabbhāparva* 32.11
- Pañcanadatīrtha—(under the Ganges) Br. III. 13. 57, N II. 51. 16-36. Vide p. 636 and note 1458 above.
- Pañcanadī—(near Kolhapur) P VI. 176 43 (the image of Mahālakṣmī near it).
- Pañcanadīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 96.
- Pañcapinda—(under *Dvārakā*) Var. 149. 36-40 (where a man of good deeds sees lotuses of silver and gold, but not an evil-doer). T.K p. 326 reads *Pañcakuṇḍa*.
- Pañcaprayāga—Dey p. 146 mentions (1) *Devaprayāga* (confluence of *Rhāgirathī* and *Alakanandā*), (2) *Karnaprayāga* (*Alakanandā* and *Indara*), (3) *Rudraprayāga* (*Alakanandā* and *Mandakīnī*) 18 miles from *Śrinagar*, capital of *Tebri*, (4) *Nandaprayāga* (*Alakanandā* and *Nandā*), (5) *Viṣṇuprayāga* near *Joshimaṭha* (*Alakanandā* and *Viṣṇugangā*).
- Pañcāpsaras-tīrtha—(on the southern sea) Bh. X. 79. 18 (*Śrīdhara-svāmī*, com. of Bh., says that this tīrtha is in *Phālguna* which is *Anantapura* in the *Madras State*. *Adi*. (216. 1-4) names them as *Agastyatīrtha*, *Saubhadra*, *Pauloma*, *Karandhama* and *Bhāradvāja*. They were shunned by all, but *Arjuna* plunged into them and relieved the *Apsarases* who had been reduced to pools by a curse. SK, *Māheśvara-khaṇḍa*, *Kaumārīkā* section, chap. 1 is *Pañcāpsarah-samuddharana* (by *Arjuna*).
- Pañcārunakṣetra—(to north of *Śrīdhara-svāmī*) Var. 148. 45
- Pañcasaras—A (a pool under *Lohārgala*) Var. 151. 34; B (a pool under *Dvārakā*) Var. 149. 23
- Pañcasikha—(under *Badarī*) Var. 141. 14-16
- Pañcasikhiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 67
- Pañcasīra—(under *Badarī*) Var. 141. 39-44.
- Pañcāśvamedhika—Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45
- Pañcatapa (a *Sivatīrtha* where *pinda-dāna* gives inexhaustible results) K. II. 44. 5-6
- Pañcatīrtha—(in *Kañci*) Br. IV. 40. 59-61.
- Pañcatīrthakuṇḍa—(under *Mathurā*) Var. 164. 37.
- Pañcavana—(under *Gayā*) Vā 77. 99
- Pañcavata—(under *Kurukṣetra*) Vām. 41. 11, P I. 27. 50 (probably same as *Pañcavaṭī* in V. 83. 162)
- Pañcavaṭī—A (in the north) V. 83. 162; B (on the Go.) Rām. III. 13. 13 (calls it 'desa'), III. 13. 19 (two *yojanas* from *Agastya-āśrama*), N II. 75. 30, Ag. 7. 3. Vide pp 709-710 above
- Pañcayakṣā—(location uncertain) V 84. 10
- Pañcāyatana—(five tīrthas on the *Narmadā*) M. 191. 5-6
- Pañdārakavana—(very fit for *śrāddha*) Vā 77. 37
- Pañdavesvaraka—(under *Narmadā*) P I. 18. 58, M. 191. 61-62
- Pañdukūpa—Br. III. 13. 37 (near the sea) very fit for *śrāddha*
- Pañdupura—Vide *Pañḍarikapura*
- Pañdura—Vā. 45. 91 (a minor m.)
- Pañdisabhya—(one of the *guhya-kṣetras* of *Viṣṇu*) Nr. 65. 9 q. by T.K. p. 251
- Pañduśīlatīrtha—(under *Gayā*) Vā. 77. 99; Vā. 112. 44-48 (read *Pañduśīlā*); T.K. p. 168 quoting Vā. reads *Pañduśīlalyā*
- Pañikhyāta—P. I. 26. 84, V. 83. 89 (-khāta)
- Pañkajavana—(under *Gayā*) N. II. 44. 58, Vā. 112. 43 (*Pañduśīlā* was in this vana)
- Pañpamokṣa—(under *Gayā*) Ag. 116. 8, N. II. 47. 79
- Pañpamocana—(under *Kotamukha*) Var. 140. 51-54

**Pāpaprāṇāśana**—A (on Yamunā) P. I. 31. 15; B (under Co.) B 92. 1 and 48-49, also called 'Dhautapāpa' and 'Gālava')

**Pāpasūdanatīrtha**—(a spring in Kāśmīra) R. I. 32, H. C. 14. 36. Kapaṭeśvara, Saṅkaraṇa Nāga and Pāpasūdana are the same. Śiva is worshipped as Kapaṭeśvara at the sacred spring

**Parā**—A (Viśvāmitra gave that name to Kauśiki) Ādi. 71. 30-32; B (r. rising in Pāriyātra and falling into Sindhu in Malwa) Vā. 45. 98, M. 13. 44 and 114. 24, Mār. 54. 20. Printed Vāyu reads Parā, though some MSS. read Pārā. In M. 13. 44 it is said that Devī is styled Pārā on the bank of Pārā. Vide Mālatī-Mādhava 4th Act at end, and 9th Act, first verse and Br. S. 14. 10

**Parīhāsapura**—(modern Paraspur in Kashmir) built by the great king Lalitāditya. R. IV. 194-195 refer to silver and gold images of Viṣṇu

**Parśaryeśvaralīṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 59

**Pāriplava**—(under Sarasvatī) V. 53. 12, P. I. 26. 10 (same verse as in V), Vām. 34. 17

**Pāriyātra**—(or Pāripatra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śiprā are said to rise from it. Vide K. I. 47. 24, Bh. V. 19. 16, Vā. 45. 88 and 98, B. 27. 29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 2 of Gotamīputa Śātakarni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Prākṛit) as *विन्ध्यपर्वतपारिवातसहस्रकण्ठगिरि-मन्त्रसिद्धिन्मलय-महेन्द्र-पर्वतपतेः*, Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 550 and as Pāricāta in Nasik Ins. No. 10 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 569) and in Mahābhāṣya as the southern boundary of Āryāvarta (vol.

I. p. 475 on Pār. II. 4. 10) and also in Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 27

**Parjanyeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 115

**Parṇāsā** (or Varnāsā)—A (r. Banās in Rajputana which rising in Udaipur State falls into the Chambal) S. 65. 6 (yatkinsid ann Parṇāsām prāk Sindhorapi Saubala l etan mama dhanam &c.). Parṇāsā would mean 'the hope of foliage'. Vā. 45. 97, Var. 214. 48, M. 114. 23, S. 9. 21; B a river of Western India that falls into the Runn of Cutch. The first is mentioned as Bārṇāsā in Usavādāta's Nasik Inscription No. 10 (Bom. G. Vol. 16 p. 569 and p. 633); in Ins. No. 14, at Nasik it is spelt as Banāsā (Bom. G. Vol. 16 p. 577) and also in Karkle cave Inscription No. 13 in E. I. vol. VII. at p. 57. Vide for this river Bom. G. vol. V p. 283.

**Paruṣṇī**—A (modern Rāvi in Punjab) Rg. V. 52. 9, VII. 88. 8-9 (Sudās met his enemies Kutsa and the latter's allies on this river), VIII. 74. 15, X. 75. 5. Nlr. IX. 26 states that Irāvati was called Paruṣṇī; B (a tributary of the Go.) B 144. 1 and 23.

**Paruṣṇī-saṅgama**—(under Go.) B 144. 1.

**Parvatākhyā**—(under VS) K I. 35. 8, P. I. 37. 8 (same verse in both)

**Parvateśvara**—(under VS) M 183. 62

**Parvatikā**—(śrāddha on this river most efficacious) M 22. 56. It is a river rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal

**Pārā**—(r. rising from Pāriyātra m.) Br. II. 16. 28. Is it a misreading for Pārā?

**Pāṣṇatīrthā**—(r.) Devala q. by T.K. p. 249

**Pāṣiṇī**—(r. rising from Suktimanta) M 114. 32

**Pāsūpatatīrtha**—M. 22. 56 (śrāddha at this very efficacious)

**Paśūpateśvara**—(under VS) L. I. 92. 135

- Paśupatiśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 93
- Pāṣālā**—(very sacred to pitṛs) M 22.33
- Pātandhama**—(m.) Vā. 45. 91
- Patatritīrtha**—(under Go.) B 166. 1.
- Pathiśvara**—(in Kāśmīra beyond Bharatagiri and Vitastā) NM 1245 (temple of), 1398
- Patreśvara**—(on north bank of Narmadā) P I. 17. 1
- Paulastya-tīrtha**—(under Go.) B. 97. 1
- Pauloma**—(vide Pañcāpsaras-tīrtha) Ādi. 216. 3
- Paundarikā**—(a Viṣṇukṣetra, seems to be Pandharpur from context) P VI. 280. 18-19 (Kṛtasauce hareṭ pāpam Paundarika ca Dandake : Māthure Venkaṭādrau ca)
- Paundra**—(Devadāruvane Paundram) P VI. 129. 27
- Paundravardhana**—Vā. 104. 79 (sacred pīṭha), Br. IV. 44. 93
- Paṅska**—(in Kāśmīra-maṇḍala) P VI. 129. 27
- Pavanasya**—brada V. 83. 105
- Pāvanī**—(r.) The Ghaggar in Kurukṣetra (Ambala District) Rām. I. 43. 13. Vide Dey p. 155
- Payasvinī**—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18, XI. 5. 39 (persons who dwell on this and other rivers of the south are great devotees of Vāsudeva).
- Payodā**—(r.) Br. II. 18. 70, Vā. 47. 67 (rising from lake Payoda).
- Payoṣṇī**—(r. rising from Rkṣa or from Vindhya). Wilson says that it is (vol. II. p. 144 n 37) the Pain-Gangā that joins the Waradā or Wardhā river in Central Provinces. V. 85. 40, V. 88. 4. 7-9 (it is superior to all rivers including Gangā and is the river of king Nrga), 121. 16, Vi. II. 3. 11. Tāpī and Payoṣṇī are separately mentioned in most Purāṇas e. g. Vi. II. 3. 11, M. 114. 27, B 27. 33, Vā 45. 102, Vām. 13. 28, N II. 60. 29, Bh. X. 79. 20, P. IV. 14. 12 and IV. 16. 3 (sage Cyavana had his āśrama on it). Vide under Mūlatāpī. V 121. 16 shows that after Payoṣṇī the Pāṇḍavas came to Valdūrya-parvata and Narmadā. Hunter in I. G. I. vol. XX. p. 412 holds that Payoṣṇī is the modern Puṇā river in Berar rising in the Gavilgadhi hills and falling into the Tāpī. The Nalacampū VI. 29 says (Parvatābhedi pavitram... Hari-miva... vahati payah pasyata Payoṣṇī).
- Payoṣṇī-saṅgama**—(śrāddha yields inexhaustible results) M. 22. 33
- Phalakivana**—(under Kurukṣetra, probably modern Pharal, 17 miles to south-east of Thanesar) V. 83. 86
- Phalgu**—(r.) flows towards the north past the town of Gayā and ultimately joins a branch of the Pūṇpū. Vide District Gazetteer of Gayā p. 8. Ag. 115. 27 derives it from *phala* and *go* (yasmin phalati śrīr-gaur-vā Kāmadhenur-jalanī mahī : Dṛṣṭram-yādikam yasmāt Phalgutīrtham na phalguvat). Vā 111. 16 says it is superior to Gangā since the latter is only water from the foot of Viṣṇu while the former is *Adi-Gadādhara* himself. Vide pp. 648 n, 653, 660 n, 661-62, 664 n
- Phālguna**—Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 18 (Śrīdhara says it is Anantapura)
- Phalgunnaka**—(to the south of Mathurā) Var. 157. 32
- Phālgunesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 105
- Phenā**—(r. falls into Go.) B. 129. 7
- Phenā-saṅgama**—(with Go.) B. 129. 1. 7-8
- Pinḍāraka**—(in Khambbalia Mahat of Kathiawar) V. 82. 65-67 (where coins were found marked with lotus), 88. 21, M. 13. 48, 22. 69, Anu. 25. 57, Vi. V. 37. 6, Bh. XI. 1. 11 (Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba dressed as a pregnant woman was cursed here by sages), Var. 144. 10 (as Viṣṇuśthāna), P I. 24. 14-15. Dey

- p. 157 says it is 16 miles to the east of modern Dvārakā. Vide Bom. G. vol. VIII (Kathiawar) p. 613 for legend connected with Pindar
- Piṅgāyāh-sārama—*Ann.* 23. 55
- Piṅgātīrtha—*V.* 82. 57 (Piṅgātīrtha), *F. I.* 24. 6 (same verse in both)
- Piṅgaleśvara—(under Narmadā) *M.* 191. 32, *K. II.* 41. 21, *P. I.* 18. 32 (same verse in last two)
- Pippalā—(*r.* rising from Rikṣavat) *Br.* II. 16. 30
- Pippalādātīrtha—(on Sābbramatī near Dugdheshvara) *P. VI.* 150. 1
- Pippalātīrtha—(under Go. near Cakra-tīrtha) *B.* 110. 1 and 226 (Pippaleśvara in this verse)
- Pippaleśa—(under Narmadā) *M.* 190. 13, *P. I.* 17. 10
- Pippalī—(*r.* rising from Rṣyavat) *M.* 114. 25; probably same as Pippalā
- Piśacesvara—(under VS) *L. q.* by T. K. p. 114
- Piśācamocana-kunḍa—(under VS) *K. I.* 33. 2 and 13-14, *P. I.* 35.2 ff (almost same verses in both)
- Piśācamocana-tīrtha—(in Prayāga) *P. VI.* 250.62-63
- Piśācīkū—(*r.* rising in Rikṣavat) *Br.* II. 13. 30
- Pitāmabasaras—same as Puṣkara—*A. V.* 89.16; *B. Sal.* 42.30 (the source of Sarasvatī), *V.* 84. 149
- Pitāmahatīrtha—(under Narmadā) *M.* 194. 4, *P. I.* 21. 4
- Pīthas—fifty are enumerated in *Br. IV.* 44. 93-100 such as Nepāla, Ekavīrā, Ekāmra
- Plakṣā—(*r.*) *Vām.* q. by T. K. p. 239 (from that river pilgrim goes to Kuṇḍīna and then to Śūrparaka)
- Plakṣaprasaravana or prāsra—(the source of Sarasvatī) *Sal.* 54. 11, *K. II.* 37. 29, *Br. III.* 13. 69, *Vā.* 77.67 (very efficacious for śrāddha)
- Plakṣatīrtha—(sacred tank probably in Kurukṣetra where Purūras found Urvaśī) *Vā.* 91. 32
- Plakṣāvataraṇa—*V.* 90. 4 (where sacrificers performed Sārasvata-sattras); *V.* 129. 13-14 (Yamunātīrtha where those who performed Sārasvata sacrifices came for the final ceremonial bath called avabhṛtha), *K. II.* 37. 8 (a Viṣṇutīrtha), *Mār.* 21. 29-30 (in Himavat)
- Prabhāsa—*A* (in Saurāṣṭra near the sea, had a famous temple of Somanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas, broken by Mahmud of Gaznī) also called Somanāthapattana, *SK.* VII. 1. 2. 44-53 (several origins of the name suggested), *V.* 82. 58, 130. 7, *V.* 88. 20, 118. 15, 119. 3, *Ādi.* 218. 2-8, *Sal.* 35. 42 (the moon was cured of consumption here), *K. II.* 35.15-17, *N.* II. 70.1-95 (māhātmya), *G. I.* 4.81, *Vām.* 84. 29 (Sarasvatī falls into the sea near it). It is mentioned as a holy place in Usavādāta's Inscription at Nāsik (*Bom. G. vol.* 16 p. 669 and in Cintra prasasti of Śāraṅgadeva dated *saṃvat* 1343 (1287 A. D.)). Prabhāsa is styled Devapattana and it is said that it is on the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the sea [*E. I.* vol. I, p. 271 at p. 283 and Śrīdbara's prasasti of *saṃvat* 1273 (1216 A. D.)]; *B* (on the Sarasvatī) *Sal.* 35.78, *SK.* VII. 1. 11-14; *C* (a hill near Gayā) *Vā.* 108. 16, 109. 14, *Ag.* 116. 15; *D* (under VS) *K. I.* 35. 16, *P. I.* 37. 15; *E* (under Dvārakā) *Mausala* 8. 9, *Var.* 149. 29-33 (there are alligators there but they do no harm), *SK.* VII. 1 chap. 35-36 (māhātmya of Sarasvatī and Prabhāsa), *Bh.* XI. 30. 6 (there is pratyak-Sarasvatī there i. e. S. flowing westwards, while in Kurukṣetra it is prācī). Usavādāta's Inscription states that the prince bore the expenditure of the marriages and secured brides for eight brāhmaṇas at Prabhāsa (Prabhase Puṇyatīrthe). It was here that Lord Kṛṣṇa left his mortal coil. Vide 'The life and



- times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni' by Dr. M. Nazim pp. 209-214 for origin, legends and sanctity of Somanātha and for date of invasion by Mahmud (about 1025 A. D.), pp. 219-224 for stories connected with the expedition, and pp. 117-119 for attack on the fort of Somanātha, for the death of 50000 devotees in defence, for the destruction of the linga with pickaxes and fire and for the immense booty of 20 millions of dinārs of those days (i. e. about £10,500,000 in present money); F (in Kāśmīra) HC. 14. 111; G (one of the five *dhārās* near Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57-58.
- Prāci-Sarasvatī—(same as Sarasvatī) A-Bh. VI. 8. 40, Vām. 42. 20-23; B (under Gayā) Vā. 112. 23
- Pradyumnagiri or—pitha (same as Hariparvata in Srinagara) R. III. 460, VII. 1616, Vik. 18. 15, SM. p. 148 and K. R. p. 17
- Pradyumnatirtha—N. II. 40. 96. Dey p. 158 says that it is Paṇḍuā in the District of Hughly in Bengal
- Prabhasitesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 89
- Prabhādesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 48
- Prajāmukha—(Viṣṇu to be worshipped as Vāmadeva here) Vām. 90. 2b
- Prajāpatikṣetra—M. 104. 5 (limits defined). It is Prayāga; vide p. 599 note 1358.
- Prājāpatya—(under VS) K I. 35.4, P I. 37. 4 (same verse in both)
- Praṇītā—(r. falling into Godāvari) B. 161. 1, P VI. 181. 5 (on the bank of Go. there was a town called Meghaṅkara); same as Praṇahita
- Prāntakapāṇiya—(near Pāṇcanada) Var. 215. 100
- Prāpaṇa—(to the north of Mandara) Var. 143. 17
- Pratāvana-giri—A (in Janasthāna) Rām. III. 49. 31; B (on the Tuṅga-bhadra) Rām IV. 27. 1-4 (in a cave of which Rāma resided for some months)
- Praticī—(a great r.) Bh. XI. 5. 40 (persons dwelling on this are devotees of Vāmadeva)
- Pratiṣṭhāna—A (near Prayāga) V85.76, 114. 1, Vā. 91. 18 (capital of Purūravas), 91. 50 (on the north bank of Yamunā), M 12. 18. 106. 30 (on the eastern side of the Ganges), Mār. 108. 18 (given to Aila Purūravas at Vasiṣṭha's request) Vi. IV. 1. 16, B 227. 151, Bh. IX. 1. 42; B (modern Patthan on the left bank of the Go.) B 112. 23, Var. 165. 1, P VI. 172. 20, VI. 176. 2 and 6 (refers to sporting Mahārāstra women at). The Pitalkhora Buddhist pillar inscription records the gift of a pillar by the family of a perfumer Mitadeva of Patithān; A. S. W. I. IV. 83. Vide A.G. pp. 553-554 for Pratiṣṭhāna being the capital of Mahārāstra in Hiouen Tsaang's times. Ptolemy mentions it as Baithana and the Periplus as 'Plithāna.' In the 13th edict of Aśoka at Shahabazgarhi and elsewhere we have 'Bhoja-Pitinikeśu', which last word probably stands for Pratiṣṭhānakas (C. I. I. vol. I. p. 67).
- Pravarā—(r. that joins the Godāvari) B 106. 46-54 (on which is situated Nivāsapura, modern Nevās or Nevās). It joins Godāvari at Toka in Ahmednagar District, Bom. G. vol. 17 p. 6
- Pravarapura—(see under Srinagara) K. III. 336-349
- Pravarā-saṅgama—(with Go.) B 106. 1. Vide Bom. G. vol. XVII. p. 740 for Toka and Pravarāsaṅgam, two holy towns on the left and right banks of the Pravarā at its meeting with the Godāvari, 7 miles north-east of Nevās
- Prayāga—A (modern Allahabad) Vide pp. 596-617 above and A. G. pp. 388-391 quoting Hiouen Tsaang; B (the confluence of the Indus

- and Vitastā i. e. Zhelum } NM  
394-395 (Sindhu is deemed Gaṅgā  
and Vitastā Yamunā)
- Prayāgeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K.  
p. 45
- Pretakūṇḍa—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 68-  
69, Ag. 116.15. It is now known as  
Brahmayoni at the foot of the  
Pretāñilā hill
- Pretakūṭa—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 109.  
15
- Pretaparvata—(under Gayā) Vā 83. 20.
- Pretāñilā—(under Gayā) Vā 110. 15,  
108. 15. It is a peak 580 feet in  
height situated 5 miles north-west of  
Gayā. Vide Gayā District Gazetteer  
p. 235.
- Pritikeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K.  
p. 111
- Priyamelaka—(pre-eminent for brā-  
ddha) M. 22. 53
- Priyavateśvara-linga—(in VS) SK, IV.  
33. 159
- Pṛthivītīrtha—P. I. 26. 11 (near Pāri-  
plava)
- Pṛthūdaka—(on south bank of Saras-  
vatī, modern Pehoa) Vide p. 685  
above. It was called Brahmayoni in  
Vām. 39. 16-17 and 23. Vide A. G.  
pp. 336-337
- Pṛthutāga—N. II. 60. 25
- Pulahāśrama—Bh. VII. 14. 30, X. 79.  
10 (near Gomatī and Gandakī and  
same as Śālagrāma)
- Pulastya-pulahāśrama—(near source  
of Gandakī river) Var. 144. 113,  
Bh. V. 8. 30 (near Śālagrāma)
- Pulastyeśvara—(under VS) L. by T.K.  
p. 116
- Punahpota—(r. under Gayā, modern  
Pūn-Pūn) Vā. 108. 73, N. II. 47. 75
- Pusarāvartananda—(r.) Anu. 25. 45
- Pundarika—A (under Kubjāmraka)  
Var. 126. 57, P. I. 26. 78; B (near  
Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81. 7-8
- Pundarikā—(r. rising from a lake called  
Payoda) Br. II. 18. 69-70
- Pundarikakṣetra—(modern Pandhar-  
pur) T. S. pp. 7-21
- Pundarikamahātīrtha—(brāddha most  
efficacious here) Br. III. 13. 56,  
Vā. 77. 55
- Pundarikapura—M. 22. 77, N. II.  
73. 45
- Punyasthala—(under Mathurā, one of  
the five sthalas) Var. 160. 21
- Porāṇeśvara—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 132
- Pūrṇā—A (r. in Berar); it falls into the  
Tāpi on its left bank. Vide Ain. A.  
vol. II. p. 224; Changdev is a village  
near this confluence and a great  
tīrtha called Chikar-tīrtha (muddy);  
B Pūrṇā in Surat District falls into  
the sea (Bom. G. vol. II. p. 26); C  
Pūrṇā which falls into the Godāvari  
in Parbhani District. Vide I. G. I.  
vol. XII. p. 297. Is it the same as  
the Pūrṇatīrtha in B 105. 22?
- Pūrṇamukha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var.  
126. 40-41
- Pūrnatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.)  
B 122. 1
- Poru—(m.) V 90. 22 (where Purūrasa  
went)
- Purūrasatīrtha—(under Gid.) B. 101.  
1 and 19-20 (also called Sarasvatī-  
saṅgama and Brahma-tīrtha)
- Purusoṭtama—(Jagannātha or Puri in  
Orissa) B. chapters 42, 48, 68, 177,  
178; M. 13. 35, K. II. 35. 27, N. II.  
chapters 52-61 (mābātmya). Vide  
pp. 692-703 above
- Pūrvāmukha—(a variant reading for  
Pūrṇamukha in Var. 126. 40)
- Puškara—(town, lake and place of  
pilgrimage, six miles from Ajmer).  
One of the few temples of god  
Brahmā exists here. There are  
three kuṇḍas called Jyēṣṭha, Ma-  
dhyama and Kanīṣṭha (N. II. 71. 12,  
P. V. 28. 53). Usavādāta's Nasik  
Ins. No. 10 mentions gifts made by  
him at three pools (Puškareṣu).  
Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 570. Vā.  
77. 40, K. II. 20. 34 and VDHS.  
85. 1-3 state that brāddha at Puṣ-

kara yields inexhaustible results. This is one (western) of the five Vedīs of Brahṃā (P. V. 15. 150), Vām. 22. 19, Br. III. 34. 11 and Vām. 65. 31 mention Madhyama Puṣkara and Br. III. 35. 39 says that Kanīṣṭha Puṣkara was 1½ yojanas from Madhyama Puṣkara, and Jyestha Puṣkara was one krośa to the west of Madhyama Puṣkara. It is said that the sacred Sarasvatī flowed to the ocean from here (P. V. 19. 37). P. V. 15. 63 and 82 explain how this place was called Puṣkara from the lotus (puṣkara) that Brahṃā cast here. Br. (III. 34. 7 ff) states that the hero Parasurāma practised *tapas* here along with his disciple Akṛtavraṇa for 100 years. The T. K. pp. 182-185 quote verses 20-39 of Vanaparva chap. 82 and twelve verses from P. V. 27 relating to Puṣkara. Al. (vol. II. p. 147) states: 'Outside the town in three places they have constructed ponds which stand in high veneration and are places of worship'. The principal temples are five, but all of them are modern, the earlier ones having been destroyed by Aurangzeb. There are several sub-tīrthas under it (V. 82). Puṣkara is in the Varāṇadigaṇa (Pān. IV. 2. 82); B (Puṣkara, on Sarasvatī, called Suprabha, m.) Ādi. 221. 15, Śal. 38. 13-15; C HC. 14. 111 (in Kāśmīra among the group of tīrthas at Kapateśvara); D (one of the five *dhārās* at Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57-58

Puṣkarāraṇya—P. V. 18. 217, S. 32. 8 (Prāci Sarasvatī flowed through it), Br. S. XI. 35

Puṣkarāvātī—a r. probably known to Pān. (IV. 2. 85, on which the Kāśikā mentions it and also several others)

Puṣkarinī—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 16, K. II. 41. 10-11, P. I. 17. 12; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 13

Puṣpabhadra—(r. on the northern slopes of Himālaya) Var. 51. 2, 98. 5, Bh. XII. 8. 17, XII. 9. 10, Nr. q. by T. K. p. 253

Puṣpabhadra (r.) Bh. XII. 9. 10

Puṣpagiri—(one of the lesser mountains in Bharatavara) Vā. 45. 92, Br. II. 16. 22. Vide I. C. I. vol. 23 pp. 114-115 for this

Puṣpajā—(r. rising from Malaya) M. 114. 30, Vā. 45. 105 (reads Puṣpajāti, which means the same thing)

Puṣpadanteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 117

Puṣpasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 17 (a Śivakṣetra)

Puṣpavahā—(r.) Bh. XII. 9. 30 (near Himālaya)

Puṣpavati—(r.) V. 85. 12, P. I. 39. 12 (same verse in both)

Putratirtha—(under Co.) B. 124. 1 and 137

## R

Rādhākūṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 34

Rāghaveśvara—M. 22. 60 (śrāddha renders inexhaustible results)

Raivataka—(hill at Junagadh opposite to Girnar) Ādi. 218. 8 (near Prabhasa) and chap. 219 (festivities on it by Vṛṣṇyandhaka), S. 14. 50, Var. 149. 66 (q. by T. K. p. 227), SK. VII. 2. 1. 68 (western part of Udayanta hill near Somanātha in Vastrāpatha), M. 22. 74. Raivataka i. e. present Girnar is very sacred to the Jains (vide Uttarādhyayanasūtra, SBE. vol. 45 p. 115). But the present Dvārakā is about 110 miles from it. The original Dvārakā, which was swept away by the sea, was much nearer. Pargiter (p. 289) was not aware of two Dvārakās and hence proposes to identify Raivataka hills with Baradā hills in Hālār, the western corner of Kathiawad. In the Junagadh Inscription of Skandagupta of 136-138 Gupta era

i.e. 455-458 A.D. the river Palāṣinī is said to spring from Ūrjayat which (C.I.I. vol. III. at p. 64) is opposite to vataka

**Rājagṛha—A** (Rājgir, the ancient capital of Magadha) V. 84. 104, Vā. 108. 73 (punyam Rājagṛham vanam), Ag. 109. 20, N. II. 47. 74, P. I. 38. 22; vide A. G. pp. 467-468 and I. G. I. vol. XXI. p. 72 for the five hills surrounding it; it was also known as Girivraja and was the capital of Jarāsandha under this name; **B** (in the Punjab) P. I. 28. 13 (it is a Devīsthāna)

**Rājakhadga**—(on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 131. 116 and 134

**Rājāvāsa**—(Viṣṇu shrine established by Parasurāma in Kāśmīra) NM. 1384, 1447

**Rajeshvara**—(under Sripārvata). L. I. 92. 156

**Rāmādhivāsa**—(śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here) M. 22. 53

**Rāmāgīryasrama**—G. I. 81. 8, Meghadūta 1 and 12 (Rāmāgīri is Rāmtek, 28 miles north-east of Nāgpur in C. P. and two miles from Vākātaka capital Nandivardhana)

**Rāmāgrha**—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 10

**Rāmabṛada**—(five lakes on the north of Thaneshwar) V. 83. 26-40, Anv. 25. 47, Bh. X. 54. 53, P. I. 26. 23-37 (where Parāsurāma filled five lakes with the blood of kṣatriyas killed by him and his piṭṛs transformed them into tirthas at his request), NM. 1387-99 (it is Brahmasaras where Bhārgava Rāma practised *tapas* after washing his bloodstained ghands), Bh. X. 84. 53. Also called Cakra-tirtha (vide p. 742 above)

**Rāmajanma**—(to the east of Saraka) P. I. 26. 76

**Rāmalinga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113

**Rāmasaras**—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 14-18 (one krośa in extent)

**Rāmātirtha—A** (under Gayā) Vā. 108. 16-18, M. 22. 70 (anantam śrāddha-dānayoḥ), Ag. 116. 13; **B** (in Śūrpāraka) V. 83. 43, Śal. 49. 7 (where Bhārgava Rāma gave the earth as dakṣinā to Kāśyapa in Vājapeya and Atvamedha sacrifices). Vide Usavādāta's Nasik inscription recounting the gifts he made at Rāmātirtha in Śūrpāraka in Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 570; **C** (under the Ganges) N. II. 40. 85; **D** (on Gomatī) V. 24. 73-74, P. I. 32. 37; **E** (under Go.) B. 123. 1; **F** (under Mahendra) P. I. 39. 14

**Rambhālīnga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105

**Rambheshvara-līnga**—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 46. 39.

**Rāmesvara—A** (one of the twelve Jyotir-līngas, said to have been established by Rāma himself) M. 22. 50, K. II. 30. 23 (bath at R. saves from sin of brahmahatyā), G. I. 81. 9. Vide T. Sp. 47 which quotes passages from Vi., K. and Ag. It is situated on the island of Pāmban. It is one of the most venerated shrines in the whole of India. Vide I. G. I. vol. XXI pp. 173-175 for a brief description of the great temple; **B** (under Sripārvata) L. I. 92. 149 (established by Viṣṇu himself).

**Ratnesvara-līnga**—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 165

**Rantuka**—(one boundary of Kurukṣetra) Vām. 22. 51 and 33. 2. Vide p. 683 n 1551 above

**Rantukāsrama**—(on Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 5

**Rasā**—(a river) Rg. V. 53. 9, X. 75. 6. It is difficult to identify it. It appears to have fallen into the Indus. Rut from Rg. X. 108. 1 (katham Rasāya atarah payāmsi) in which the Panis ask Saramā how she crossed the waters of Rasā, it

- appears to be a mythical river. It is identified with Panjkora by E. Thomas in JRAS. vol. 15 p. 361 (n. s.)
- Rathacaitraka—(a tīrtha) P VI. 129. 9
- Rathaspā—(r.) It was included in the Pāraskarādigaṇa (Pāṇ. VI. I. 157). The Mbh. (vol. III p. 96) mentions 'Rathaspā nadī.' In Mb. (Vanaparva 170. 20) a river Rathasthā is mentioned between Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī on the one hand and before Sarayū and Gomati on the other. Rathākhyā r. is mentioned in Br. S. 16. 15. Vide Ādi 170. 20.
- Rāvaṇeśvaratīrtha—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 26; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98.
- Ravistava—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 19
- Renukāsthāna—(one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh. VII. 38.5 (probably at Paraśurāma, in the Ratnagiri District.)
- Renukāstaka—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 5
- Renukatīrtha—V 82.82, P. I. 24.30 and 27.47. Dey (p. 168) says it is about 16 miles north of Nahan in the Panjab. Nahan is the capital of Sirmur State.
- Retodaka—(under Kedāra) Devipurāṇa q. by T.K. p. 230
- Revā—(Narmadā). Vide pp. 703-707 above
- Revāteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96
- Revatī-saṅgama—(under Go.) B. 121. 1 and 22
- Rikṣa or Rikṣavat—('abounding in bears', one of the seven main mountain ranges of Bharatavarṇa) Vā 45. 99-101 and 95.31, M. 114.17, B. 27. 32, Var. 85 (prose). Rivers like Śoṇa, Narmadā, Mahānadī are said to rise from it. Hence it is the eastern part of Vindhya from Bengal to the sources of Narmadā and Śoṇa. Rikṣavat is mentioned in the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 350 as रिक्खवत् i. e. रिक्ख-वत्सवत्. It is the Oxentation of Ptolemy (p. 76). Wilson (vol. II. p. 128) holds that Rikṣa is the mountain of Gondawana. There is great difficulty in identification, since the same rivers that are said to rise in Rikṣa in M and V are said to rise from Vindhya in Mār. 54. 24-25.
- Rnamocana or Rnapramocana—A (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41.6. Vide A.S.R. of India, vol. XIV p. 76 (which says that it is situated to the south of Kapālamocanatīrtha on the Sarasvatī); B (near Prayāga) M. 22. 67 (śrāddha gives inexhaustible results), 107. 20; C (under Go.) B 99. 1; D (a sub-tīrtha under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 28 q. by T. K. p. 255; E (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 117
- Rnamokṣa—(under Gaya) N 11. 47. 79, Ag. 116. 8
- Rnāntakūpa P. I. 26. 93
- Rṇatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 27, K II. 41. 19 and 29.
- Rodhasvatī—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 13
- Rohitaka (m.) S. 32. 4
- Rabha—(m. in Pāṇḍya country) V. 85. 21, Bh. V. 19. 16, X. 79. 15, M. 121. 72 and 163. 78. Dey p. 119 suggests that it is the Palni hills in Madurā
- Rabhā—(r. rising in Vindhya) M. 114. 27
- Rabhadvīpa—V. 84. 160, P. I. 38 67
- Rabhatīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 35. 3, P. I. 37. 3; B (in Koṇā i. e. Dakṣiṇa-Koṇā); vide the Guñji Rock Inscription of Kumāravaradatta read by M. M. Prof. Mirashi in E. I. vol. 27. p. 48 where it is recorded that at Rabhatīrtha of the Bhagavat (probably meaning Śiva) an amātya of the king made a grant of two thousand cows to brāhmanas. Prof. Mirashi points out that Guñji is a small village, 14 miles north-west of Sahtī

- in the Chhatigarh Division of C.P., that at the foot of a hill near that village there is a kunda (pool) called Daman Dahrā, that the record is engraved on a rock on one side on this pool, that not many miles from Guñji inscriptions of centuries before and after the Christian era have been found and that the Guñji inscription is to be assigned to the 1st century A. D. Vanaparva 85. 10 states that the pilgrim who fasts for three days at Rābhatīrtha secures the rewards of Vājapeyayajña. Vide V. 85, 10, P. I. 39. 10
- Rābhañjanakātīrtha or Uśātīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191
- Rāikā—(r. from m. Śuktimat) Vā 45. 107.
- Rāikanyā—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 14
- Rāikulyā—(r.) V 84. 49, P. I. 32. 12, M. 114. 31, B. 27. 37, N. II. 60 30 (rising from Mahendra m.). Vā 45. 106 reads 'Ritukulyā. It is the river of Ganjam, acc. to A. G. p. 516. The famous Jaugada fort in the midst of which on a huge granite mass thirteen edicts of Aśoka are inscribed is on this river.
- Rāisañghesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 54
- Rāsastira—(under Go.) B. 173. 1
- Rāyamūka or Rāyamūke—(m.) Rām. III. 72. 12, III. 75. 7 and 25 (on the borders of lake Pampā), Bh. V. 19. 16, V. 280. 9, V. 147. 30 (on which Sugriva resided), 279. 44 (near Pampā lake). Vide Pargiter (p. 289 note) for identification which is rather vague.
- Rātīrtha—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 22 and 193. 13 (sage Trnabindu became free from curse here), K. II. 41. 15, P. I. 18. 22; B (under Mathurā) Var. 152. 60
- Rayadrūgesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115
- Rayavanta or Raya—(m.) M. 114. 26, Vā. 45. 101, B. 27. 32
- Rucikeśvaraka—L. I. 92. 167
- Rudragayā—(near Kolhapur) P. VI. 176. 41
- Rudrakanyā—(under Narmadā) P. I. 20. 76
- Rudrakara—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46 11
- Rudrakarṇa—(under VS) M. 181. 25
- Rudrakarṇahrada—(under VS) P. I. 37. 15
- Rudrakoti—A (under Kurukṣetra and Sarasvatī) V. 82. 111-124, Vām. 46. 51, P. I. 25. 25-30, K. II. 36 1-8 (where Hara assumed a crore of Rudra forms for the competing sages); B (under VS) M. 181. 25; C (under Narmadā) P. I. 13. 12, V. 17. 103, M. 186. 16-17
- Rudramahālaya—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 63, Devata q. by T. K. p. 250
- Rudramahālayatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 139. 1
- Rudrapada—A (under Gayā) Vā. 111. 64-67, Ag. 115. 48; B (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 94
- Rudraprayāga—on confluence of the Mandākinī and Alakanandā in Garhwal district (I. G. I. vol. XXI p. 338)
- Rudrāvarta—(after Sugandhā) V. 84. 37
- Rudravāsa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 62
- Rukminīkūṇḍa or Rukmīkūṇḍa—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 57, Ag. 116. 5
- Rūpadhārā—(Viṣṇu's form on Irāvati) Vām. 90. 5
- Kurukhanda—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 105; chap. 146 explains why it is so called.
- S
- Śabarīrtha—(on Go.) P. VI. 269. 277-78
- Sābhramatī—(modern Sābarmatī river that rises in the Mewar hills and falls into the gulf of Cambay). The original of Sābarmatī is given as Śva-bhravatī in I. G. I. vol. XXI. p. 344.

- Vide P. VI. 131. Up to chap. 170 of P. various sub-tirthas of the river are described at great length. Verses 2-6 of chap. 133 speak of seven streams of it, viz. Sābhramatī, Setikā (Svetakā), Bakulā, Hiraṇmayī, Hastimati (modern Hathimati) Vetravati (modern Vātrak) and Bhadrāmukhī. Sābhramatī-sāgara-saṅgama — P. VI. 166. 1
- Sacīśvara-līṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105
- Saḍaṅgula—(Sthāna of a nūga in Kāśmīra) NM. 1133-1140
- Sadānīrā—(r.) Śat. Br. I. 4.1.17 states 'even now this river is a boundary of Kosalas (Oudh) and Videhas. This river came rushing from the northern mountain and though all other rivers were burnt up, this was not burnt'. Sāyana explains Sadānīrā as Karatoyā. Bhī (9. 24 and 35) keeps the two distinct. S. 20. 27 indicates that it was between the Gaṇḍakī and Sarayū, while B. (27. 28-29) states that it rises from Pāṭiyātra m. Vā. 45. 100 states that Karatoyā comes from Kṛśa range. Pargiter (Mār. chap. 57 p. 294) says that it is the Raptī. The Amarakośa regards Sadānīrā and Karatoyā as synonyms
- Sagareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51
- Sāhasrakatirtha—V. 83, 158, P. I. 27. 46 (same words in both)
- Sahasrākṣa—M. 22. 52 (dāna most efficacious here)
- Sahasrakuṇḍa—(under Go.) B. 154. 1, q. by T. S. p. 59
- Sahya or Sahyādri—(one of the seven main mountains of Bharatavarṣa) B. 161. 2, M. 13. 40, Br. III. 56. 22, Ag. 109. 21
- Sahyāmalaka—Vide Āmalaka
- Sahyāraṇya—Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 244
- Saileśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 86, Var. 216. 23, N. II. 50. 37, Sk. IV. 33. 135
- Saileśvaraśrama—Var. 215. 57 and 83-84
- Sailoda—(lake at the foot of m. Aruṇa) Vā. 47. 20, Br. II. 18. 21-23
- Sailodā—(r. which springs from Sailoda lake) Vā. 47. 21, Br. II. 18. 22. Vide Dey p. 172 for identification
- Saindhavāranya—(where Cyavana resided with Sukanyā) V. 125. 13, Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239. V. 89. 15 speaks of S. as being in the west
- Sākambharī—A (Sāmbhara salt lake in Western Rajputana on the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States) V. Dh. S. 85. 21; in an inscription of Cāhamāna Vīgraharāja dated Vikrama era 1030 (973-74 A. D.) Sākambharī is mentioned (E. I. vol. II. p. 116 at p. 124). Vide I. G. I. XXII pp. 19-20 for legends about it. Near the south-eastern extremity of the lake there is Sāmbhar town which is an ancient one and was once the capital of Chauhān Rajputs; B (in Kumaon on the road from Haridvāra to Kedāra) V. 84. 13, P. I. 28. 14-16 (a Devisthāna, where Devī subsisted on vegetables alone for 1000 years)
- Sāketa—(same as Ayodhyā). It is the Sāgeda of Ptolemy. Vide Br. III. 54. 34. The Mbh. (vol. I. p. 281 on Pān. I. 3. 25) has 'this road leads to Sāketa' and vol. II. p. 119 (on Pān. III. 2. 111) 'arunad-Yavanah Saketam' (the Yavana besieged Sāketa). The Yavana referred to is deemed to be Menander. The Suttanipāṭa (SBE. vol. X part 2 p. 188) mentions it as existing in the time of Buddha. Fa Hien (about 400 A. D.) refers to it as 'Sha-chi' and Hiouen Tsang as Visākha. Vide A. G. pp. 401-407. The Raghuvaṃśa (XIII. 79, XIV. 132, XV. 38) treats Sāketa and Ayodhyā

as synonyms). The *Kāṇḍā* on Pāṇ. V. 1. 116 cites 'Pāṇaliputravāt Sākete parikhā'. This shows that in the 7th century Sāketa was a flourishing town with a wide ditch. A. C. (p. 182) notes that Sāketa, Kosalā and Ayodhyā are synonyms (verse 975)

Śakrarudra—(three *krośas* from Kokā-mukha) Var. 140. 65

Śakrasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 33

Śakratīrtha—A (on the south bank of Narmadā) M. 22. 73, K. II. 41. 11-12, P. I. 24. 29; B (under Kubjā-mraka) Var. 126. 81

Śakrāvarta—V. 84. 29, P. I. 28. 29

Śakreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75

Śālagrāma—(a sacred place near the source of the Gaṇḍakī river) V. 84. 123-128, Vi. II. 1. 24, II. 13. 4 (king Bharata, a yogin, and a devotee of Vāsudeva resided there), M. 13. 33 (Umā was called Mahādevī in Śālagrāma), 22. 62, P. I. 38. 41, Var. 144. 3 and 14 (all stones there are to be worshipped, particularly those marked with *cakra*); verse 29 says 'the Śālagrāma hill is Viṣṇu'; v. 145 says it is also called 'Devatā', that it is twelve *yojanas* in extent (v. 159). The sacred stones called Śālagrāma and worshipped as Viṣṇu are found in the bed of the Gaṇḍakī towards its source. It was also called Pulabāstrama (Vi. II. 1. 29), T. K. (pp. 219-221) quotes verses of Var. and V. 84. 123-128

Śāligrāma—(same as above) K. II. 35. 37, Nr. 64. 22-26 (Ugātarīka came to this Mahāksetra)

Śālagrāmagiri—Var. 144. 13 and 29

Śālakaśāṅkaśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48

Śālisūrya—V. 83. 107, P. I. 26. 100 (a tirtha probably established by Śālibotra)

Śālūkinī—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 13.

The Mbh. (vol. I. p. 474 on Vārtika 2 to Pāṇ. II. 4. 7) speaks of Śālūkinī as a village)

Śālvikīnī—(probably the same as above) P. I. 26. 11

Sāmalanātha—(same as Śyāmalanātha) M. 22. 42, P. V. 11. 35. Dey p. 200 identifies with Sāmālji in Mahī kāṇṭhā Agency.

Samaṅgā—(a r. also called Madhuvilā) V. 134. 39-40, V. 135. 2 (where Indra was freed from the sin of Vṛtravadha). Samaṅgā is so called because it makes all limbs as they should be. Aṣṭāvakra's limbs became straight after a bath in it.

Samantapañcaka—(same as Kurukṣetra) Ādi. 2. 1-5 (five pools of ksatriya blood that were transformed into holy pools of water), Śal. 37. 45, 44. 52, 53. 1-2 (the northern Vēdī of Brahṃā), P. IV. 7. 74 (written as Syamanta—), Br. III. 47. 11 and 14. Vide pp. 682-83 above. Vām. 22. 20 (printed as Syamanta—), 51-55 (lake is called Sannihita and it is half a *yojana* all round, but Vām. 22. 16 says it is five *yojanas*)

Samasrotah—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 24-26

Sambapura—A (under Mathurā) Var. 177. 55 (also called Kuleśvara); B (on the banks of Candrabhāgā) Bhav., Brahma 140. 3. It is modern Multan

Sambhalagrāma—B. 213. 164 (Kalkia Viṣṇuśaśas will be born here to destroy mlecchas), P. VI. 269. 10-12 (speaks of Sambhalagrāma), G. I. 81. 6, Bh. XII. 2. 18. Vā. 98. 104-109, M. 144. 51, Br. II. 31. 76, Vi. IV. 24. 98 speak of the future exploits of Kalki or Pramati (but all don't mention Sambhalagrāma). The I. G. I. vol. XXII p. 18 identifies it with the town Sambhal in the Moradabad District, U. P.; many



- ancient mounds, temples and sacred spots exist in the neighbourhood.
- Sammūrtika**—(a tīrtha in VS) P. I. 37. 6
- Sampiṭhaka**—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 37
- Samśāramocana**—(śrāddha here yields inexhaustible results) M. 22. 67
- Sāmudraka**—(near Brahmāvarta) V. 84. 41
- Samudrakūpa**—(under Prayāga) M. 106. 30
- Sāmudratīrtha**—(under Go.) B. 172. 1-20, about ten verses of which are q. by T.S pp. 63-64 (though with variant readings)
- Samudreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 105
- Samvartaka**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 6
- Samvartavāpi**—V. 85. 31, P. I. 39. 29 (same verse in both)
- Samvarteśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 99
- Samvidyatīrtha**—V. 85. 1, P. I. 39. 1
- Samyamana**—(under Mathurā) Var. 133. 3
- Samāścareśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67
- Sanaka**—Yama q. by T.K. p. 248
- Sanakeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67
- Sanandēśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67
- Sāṇandūra**—Var. 150. 5 ff. Its exact location cannot be stated. It is between the southern sea and Malaya. An image of Viṣṇu was established there, some saying that it was made of iron, others saying of copper, lead or stone and so on. Dey does not notice it
- Sanātkumāreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67
- Sandhyā**—A (r. in Kāśmīra) NM. 1471, R. 1. 33 and Stein's note. Vide *Trisandhyā*; B (river Siindh in Malwa, which falls into the Yamunā) S. 9. 23, P. I. 39. 1; C (another r., location uncertain) V. 84. 32, P. I. 32. 16
- Sandhyāraja**—(under Prayāga) M. 106. 43
- Sāṇḍīlī**—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM. 1445
- Sāṇḍīlī**—Madhumatī—saṅgama—NM. 1446
- Sāṇḍīlyeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 68
- Saṅgamana**—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 41
- Saṅgamanagara**—(under Dvārakā) Var. q. by T.K. p. 226
- Saṅgameśvara**—A (under VS) N. II. 50. 63-64; B (at confluence of Sābhramatī and Hastimatī) P. VI. 138. 1; C (on the south bank of Narmadā) M. 191. 74, K. II. 41. 36, P. I. 18. 53; D (at confluence of Gaṅgā and Varuṇā) L. I. 92. 88
- Sāṅkha-hrada**—(under Go.) B. 156. 1
- Sāṅkha-līkhitēśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 93
- Sāṅkhaprabha**—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 48
- Sāṅkhatīrtha**—A (on Sarasvatī) Śal. 35. 87; B (under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 17 (Sāṅkhi-); C (under Āmalaka-grāma) Nr. 66. 23
- Sāṅkhiṇīrtha**—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 51
- Sāṅkhoddhāra**—(an island situated at south-western extremity of the gulf of Cutch) Bh. XI. 36. 6 (Kṛṣṇa directed that women, children and old men should go to this, when terrible portents were seen in Dvārakā) M. 13. 48, 22. 69 (śrāddha is *ananta* here). It is a very sacred place, particularly for Vaiṣṇavas. Vide I. G. I. vol. 8. p. 18
- Sāṅkukarna**—(under VS) M. 181. 27, K. I. 31. 48, P. I. 24. 18
- Sāṅkukarṇeśvara**—(a līṅga on the southern boundary of VS) K. I. 33. 48, L. I. 92. 135, N. II. 48. 19-20
- Sāṅkuṇika**—Vām. q. by T.K. p. 236

**Sannibhātā**—(a tract more extensive than Kurukṣetra, but including it) Br. III. 13. 68 (pumsām Sannibhātāyaṁ tu Kurukṣetre viśvataṣṭha arcayitvā pīrṁsa-tatra sa putrast-vanṛṇo bhavet). TP. p. 466 reads 'Sannibhata', states it is a lake eight krośas in extent and that there are four lakes called Sannibhata, Sannibhatya, Sannibhatya and Sannibhātā.

**Sannibhāti**—(another name of Kurukṣetra, according to several works) V. 83. 190-195 (Nīlakaṇṭha explains that Sannibhāti is another name of Kurukṣetra). Verse 195 derives as 'tirtha-sannibhātā-eva Sannibhatyeti viśrutā' i. e. all tirthas gather together here every month on Amāvāsyā; P. I. 27. 77-78 (same verses as in V), Vām. 41. 9 and 45. 29, Ag. 109. 15 (employs the word Sannibhāti 'Sarasvatīyām Sannibhātīyām snānakṛd-brahmalokabhūk')

**Sannibhatya-saras**—(in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 47. 56, 48. 23, 49. 6 (on the north bank of Sarasvatī and near Dvāitavasa)

**Sanniti**—(in Kurukṣetra) NM. 168-169 (seems to be the same as Sannibhāti above)

**Sārteśvara**—(under VS) l. q. by T. K. p. 66

**Saptacarutirtha**—see 'Vadavā'

**Saptadhāra**—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 136. 16 (same as Saptasārasvala)

**Sapta-gaṅgā**—V. 84. 29, Anu. 25. 16, P. I. 28-29 (same verse as in V). The seven Gaṅgās are Gaṅgā, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmraparṇī, Sindhu, Sarayū and Narmadā. Acc. to NM, 720 the seven Gaṅgās are Bhāgīrathī, Pāvānī, Hṛādīnī, Hṛādīnī, Sītā, Sindhu, Vaṅkū.

**Saptagodāvara**—V. 85. 44, Vā. 77. 19, M. 22. 78, Bh. X. 79. 12, P. I. 39. 41, IV. 108. 39, Br. III. 13. 19, SK. IV. 6. 23. See Khairha plate of king Yaśahkarna in Kalacuri year 823

(i. e. 1071-2 A.D.) in E. I. vol. XII. p. 205 ff. where in verse 23 the seven streams are named; in the Godāvarī District Gazetteer p. 6 the seven mouths of the Godāvarī are said to be sacred to seven sages viz. Kāśyapa, Atri, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasīṣṭha. R. VIII. 3449 speaks of Godāvarī as falling into the sea with seven mouths.

**Saptanada**—Br. III. 13. 58 (deyam Saptanade śrāddham Mānase vā viśvataṣṭha).

**Saptakoṭīvara**—T. P. p. 557 quoting SK. VII.

**Saptapuskariṇī**—(seven springs at Thid in Kāśmīra) SM. p. 160. It is also called 'Stanakuṇḍa' in HC. IV. 45. Ain. A. (vol. II p. 361) refers to it: 'In the village of Thid is a delightful spot where seven springs unite'.

**Saptārṣa**—V. Dh. S. 85. 39 (śrāddha very efficacious at it). Dr. Jolly identifies it with Sātārā.

**Saptaryikuṇḍa** (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 46 (where seven dhārās fall from Himavat).

**Saptasāgara-līṅga**—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 136.

**Saptasāmudraka**—(under Kubjāmṛaka) Var. 126. 91.

**Saptasāmudraka-kūpa** (under Mathurā) Var. 157. 12

**Saptasārasvata**—(in Kurukṣetra) where sage Mañkanaka pierced his hand with the tips of kuśa grass when vegetable fluid began to flow from it and he danced with joy. V. 83. 115, Śal. 38. 4-31 (where seven names, for which p. 686 above may be referred to, are mentioned), K. II. 35. 44-76 (story of Mañkanaka), P. I. 27. 4 ff. (follows V. 83), Vām. 38. 22-23 (story of Mañkanaka), N. II. 65. 101-102 (seven rivers are named).

Saptavati—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18.

Sarabhaṅgakūṇḍa (under Lohārgala)  
Var. 151. 49.

Sarabhaṅgāśrama—V 85. 42 and 90.9.  
Rām. III. 5.3, P. I. 39. 39, Raghu-  
vanśa XIII. 145 (near Sūtikṣnā-  
śrama).

Sarabindu—(under Āmalakagrāma)  
Nr. 66. 34

Sārādātīrtha—(in Kāśmīra) M. 22. 74.  
R. I. 37. Foremost among tīrthas  
of Kāśmīra is modern Sardi on the  
right bank of river Kisangaṅgā. In  
front of the temple sacred Madhu-  
mati falls into Kisangaṅgā. Vide  
SM. p. 206. Ain. A. (vol. II. pp.  
363-66) says that the temple of  
Sārādā dedicated to Durgā is on the  
bank of the Padmatī river which  
comes from Dardū country and that  
on every 8th day of the bright half  
of a month it begins to shake.

Saraka—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83.  
75-76, P. I. 26. 76, N. II. 65. 62-63.  
Vide p 684 above

Sarastamba—(near Devadārūvana),  
Anu. 25. 28

Sārasvata—A (śrāddha very efficacious  
here) M. 22. 63; B (under VS) K. I.  
35. 12, P. I. 37. 15

Sārasvata—līṅga (under VS) SK IV.  
33. 134

Sārasvatatīrtha—Sal. 50 (story of  
Aṣṭa Devala and Jaigīshavya), 51  
(birth of Sārasvata from Sarasvatī,  
who taught the Vedas to sages in a  
drought for twelve years)

Sarasvatī—(modern Saravati). A—The  
river starts from Brahmasaras, acc. to  
Sāhya 51. 19, from Badarikāśrama  
acc. to Vām. 2.42-43 and from Plaksa  
tree acc. to Vām. 32. 3-4, P. V. 18.  
159-160 (say that Sarasvatī was  
asked to cast the Vājra fire into the  
sea in the west). This is probably an  
allusion to volcanic action whereby  
Sarasvatī disappeared. Vām. 3. 8  
says that as Śaṅkara guilty of

Brahmabatyā plunged into it, it dis-  
appeared, while elsewhere (e.g. in  
V. 130. 3-4) it is said that it dis-  
appeared through fear of the touch  
of Śūdras, Nigūḍas and Ābhīras and  
Anu. (155. 25-27) states that Saras-  
vatī went to Marudeśa owing to curse  
by Utathya and became dry and un-  
holy. After disappearing it becomes  
visible at Camasodbheda, Sivodbheda  
and Nāgodbheda. The Sarasvatī  
in Kurukṣetra was called prācī  
Sarasvatī (P. V. 18. 181-182).  
See Dey pp. 180-181 for several  
Sarasvatīs. V 130. 1-2 state that  
those who die on the Sarasvatī go  
to heaven and this was the blessing  
conferred by Dakṣa when he per-  
formed a sacrifice there. Vide  
Oldham's paper in JRAS for 1893  
pp. 49-76; B—There is another holy  
river of the same name rising in the  
south-west end of Aravali hills and  
flowing south-west through the dis-  
tricts of Palanpur, Mahikantha and  
Baroda and past the ancient cities of  
Anhilvād and Siddhapur and falling  
into the lesser Runn of Cutch; Vide  
under Prabhāsa.

Sarasvatī-Arunā-saṅgama—V. 83. 151.  
K II. 30. 22, Sal. 43. 31 and chap.  
44.

Sarasvatīpatana—(under Mathurā) Var.  
134. 20.

Sarasvatī-sāgara-saṅgama—V. 82. 60,  
P. I. 24.9, Vām. 81. 29.

Sarāvati—(Probably Rāpti in Oudh)  
Bhī. 9.20; Pān. VI.3.120 (Sarādīnam  
ca) knew the river Sarāvati; Keira-  
svāmīn (in com. on Amara 'Sarāvā-  
tyāstu yogvadbel') quotes a verse  
'prāgudāscan vibhajate haṁsabhājro-  
dake yathā) viduṣāṁ śabdāsiddh-  
yartham nā nah pātu Sarāvatiḥ'. Dr.  
Agrawala in (J.U.P.H.R.S. vol. 16  
p. 15 surmises that it is the Ghag-  
ghar flowing through Ambala Dis-  
trict. I have grave doubts about

this. It is possible that when the Sarasvatī became dried and only a marshy bed was left it was called Sarāvati, but that in the times of the Amarakośa, Sarāvati is probably the river Sarāvati which falls into the sea near Honavar (North Kanara District) on which are the famous Gersappa falls. In the Raghuvamśa (XV. 97) Sarāvati is said to have been the capital of Lava, son of Rāma.

Sarayū—(r.) Rg. IV. 30. 18, V. 33. 9, X. 64. 9 (Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned together). In all these places the word is Sarayu, while in classical Sanskrit it is Sarayū or Sarayū (M. 22. 19, Vā 45. 94, N II. 75. 71, Raghuvamśa 15. 95 and 100). M. 121. 16-17 and Br. II. 19. 70 show that Sarayū springs from the Mānasa lake situated at the foot of the Vaidyutagiri. Ayodhyā was situated on the Sarayū (Rām. II. 49. 15). Sarayū rises from Himālaya (Vā 45. 94, M. 114. 21). According to Pūṇ. VI. 4. 174 (Dāṇḍi-nāyana—) the water of Sarayū was called Sarava (Kāśikā says 'Sarayvīm bhavam saravam udakam'). In the Cullavagga (SBE vol. XX p. 302) it is one of the five great rivers of India and in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) it is one of ten great rivers, but in both places it is written as Sarabhū. Vide T. P. pp. 300, 301 where it is stated that it rises from the left toe of Viṣṇu and is joined by Ghārgara. It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy (p. 99). It is also called the Ghogra or Gharghara.

Sārdūla—a Saivakṣetra, according to Bar. S. III. 122.

Sargabindu—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 23.

Sarkarāvartī—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18.

Sarvahrada—V 83. 39 (uncertain location)

Sarvatirtha—P. II. 92. 4 and 7 (Prayāga, Puṣkara, Sarvatirtha and Vārāṇasī) are the four tirthas that remove all sins including *brahma-hatyā*.

Sarvatirthaivara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 134.

Sarvātmaka—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 37.

Sarvayudha—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 56

Sasāṅkeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 97

Saṁyāna—(under Sarasvatī) V. 82. 114-116, P I. 23. 20-23 (same verses in both) Some mss read 'Sasāpāna',

Sastibhadrā—Anu 25. 36

Satadru—(Sutlej) same as Śutudri which see; Ādi. 177. 8-9 (derivation given), M. 22. 12, Bh. V. 19. 18. The Amarakośa gives Śutudri and Satadru as synonyms.

Satakumbhā—(under Sarasvatī) V. 84. 10, P I. 28. 11 (same verse in both).

Satarudrā—M. 22. 35 (śrāddha here is inexhaustible).

Satasahasraka—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 27. 45, Vām 41. 3, V 83. 157 and 84. 74 (Satasahasraka).

Satasrnga—(m.) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250.

Sātātapeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 92.

Satīkātirtha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 3.

Satyavatī—(became river Kauśiki) Vā 91. 88.

Saubbhadra—Ādi. 216. 3 (one of the five Nāritirthas on the southern sea).

Saukarava—(as printed in Var. 137. 7 of the Venkatesvara press edition) is a misreading for Saukaraka. Vide under Sūkara-tirtha.

Saurpāraka—Br. III. 13. 37. Vide Sūrpāraka.

- Saugandhikagiri—M. 121. 5 (to north-east of Kailāsa)
- Saugandhikavana—V. 84. 4, P. I. 28. 5-6 (same verse in both)
- Saumitrisaṅgama—(very fit for śrāddha) M. 22. 53
- Saunakeśvara-kunḍa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 122
- Sāvarniśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 60
- Sāvitrāpada—(under Gayā) V. 84. 93. Vide p. 649 above
- Sāvitrī—(r. boundary between modern Ratnagiri and Kolaba Districts). P. VI. 113. 28
- Sāvitrīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70
- Sāvitrītīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 6, K. II. 42. 19, P. I. 21. 6
- Śaṅgātīrtha—(under Go.) B. 115. 1
- Setu—the supposed bridge (called Adam's Bridge) between Rāmeśvara and Ceylon said to have been built by Rāma with the assistance of Sugriva and his monkey hosts; Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 15 (Sāmudrasetu), G. I. 81. 8, N. II. 76 (contains *setu-māhātmya*). Adam's Peak in Ceylon has a famous foot-print which is venerated by Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Moslems alike. Vide T. P. pp. 557-560 for *māhātmya*
- Setubandha—same as above. Vide T. S. pp. 1-4 and Tīrthaprakāśa pp. 557-560, Rām. VI. 22. 45-53, VI. 126. 15 (etat-tu dr̥syate tīrtham sīgarasya mahātmanah); Setubandha iti khyātam &c). P. V. 35. 62 (says that Setu was built in three days), SK. III Brahmakhaṇḍa, chapters 1-52 on Setu-māhātmya, its subsidiary tīrthas and *Setuyātrākrama*. Vide p. 94 above for visit to Setubandha as an expiation.
- Siddhakeśvara—(one of the eight tīrthas under Virajātīrtha) B. 42. 6
- Siddhapada—(a kṣetra on Sarasvatī) Bh. III. 33. 31
- Siddhapura—(54 miles to north of Ahmedabad) M. 13. 46 (Devi is called Mātā here); what Gayā is for Pitṛs, Siddhapura is for the mother. It is on the Sarasvatī river
- Siddhatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 143. 1
- Siddhavana—M. 22. 53 (śrāddha here most efficacious)
- Siddhavaṭa—A (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 7; B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 153
- Siddheśvara—(līṅga on south bank of Narmadā) Vām. 46. 34, P. II. 20. 34.
- Siddheśvara—A (under VS.) M. 32. 43 and 181. 25 q. by T. K. pp. 88, 117 and p. 241; B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 100; C (on the south bank of Go.) B. 128. 1
- Siddhikūṭa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 88
- Sikhitīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 82, P. I. 20. 78
- Silātīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 2
- Silākeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 46
- Simha—a Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 120. Probably the same as Simhāchalam temple of Nṛsimha-vaṭāra of Viṣṇu about 6 miles north-west of Vizagapatnam. Vide I. G. I. vol. XXII. p. 375
- Sindhu—A (the modern Indus, Greek Sinthos) Rg. II. 15. 6 (he made the Sindhu flow northwards), V. 53. 9, VIII. 20. 25 (the medicine that is in Sindhu, in Asikni and the seas), X. 75. 6. The seven Sindhus (i. e. Indus, five Panjab rivers and Sarasvatī) are mentioned in Rg. II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, A. V. VI. 3. 1; Drona 101. 28 (Sindhuseṣṭhāḥ samudragāḥ), R. I. 57 (Stein's note), NM. 394 (Sindhu is Gaṅgā and Vitastā is Yamunā). Vide for description I. G. I. vol. I. pp. 29-31. It rises in Tibet north of Kailāsa. Sindhu is also the name of the country through which the river flows;

- vide Pāṇ. IV. 3. 93. On Pāṇ. IV. 3. 83 (prabhavati) the Kāśhā gives the example 'Dārādī Sindhuḥ' (the river Sindhu rises in Darat). Some mss. of Kāśhā include 'Darat' in Sindhvādigaṇa. Sindhu country is mentioned in Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh Ins; B (a r. rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Yamunā) Vā. 45. 98, M. 114. 23, B. 27. 28. It is the same as Kālisindhu between the Chambal and Betwa Mālati-mādhava refers to its confluence with Pārā (Act IV end) and with Madhumatī (Act IX prose passage after verse 3). Padmavati, the scene of the drama, was situated on the confluence of Pārā and Sindhu.
- Sindhuprabhava—(source of Sindhu) V. 84. 46, P. I. 32. 10 (same verse in both)
- Sindhuaṅgara—Nr. 65. 13 q. by T. K. p. 252
- Sindhuaṅgarasaṅgama—V. 82. 68, Vā. 77. 56, P. I. 24. 16 (same verse as in V)
- Sindhūtāma—(a lake) V. 82. 79
- Sipā—(r.) I. g. I. 104. 3 (in which the two wives of Kuyava met death)
- Siprā—(r. from Pāriyātra, flowing past Ujjayinī) M. 22. 24, 114. 24, Vā. 45. 98. Every mile of the river is marked by sacred spots, the reputed haunts of ṛṣis or the scenes of miraculous incidents; the river is said to have sprung from the blood of Viṣṇu and is believed to flow with milk at certain periods. Vide Ain. A. vol II. p. 196 for this.
- Sitā—(a branch of Gaṅgā) Vā. 47. 21 and 39, Bh. V. 17. 5
- Sitatirtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 179. 28
- Sitavana—(under Kurukṣetra?) P. I. 26. 55
- Śivadhāra—M. 22. 49
- Śivahrada—Br. III. 13. 52
- Sivakāncī—(at Conjeevaram in South India) P. VI. 204. 30
- Sivanadi—Nr. 65. 23 q. by T. K. p. 253
- Sivasarasvatī—a Saivakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 122
- Śivodbheda—(where Sarasvatī reappears after disappearing) V. 82. 112, P. I. 25. 19
- Skandatirtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 49, M. 191. 50
- Skandēvara—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 125, L. q. by T. K. p. 68
- Sleymātakavana—(on Himavat) Var. 214. 24-26, 215. 12-13 and 115. Dey. p. 188 says that it is Uttara Gokarna two miles to north-east of Paśupatinātha in Nepāl. For two Gokarnas, north and south, vide p. 754 above.
- Smaśāna—Avimukta, which see; M. 184. 19
- Smaśānastambha—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 54.
- Snānakunḍa—(under Mandārā) Var. 143. 18-20
- Sodaranāga—(in Kāśmīra) NM 13-14. It is modern village Sudarbal situated on a deep inlet of the Dal lake. Vide R. I. 123-26 and II. 169 and SM p. 164. Stein notes that Sodara is an ancient name of the spring now called Nārān Nāg situated close to temple ruins at Bhūtesvara. NM mentions it in connection with Bhūtesa and Kanakavāhini and the distance from Bhūtesvara to Śrinagara is about 32 miles.
- Somakunḍa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 4.
- Somanātha—A (in Saurāṣṭra near Verawal) Ag. 109. 10 (Somanātham Prabhāsakam), P. VI. 176. 37; vide A. G. p. 319 and under Prabhāsa; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 23. A popular verse is 'Sarasvatī samudrasa Somah somagrabha-tathā; darśanam Somanāthasya sakārāḥ pañca durībhāḥ'.
- Somapada—V 84. 119.

Somapāna—M. 22. 62.

Somāśrama—V. 84. 157

Somatīrtha—A (on the banks of Sarasvatī) Vām. 41.4, V. 83. 114, M 109. 2; B (under Narmadā) M. 191. 30, P. I. 18. 30 and 27. 3, K. II. 41. 47; C (under VS) K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7 (same verse in both); D (under Go.) B 103. 1, 119. 1; E (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 18; F (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 26-28; G (under Viraja) B. 42. 6; H (under Sūkara) Var. 137. 43 (where Soma secured highest *siddhi*); I (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 154. 1

Somesa—(under VS) K. I. 33. 9

Someśvara—A (removes all diseases) M. 22. 29, K. II. 35. 20; B (under Sālagrāma) Var. 144. 16-29

Soṇa—(a *nada*, also called Hiraṇya-vāha, rising in m. Rāra in Gondwana according to the Purāṇas and falling into the Ganges some miles from Bankipore) M. 22. 35 (a *nada*), 114. 25, B 27. 30, Vā. 45. 99, Br. II. 16. 29. It is the Soa of Ptolemy (p. 99) and Sonas of Arrian. It rises near where the Narmadā rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka bill. Vide AG pp. 453-454 for its confluence with the Ganges.

Soṇa-jyotirathya-saṅgama—V. 85. 8, P. I. 39. 8, V. Dh. S. 85. 33 (reads Soṇa-jyotiṣa-saṅgama, while the com. Vaijayantī notes the v. l. Soṇa-jyotirathā)

Sonaprabhedā—(prabhava?) V 85. 9, P. I. 39. 9

Sonitapura—(capital of Bāṇāsura, where Aniruddha was kept in confinement for his intrigue with Uṃ) B 206. 1; Harivaṃśa, Vṛṇaparva 12b. 92-93. Dey p. 189 says that it exists under the same name in Kumaon and that several other places claim to be the Sonitapura of Bāṇāsura. In the Harivaṃśa it is said that Sonitapura was 11000

yojanas from Dvārakā. BV. (Kṛṇa-jaṇmakhaṇḍa, Uttarārḍha, 114. 847) mentions Sonitapura as capital of Bāṇāsura. A. C. (p. 182) states it was also called Koṭivarṇa (v. 977)

Śrāvastī—(Sāhet-māhet on the Rāptī in Oudh) said to be the capital of Lava in Uttara Kosala. It is 58 miles north of Ayodhyā: Rām. VII. 107. 4-7, Vā 88.200 and A. G. p. 409; but some mss. of Raghuvamśa (XV. 97) state that Śrāvastī was the capital of Lava. Vide Marshall's article in JRAS for 1909 pp. 1066-1068 for the reasons for identifying Śrāvastī with Sāhet-Māhet and the Sāhet-Māhet plate of Govindacandra in E. I. vol. XI. p. 20. In JRAS for 1898 pp. 520-531 Vincent Smith disputed the identification of Sāhet-Māhet with Śrāvastī and holds that Śrāvastī was near Nepalgaṇj in Nepalese territory. B 7. 53 says that it was called after Śrāvasta of Ikṣvāku race.

Śrīkṣetra—Jagannātha Puri.

Śrīkūṇḍa—V 82. 86 (now called Lakṣmī-kūṇḍa, in VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 62

Śrīkūñja—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 26. 10, V. 83. 108

Śrīmādaka—(the guardian nāga in the south of Kāśmīra) NM 1117

Śrīmukhi—(guhā) L. q. by T.K. p. 60 (under VS).

Śrinagara—A (capital of Kāśmīra). It has a long history. R. I. 104 states that Aśoka built Śrinagari with 96 lakhs of houses. Stein is in note on this says that Cunningham (A. G. p. 93) located Śrinagari of Aśoka at the site of the present village Pandrethan (Kalhana's Purāṇādhyāna) on the right bank of Vitastā, three miles above modern Śrinagar. Pandrethan is at the foot of the hill Takht-i-Sulaiman. Pravaraśeṣa I erected the shrine of Pravaraśvara

and Pravarasena II built the new capital in the beginning of the 6th century. Hsien Tsang speaks of the new city (Pravarapura). Vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I. pp. 95, 148 and 158 and A. G. pp. 95-96. Ain. A. (vol. II. p. 355) states that Koh-i-Sulaiman is to the east of Srinagara. Al. (vol. I p. 207) notes that Addinhan (adbiṣṭhāna, the capital of Kāśmīra) is built on both banks of the Zhelum. For the Dal lake close to Srinagara and one of the most beautiful spots in the world, vide, I. G. I. vol. XI. pp. 124-125; B—a town in Garhwal District on the left bank of the Alakanandā (U. P. Gazetteer vol. 36 p. 200).

Srīgātakesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 155.

Srīgātīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 31.

Srīgaverapura—(or Srīgibera) V. 85. 63, P. I. 39. 61 (same verse in V and I), Rām. II. 113. 22, VI. 126. 49, Ag. 109. 23. Here Rāma crossed the Ganges when going from Ayodhyā into exile. It is modern Srīngaur or Singor on the left bank of the Ganges about 22 miles north-west of Prayāga.

Srīgā—(r. rising from Viṇḍhya) Br. II. 16. 32.

Srīparṇi—(duna most efficacious here) M. 22. 49

Srīparvata or Srīśāla—A (hill situated in Karsal District on the south side of the Kṛṣṇā river 50 miles from Kṛṣṇā station). There are numerous līngas here including the famous Mallikārjuna (in L. I. 92. 155), one of the twelve Jyotiṣlīngas; many are named in L. I. 92. 147-166. Vide V. 85. 18-20 (Mahādeva with Umā is there), Vā 77. 28, M. 13. 31 (Devī is called Mādhavī here), 181. 28 (one of the eight main Śivasthānas), 188.

79 (one tripura of Bāṇāsura burnt by Rudra fell here), P. I. 15. 68-69 (same story as in M. 188), Agni 113. 4 (Gauri, assuming the form of Lakṣmī practised penance here). Pargiter (p. 290 n) does not correctly interpret Ag.; K. II. 20. 35 (Śrāddha most efficacious here), II. 37. 13-14 (religious suicide allowed here), P. I. 39. 17, VI. 20. 15 (a great place for yogins and those practising penance). It is a Śāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124. The Mālati-mādhava mentions it several times. Vide E. I. XX. p. 9, E. I. IV. p. 193 (Chikkulla plate of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Vikramendravarmā). In the Nagārjunikoṇḍa Inscription F of about 3rd century A. D. edited by Dr. Vogel, Śrīparvata is mentioned (E. I. vol. XX p. 1 at p. 23); B (a līnga in VS) Ag. 112. 4; C (under Narmadā) Ag. 113. 3.

Srīpatitīrtha—(śrāddha here leads to highest goal) M. 22. 74.

Srīraṅga—(modern Srīraṅgam, an island between Kāveri about 2 miles north of Trichinopoly and Coleroon) M. 22. 44 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible results), Bh. X. 79. 14, P. VI. 280. 19, Bār. S. III. 120 (a Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra). It is mentioned in the Śilappadikāram chap. X. (tr. by Prof. Dikshitar p. 163). Rāmanuja, the founder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy died here. Vide I. G. I. vol. XXIII. pp. 107-108 for a brief description of the temple of Viṣṇu (called Rāṅganāthasvāmī here).

Srītīrtha—(under VS) V. 83. 46, K. I. 35. 8, P. I. 37. 8.

Stambhatīrtha—(modern Khambayat situated on the gulf of Cambay) K. II. 41. 51, P. I. 18. 93 (both speak of it under Narmadā). A Stambhatīrtha is mentioned in T. S. p. 101. Vide I. A. vol. 54. p. 47



- Stambhākhya-tīrtha**—(near Mahisā-gara-saṅgama) SK. I. 2. 3. 17. Probably same as above.
- Stambheśvara**—SK. I. 2. 3. 40
- Stanakūṇḍa**—V. 84. 152, Var. 215. 97 (Stanakūṇḍe Umāyās-tu)
- Sthalesvara**—(a Śivatīrtha) M. 181. 27
- Sthāneśvara**—(a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 136
- Sthāneśvara**—(modern Thanoswar 25 miles south of Ambala) M. 13. 3 (Devi is called Bhavāni here). Vide A. G. pp. 329-332. It was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1014 A. D. In Harṣacarita Bāna mentions Sthāneśvara country.
- Sthānūtīrtha**—(under Sarasvatī where Vasiṣṭha had his āśrama) Śal. 42. 4 (Vasiṣṭha had his āśrama to the east of this tīrtha and Viśvāmitra had his on the west), Vām. 40. 3 (on the north bank of the Sarasvatī), 42. 30 (it has one thousand liṅgas), 49. 6-7 (it is on the lake called Sānhiṭṭya). Vām. chapters 47-49 deal with the mātṛtmya of this tīrtha. Dey p. 194 says it is the same as Sthāneśvara.
- Strītīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 31.
- Stutasvāmin**—(a Viṣṇukṣetra on Mani-pūragiri) Var. 148. 8-81. T K pp 222-224 quote about twenty verses from Var. 148 without a word of comment. Verses 75-76 explain the name (as the god was *stuta* by other gods and the sages Nārada, Asita and Devaḥ). Dey does not notice it and Prof. Aiyangar does not identify it.
- Subhadrā-sindhu-saṅgama** P. VI. 129. 25.
- Subhūmika**—(a tīrtha on Sarasvatī) Śal. 37. 23 (visited by Balarāma)
- Sucakra**—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 37. 89.
- Suddheśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 122
- Sudina**—V. 83. 100.
- Sugandha**—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 32. 1.
- Sugandhā**—V. 84. 10, V. Dh. S. 20. 10 (according to com. it is a river near Saugandhika m.), P. I. 28. 1 (under Sarasvatī). P and V have same verse.
- Sugrivesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51.
- Sūkaratīrtha**—(Soron on the west bank of the Ganges between Bareilly and Mathurā (according to A. G. pp. 364-365). Vide I. G. I. vol. 23 pp. 88-89. Var. chapters 137-139; TK pp. 209-212 quote 37 verses from Var. 137 for this tīrtha and from no other source. N. II. 40. 31. and 60. 22 (Acyuta in the form of Varāha appeared here), P. VI. 121. 6-7 (the extent is four *yojanas*). Some texts read Sūkaratīrtha.
- Suktasya-āśrama** V. 85. 42, P. I. 39. 39 (same verse in both)
- Sukāśvara**—(on north Gokarna) Var. 173. 9
- Suklatīrtha**—(on the north bank of Narmadā about ten miles north-east of Broach) K. II. 41. 67-82, M. 192. 14, SK. I. 2. 3. 5. Vide p. 706 above for Cāṇakya's association with it, also I. G. I. vol. 23 p. 128 and Bom. G. vol. XI. pp. 568-569 for legend of Cāṇakya's connection; P. I. 19. 2-35 (about Cāṇakya rājarsi having obtained *siddhi* here)
- Sukratīrtha**—(on north bank of Co.) B. 95. 1, M. 22. 29
- Sukreśvara**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 15, L. I. 92. 93, N. II. 50. 65
- Suktimat**—(one of the seven great mountains of India, being a portion of the Vindhya) K. I. 47. 39, Vā. 45. 88 and 107, N. II. 60. 27, Bh. V. 19. 16. Vide Dr. B. C. Law on 'Mountains and rivers of India' in Department of Letters, Cal. University, vol. 28 pp. 20-21 for different identifications. It is the least

- known of the seven principal mountains, and the rivers that flow from it are few and their names are mutilated in the texts. Vide Dr. Ray Chaudhari's 'Studies' etc. pp. 113-120 for discussion and Dr. B. C. Law on 'Mountains and Rivers of India' in Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 pp 20-21 for different identifications.
- Suktimatī**—(r. obstructed by m. Kolāhala in Cedi) Bhi. 9. 35. Vide Dey p. 196 for different identifications, B. 27.32 and M. 114. 101 say that it rises in Rkṣa mountain, while Mār. 57. 23 says it flows from Vindhya
- Sukumāri**—(r. rising from Suktimat m.) Vā. 45. 107
- Śulabheda**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 3, K. II. 41. 12-14, P. I. 18. 3
- Śulaghāta**—(in Kāśmīra) Vide under Nīlakuṇḍa
- Śūleśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52
- Sumanu-linga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 97
- Sunandā**—(r.) Bh. VIII. I. 8
- Sundarikā**—(r.) P. I. 32. 21. It is one of the seven holy rivers quoted in a Pāli couplet (SHE, vol. X, part 2, p. 74)
- Sundarikābrada**—Anu. 25. 21
- Sundarikātirtha**—V. 84. 57, Anu. 25. 21 (after Devikā), Var. 215. 104
- Śundika**—(tirtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1439
- Sunila**—(under VS) P. I. 37. 3
- Suparnā**—(a tributary of Go.) B. 100. 1
- Supārāva**—P. VI. 129. 16
- Suprayogā**—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 253, Mār. 54. 26, Vā. 45. 104. It cannot be identified, though it is said that it rises in Sabya (Br. II. 16. 35). Some identify it with the Pennar. Vide E. I. vol. 27 p. 273
- Surabhivāna**—(in the Himālaya on river Śilodā) Br. II. 18. 23
- Surabhikeśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 36
- Surasā**—(r.) Vi. II. 3. 11 (rises from Vindhya), Br. II. 16. 29 (rising from Rkṣavat), Bh. V. 19. 18
- Suresāvari-kṣetra**—(present village of Isābar in Kāśmīra, two miles north of Dal lake shore) R. V. 37. NM. 1532, S. M. p. 161. The chief attraction here is a sacred spring known as Gupta-Gaṅgā
- Sūrpārakatirtha**—(modern Sopara near Bassein) V. 85. 43 (resorted to by Parāśurāma), 88. 12 (in it was the Vēdi of Jamadagni), 118. 8-10, Śānti 49. 67 (reclaimed from the sea by Jamadagni's son Parāśurāma), Anu. 25. 50, Harivamśa, Viṣṇuparva 39. 29-31 (in Aparānta Sūrpāraka city was five hundred *dhanus* long and 500 *īṣus* broad and was established by discharging an arrow by Parāśurāma), Br. III. 58. 17-18 and 32-33 (the strip taken by Parāśurāma from the sea is 400 yojanas from north to south), 15th. X. 79. 20, B. 27. 58 (Sūrpāraka is mentioned as the first of the Aparānta countries). It is mentioned as 'Sōrpāraka' in Nasik Inscription No. 10 q. in Bom. G. vol. 16 on p. 569. The Nāpāghāt Ins. No. 9 (A. S. W. I. vol. V. p. 64) mentions a Govindadāsa Sopārayaka. There is a Suppāraka-jātaka (No. 463, vol. IV p. 86 ed. by Cowell), where we are told of the seaport called Bharukaccha and a kingdom named Bharu. It is probable that the Ophir of the Old Testament is Sūrpāraka, though some scholars dispute this. A. G. (pp. 497-499 and 561-562) argues that Ophir or Sophir (in the Septuagint translation of the Bible) is the country of Sauvira and not Sūrpāraka as many scholars hold. Ptolemy mentions it as

- Soupara. Some eminent scholars hold that Ophir is Abiria (i. e. Ābbiras) of Ptolemy (p. 140). Vide JRAS for 1898 pp. 253 ff. for discussion and JBBRAS vol. 15 p. 273 for a long note on Śūrpāraka.
- Sūryatirtha—A (under VS) V. 83. 48, K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7; B (under Mathurā) Var. 152.50, 156. 12 (where Bali, son of Virocana, propitiated the Sun)
- Susartu—(r., tributary of the Indus on the west of it) Rg. X. 75. 6. Keith does not know which tributary of of the Indus it was.
- Suskanadi—(under VS)—same as Asi, M. 183. 62, L. q. by T. K. p. 118.
- Suskesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 118.
- Susomā—(r) Rg. VIII. 64. 11. In Rg. X. 75. 5 also it is probably the name of some river, though the Nir. IX. 26 takes it to be Sindhu; Bh. V. 19. 18; Stein in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration volume pp. 21-28 ('River names in Rgvēda') says (on p. 26) that Susomā is Sohan (Suwan) flowing through the Rawalpindi District and reaching the Indus to the north of the Salt Range.
- Susomnā—A (r, under Gayā) N II. 47. 36; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 35 (same as Matsyodari)
- Sutiknāśrama—Rām. III. 7, Raghuvamśa XIII. 41 (at some distance from Agastyāśrama)
- Sutirthaka—V. 83. 56
- Sūtudri—(same as Sutlej in the Punjab, the Satadru of classical Sanskrit works) Rg. III. 33. 1, X. 75. 5. It is the Greek Hupanis or Huphasis (A. I. p. 65), which formed the limit of Alexander's march in India. It rises on the southern slopes of Kailāsa and once issued from the Mānasa lake. Pargiter (p. 291 n) says that in ancient times this river did not probably join the Beas as it does now but pursued an independent course and that it formerly flowed along the dry bed now called Hakra or Ghaggar at a distance of 30 to 50 miles south of its present course.
- Suvarna—V 84. 18, Ag. 109. 16, P. I. 28. 19 (where Viṣṇu sought for the favour of Rudra)
- Suvarṇākṣa—(under VS) M. 181. 25, K. II. 35. 19.
- Suvarṇarekṣā (holy river near Raivataka) SK VII. 2. 1. 1-3 (probably same as the next). There is a river of same name in Bengal. Vide I G. I. vol. XXIII. p. 114.
- Suvarṇasikātā—(in Jungadh Inscription of Rudradāman to be assigned to 150 A.D., E. I. VIII. p. 36 at p. 42) now called Sonrekṣā in Kathiawad
- Suvarṇatīlaka—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 46.
- Suvāstu—(r., modern Swāt that falls into Kabul river) Rg. VIII. 19. 37 (Suvāstus adhi tugoani). The Nir. IV. 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and 'tugvan' means 'tirtha'. It is the Soastos of Arrian (A. I. p. 191). Pān. IV. 2. 77 (Suvāstivādibhyosin) knew Suvāstu and makes it the first word of 'Suvāstvādi-gaṇa'. Inscriptions in Sanskrit containing famous Buddhist gāthās have been found near Swāt. Vide E. I. vol. II. p. 133 for three Buddhist inscriptions in Swāt.
- Suvratasya—āśrama (on Dṛadvalī) V. 90. 12-13
- Svacchoda—(lake) Vide Acchoda
- Svacchodā—(r) Br. II. 18. 6 (rising from lake Svacchoda on m. Candraprabha)
- Śvāmītirtha—M. 22. 63, K II. 37. 19-21 (Skanda is always present there). Dey p. 107 identifies it with the temple of Kumārasvāmī situated about a mile from Tiruttani on the M. and S. M. Railway on a hill called Krauñca-parvata

Svargabindu—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 15

Svargadvāra—A (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 27. 55; B (under VS) K. I. 35. 4, P. I. 37. 4; C (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 4 (the word here is 'Svargadvārī'); D (under Puruṣottama) N II. 56. 31

Svargamārgabrada—Anu. q. by T. K. p. 248

Svarga-mārga-pada—V. DH. S 83. 41  
Svargatirtha—Anu. 25. 33

Svargēvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48

Svarlineśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 78, SK. IV. 33. 123 (explains why it is so called)

Svarnabindu—(under Narmadā) Anu. 25. 9, M. 194. 15

Svarnalomāpanayana—P. I. 26. 38

Svarnarekhā—(r. in Vastrāpathakṣetra i. e. modern Girnar and surrounding territory) SK. VII. 2. 3. 2 and VII. 2. 10. 209

Svarṇavedī (r.)—Vā. 77. 95, K. II. 37. 37

Svastipura—(near Gaṅgābrada and Gaṅgākūpa) V. 83. 174

Svatantreśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6

Svayambhūrtirtha—(modern Suyam in Kāśmīra in the Machipur *parāṇa*) R. I. 34. HC. 14. 80. Volcanic phenomena are observed here and sometimes vapours rise from fissures in the ground sufficiently hot to boil brāhṇa offerings placed by pilgrims.

Svāvilomāpaha—V. 83. 61

Svetā—(r. that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 19-20

Svetādri—(m.) P. VI. 280. 19, M. 113. 38 (eastern part of Meru is so called).

Svetadvīpa—G. I. 81. 7, K. I. 1. 49, I. 49. 40-47, Vām. 25. 16 and 60. 56, Śānti 336. 8 ff. 337. 27 ff. In most of these texts it is a mythical country to the north of Kṣīrodadhī

Svetamādhava—N. II. 55. 3

Svetatirtha—(under Go.) B 94. 1

Svetayāvarī—(r.) Rg. VIII. 26. 18

Sveteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 99

Svetī—(r., tributary of Indus on the west) Rg. X. 75. 6. Lit. it would mean the white one. It is difficult to identify it with Svāstu

Svetodbhava—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 15

Syaudika—(r. Sāi, seven miles south of Jaunpur, mentioned after Gomatī) Rām. II. 49. 12

Syāmāyāśrāma—Anu. 25. 30

Syenī—(r. rising in Rāksapर्वता) M. 114. 25. Dey p. 200 identifies it with Ken in Bundelkhand

#### T

Taijasa—(to the west of Kurukṣetra where Skanda was crowned commander of the gods) P. I. 27. 52-53.

Takṣaśilā—(modern Taxilā) Svargā-rohana-parva 5. 34. Vā. 88. 189-90, Br. III. 63. 190-91 (established by Takṣa son of Dāśarathī Bharata as his capital in Gandhāra); in the Jātakas Takṣaśilā is mentioned as a seat of learning (as in Bhīmasena-jātaka, Fausböll's ed. vol. I. p. 356). Vide Ptolemy p. 118-121 for its history from Alexander's time onwards. Ptolemy calls it Taxila. It is mentioned in the Dhauī first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka (C. I. I. vol. I. p. 93) and the word occurs in Pāṇ. IV. 3. 93. Vide for description of its ruins A. G. pp. 104-113, Marshall's 'Guide to Taxilā' and other works.

Takṣaka-nāga (sacred spring in Kāśmīra near Jayavana, modern Zevan). V. 32. 90. R. I. 220, P. I. 25. 2 (says Vitastā is the home of Takṣaka-nāga). It is worshipped to this day in the large pool close to the village Zevan. Vide S. M. p. 166, K. R. p. 5

Tālakaśeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 72.

Tālatirtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 2

Tālavana—(to the west of Mathurā) Var. 157. 35

**Tamasā**—A (r., modern Tonse, flowing 12 miles west of the Sarayū and falling into the Ganges) Rām. I. 2. 3, II. 45. 32, Raghuvamśa IX. 20, XIV. 76 (on which stood Vālmiki's āśrama). Vide C.I.I. vol. III. p. 128 where a village Āśramaka on Tamasā is granted in A.D. 512-13; B (r. rising from Rkṣa), M. 114. 25, Vā. 45. 100; C (r. falling into Yamunā) Devī Bh. VI. 18. 12

**Tāmrapaṇi**—(r. in Pāṇḍya country rising from mountain Malaya and falling into the sea) B 27. 36, M 114. 30, Vā 45. 105 and 77. 24-27, V. 88. 14, Rām. IV. 41. 17-18, K. II. 37. 21-22, Br III. 13. 24, Bh. X. 79. 16 and XI. 5. 39. The Taprobane of Megasthenes (A. I. p. 62) and Tāmrapaṇi of Aśoka's Girnar Inscription II; it is said to be Ceylon but that may refer to the river as well; E. I. XX at p. 23 (Nāgarjunikonda Ins.); Br III. 13. 24 and 25, Raghuvamśa IV. 49-50 show that pearls were found there

**Tāmrabha**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191

**Tāmraruṇa**—V. 85. 154

**Tāmravati**—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 23

**Tanulikaśrama**—(near Puskara and Jambūmārga) V 82. 43, Ag. 109. 9, P. I. 12. 3

**Tāpaseśvara**—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 66, P. I. 18. 96

**Tapastīrtha**—(under Go.) B 126. 1 and 37 (it is also called Sattatīrtha)

**Tapati**—(r.) M. 22. 32-33 (Tapati seems to be Tāpi here as distinguished from Mūlatāpi). In Ādiparva chapters 171-173 Tapati is a daughter of the Sun whom king Saṁvarana married and had a son Kuru from her; Mār. 105. 26 (younger daughter of the Sun became river).

**Tāpeśvara**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 104

**Tāpi**—(r. rising from Vindhya and falling into the Arabian sea at Surat, also called Tapati) M 114. 27, B 27. 33, Vā. 45. 102, Ag. 109. 22. Tāpi is mentioned in Usavādā's Nasik Inscription No. 10 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 569). Vide under Payoṣṇi above and TP pp. 544-547 (for mahātmya and sub-tīrthas)

**Tāpikā**—same as Tāpi. Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 242

**Tāpi-samudra**—saṅgama—T. P. p. 547

**Tapovana**—A (on south bank of Go.) B 128. 1; B (in Vāṅga country) V. 84. 115, P. I. 38. 31. 'Tato vanam' is a misreading in Vanaparva

**Tārakeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104. Tārakeśvara is also a village in Hooghly District of Bengal famous for its shrine of Śiva, Vide I. G. I. vol. 23 p. 249

**Taranda** or **Taranika**—(a dvārapāla of Kuruksetra) V. 83. 15, P. I. 27. 92 (reads 'Taranda'), Vām. 22. 60. Vide p. 683 note 1551 above.

**Timi**—(to the right of Saṅkukarṇeśvara) P. I. 24. 20-23

**Tirtakoṣi**—V 84. 121, P. I. 38. 38 (same verse in both)

**Tosālaka**—(the *guhya* name of Visnu is Garudadhvaja here) Nr. q. by T. K. p. 252. Is it the same as Ptolemy's Tosalei (p. 230) and the Tosali in Aśoka's Dhauli Inscriptions (C. I. I. pp. 92 and 97) and the Nāgarjunikonda Inscription (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 23)? Tosali (modern Dhauli in the Puri District) was the chief city of northern Kāliṅga in the days of the Mauryas.

**Toyā**—(r. rising in Vindhya) M. 114. 28, Vā 45. 103

**Traiyaṁbaka-tīrtha**—A (under Go. and sacred to Piṭṛa) M. 22. 47, K. II. 35. 18; B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 112

**Trastāvataṛa**—(an *āyatana*) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

- Tribhāgā**—(r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31, Vā 45. 104
- Tridāśajyoti**—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 11
- Tridivā**—A (r. rising from Himavat) Br. II. 16. 26; B (r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31, Vā 45. 106, B 27. 37; C (r. rising from Rkṣavat) Br. II. 16. 31.
- Tridivābalā**—(r. from Mahendra m.) Br. II. 16. 37. Probably Tridivā and Balā.
- Trigaṅga**—V 84, 29, Anu 25. 16, P. I. 28. 29
- Trigartaeśvara**—(under Mathurā) Var. 176. 16.
- Tribhālikāgrāma**—(where śrāddha is very efficacious) V. Dh. S. 85. 24 (con. Vajrayanti says it is Śālagrāma).
- Trigajaeśvara-līga**—(where Gaṇḍaki and Devitā join) Var. 144. 83
- Triakud**—(m. part of Himavat) A.V. IV. 9. 8 and 9 (for a salve therefrom), Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā III. 6. 3, Sat. Br. III. 1. 3. 12 (all these mention Traikakudā or Traikakubha añjana), Pān. V. 4. 147 (trikakut-parvate) teaches that Triakud is the name of a mountain and the name is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trini kakudāni kakudākārāni śrīgāni asya) Vide Br. III. 1. 3. 58 where it is Triakudagiri (very eminent place for śrāddha), Vā. 77. 57-63.
- Trikoṭi**—(a r. in Kāśmīra) NM 308, 386-87. At Kaśyapa's request Aditi became Trikoṭi. It joins Vitastā.
- Trikuṭa**—(m.) Vām. 85. 4. (son of Sumera), Nr. 65. 21, P VI. 129. 16. In Bh. VIII. 2. 1 Trikuṭa m. appears to be mythical. From Raghuvamśa IV. 58-59 it follows that Trikuṭa was in Aparānta. Dey p. 205 specifies three hills as Trikuṭa. Kālidāsa's Trikuṭa appears to be the Tirahnu or Trirāśmi hill at Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 633 and E. I. vol. 25 p. 225 at p. 232 (copper-plate Ins. discovered at Anjaneri near Nasik of about 709 A. D. mentions 'Pūrva-Trikūṭaviśaya'). The Khannapur plates of Mādhavarman (about 510-560 A. D.) speak of him as the 'lord of Trikuṭa and Malaya' (E. I. vol. 27 p. 312 at p. 315)
- Trilinga**—country which has three famous lingas viz. Kālabastin, Śrīśaila, Drākṣārāma.
- Trilocana-līga**—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 120, K. I. 35. 14-15, P. I. 37. 17.
- Tripadī (Tirupati)**—in the District of north Arcot at a short distance from Renigunta Station. It is the same as Veṅkaṭagiri on the top of which is the celebrated temple of Veṅkaṭeśvara or Balāji.
- Triplakṣa**—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br. III. 13. 69
- Tripura**—A (a very fit place for śrāddha) M. 22. 43; B (capital of Bāṇāsura) P. I. chapters 14-15, Kānaparva 33.17 ff and 34. 113-114, M. chapters 129-140 (give the story of Tripuradāha at great length). Vide also Anu. 160. 25-31 and an interesting paper on 'The Tripura episode in Sanskrit literature' in Journal. Ganganath Jha R. I. vol. VIII. pp 371-395 by Miss Bhakti Sudhā Mukhopādhyaya.
- Tripurāntaka**—(near eastern gate of Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 150.
- Tripureśvara** (modern village Triphar in Kāśmīra, three miles from Dal lake) R. V. 46, HC. 13. 200. Some identify it with Jyēṣṭheśvara.
- Tripuri**—(on the Narmadā) T. S. p. 100 quotes three verses about it. It is modern Tewar, six miles west of Jabalpur. It was the capital of the Kalacuris or Cedis. Vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśaḥkarnadeva in 1122 A.D., E. I. vol. II. p. 1 at p. 3 and E. I. XIX p. 75 (for extent of Mahākosala). M. 114. 53, Sabhāparva 21. 60 and Br. S. 14. 9 mention Traipura country as situated

- on the back of Vindhya. Tripurī is known from very ancient copper coins of early 2nd century B. C. Tripurī-viśaya occurs in Betul plates of Saṅkṣobha as situated in Dabhālā country. Vide R. D. Banerji's 'Haihaya of Tripurī' p. 137.
- Tripuṣkara**—Vide Puṣkara.
- Trisāmā**—(r. rising from Mahendra) Vā 45. 106, Vi. II. 3. 13, Bh. V. 19. 18 (does not mention source).
- Trisandhyā** or **Trisandhyam** A-M. 22. 46 (sacred to pitṛs); B (spring of goddess Sandhyā) one of the holiest Kāśmīra tīrthas. It is modern Sundabār in Brīngpārgana; NM 1471, R. I. 33. SM. p. 181.
- Tristhāna**—(probably same as Vārānaśi) Anu. 25. 16
- Trisūkhara**—(m.) Vā. 42. 28, M. 183. 2.
- Trisūlagangā**—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 84 (confluence of Gandakī and Kṛṣṇā)
- Trisūlakṣhātā**—V. 84. 11. It is probably the same as the Kāśmīra tīrtha Sūlaghātā
- Trisūlapāta**—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 28. 12. Probably the same as above
- Tritakūpa**—a tīrtha visited by Balarāma, Bh. X. 78. 19 (after Pṛthūdaka and Bindusaras). Rg. I. 105. 17 speaks of Trita who had been thrown into a well and was helped by Brhaspati. Vide Nir. IV. 6
- Trivenī**—A (at Prayāga) Var. 144. 86-87; vide p. 602 above; B (confluence of three rivers, viz. Gandakī, Devikā and another r. called Brahmaputrā) Var. 144. 83 and 112-115. It was here that Gajendra was drawn into water by the grāha (crocodile). Var. 144. 116-134.
- Trivṛṣṭapa**—P. I. 26. 79 (where there is Vaitaraṇī river)
- Trṇabindusaras**—(in Kāmyakavana) V. 258. 13.
- Trṇabinduvasa**—Nr. q. by T. K. p. 252.
- Tryambakesvara**—(near Nasik, at the source of the Godāvari) N. II. 73. 1-132 (is the mātṛtmya), SK. IV. 6. 23, P. VI. 176. 58-59, B. 79. 6.
- Tulajāpura**—(a Devisthāna) Devi-Bh. VII. 38. 6
- Tuṅgā**—(r. that falls into the Kṛṣṇā) Nr. 66. 7 (reading differs) q. by T. K. p. 254 (Tuṅgā ca dakṣiṇe Gaṅgā Kāveri ca vīśvataḥ.).
- Tuṅgabhadra**—(The two rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā rise in the Mysore state and join to form the Tuṅgabhadra near Kudli in Mysore State. The river falls into the Kṛṣṇā near Alampur in the Raichūr District) M. 22. 45, Nr. 66. 6 q. by T. K. p. 254, Bh. V. 19. 18, M. 114. 29, B. 27. 35, Vā 45. 104 (last three say that it rises in Sabya). From E.I. vol. XII at p. 294 and Vik. IV. 44-68 it is clear that Cālukya king Someśvara I, being attacked by a malignant fever, perished by entering Tuṅgabhadra in 1065 A.D.
- Tuṅgakūṭa**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 29-30.
- Tuṅgaranya**—V. 85. 46-54, P. I. 39. 43 (where Sarasvatī instructed sages).
- Tuṅgaveṇa**—(one of the rivers that are the sources of fire) V. 222. 25
- Tuṅgesvara**—(in VS) L. I. 92. 7
- Torāmaṅga**—(a tīrtha under Narmadā) M. 191. 29.
- Tvāṅresvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96

## U

- Udabhāṇḍa**—was the residence of Śāhī kings and identified by Stein with capital of Gandhāra; vide R.V. 152-155, VI. 175. It is the Wayband of Alberuni and Obind or Und of modern times (on the right bank of the Indus 15 miles above Attock).
- Udāpāna**—V. 84. 110, P. I. 38. 27.
- Udayanta**—(m. near Somanātha in Kathiawar) SK VI. 2. 11. 11

- Uddālakesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 59
- Uddiyāna**—Kāl. 18. 42 (where the two thighs of Sati's corpse fell).
- Udicitīrtha**—(under Gayā) Vā 111. 6. Vide p. 663 above
- Udyantaparvata**—(the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā to the left of the Sīlā) V. 84. 93, Vā 106 43-44, N. II. 47. 51, P. I. 38.13. Vide p. 647 note 1472 above
- Ugra**—(under VS) P. I. 37. 15; also called Kedāra
- Ugresvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70:
- Ujjānaka**—(where Skanda and Vasiṣṭha secured peace of mind) V. 130. 17, Anu. 25. 55. It is probably a corrupt form of Udyantaka or Udyānaka.
- Ujjayanta** (Girnar in Saurāstra and near Dvārakā) V. 88. 21-24, Vā. 45. 92 and 77. 52, Vām. 13. 18, SK. VII. 2. 11. 11 and 15 (southern boundary of Vāstrāpāthakṣetra). Vide A. G. p. 325.
- Ujjayinī**—(modern Ujjain in Central India) B. 43. 24 (called Avantī), 44. 16 (capital of Mālava.) Vide under Avantī and Māhismatī above. Ujēni is mentioned in the Dhāuli first separate Rock edict (C. I. I. vol. 1. p. 93) of Aśoka. The Mbh. (vol. II. p. 35 on Vartika 10 on Pān. III. 1. 26 mentions it. It is famous for the shrine of Mahākālā, one of the twelve Jyotiṣ-līngas and is situated on the Sīprā river. Kālidāsa immortalizes it in the Meghadūta and Raghuvamśa VI 32-33. A. G. (pp. 489-90) gives the boundaries of the kingdom of Ujjayinī in the 7th century. A. C. (p. 182) gives Viśālā, Avantī and Puṣpakaraṇḍinī as synonyms of Ujjayinī 'Puṣpakaraṇḍakajirnodayāna' is mentioned in the Mṛcchakatika. The Periplus and Ptolemy speak of it as Ozene. Vide Ptolemy pp. 154-155. Vide J. A. O. S. vol. 66 for 1946 p. 295 for Jaina sources on Udayana and Vāsavadattā and I. A. vol. III. p. 153 for inscription of Śrāvana Belgola about migration of Jainas under Bhadrabāhu from Ujjayinī and S. B. E. vol. X part 2 p. 188 (Suttanipāta)
- Umābaka**—(under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 57
- Umākūṇḍa**—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 64
- Umātūṅga**—K. II. 37. 32-33, Vā. 77. 81-82 (best place for śrāddha, jāpa, homa)
- Umāvana**—(where Śaṅkara assumed the Ardhanārīśvara form) Vā. 41. 36. Dey p. 211 says that it is Kotalgad in Kumaon. A. C. p. 182 says it is also called Devikota
- Upajālā**—(r. near Yamunā) V. 130. 21
- Upamanyuliṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 97
- Upasāntasiṁva**—(under VS.) P. I. 37. 17, L. I. 92 107
- Upavēṇā**—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 24
- Urjanta**—(in Aparānta) Br. III. 13. 53 (here are Yogesvarālaya and Vasiṣṭhāsrama)
- Ūrjayat**—m. in Rudradāman's Junāgadh Inscription (in E. I. VIII p. 36 at p. 42) and in Gupta Inscriptions at p. 45
- Urvaśikūṇḍa**—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 51-64, N. II. 67. 65
- Urvaśilīṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
- Urvaśipulina**—(under Prayāga) M. 22. 66 and 106. 34-35, Anu. 25. 40. Vide p. 615 note 1399 above
- Urvaśīśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 72
- Urvaśītīrtha**—A (under Prayāga) V. 84, 157, M. 106. 34, P. I. 38. 64; B (under Go.) B. 171. 1
- Uṣṇātīrtha**—M. 13. 42 (Devī is called Abhayā in tīrthas of hot water)



- Usnigāṅga (a tirtha for bathing) V. 135. 7
- Utkocaka-tirtha—V. 183. 2
- Utpalāvana—V. 87. 15 (in Pāñcāla country), Anu. 25. 34. Dey p. 213 says that it is Biṭhur, 14 miles from Kānpur in U. P.
- Utpalāvartaka—(a forest) N. II. 60. 35, Vanaparva q. by T. K. p. 244
- Utpalāvati—(r. rising from m. Malaya) Vā. 45. 105, M. 114. 30
- Utpaliṇī—(r. in Naimiṣa forest) Ādi. 215. 6
- Utpātaka—Anu. 25. 41
- Uttameśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102
- Uttara—(under VS) K. I. 35. 14, P. I. 37. 17
- Uttara-Gaṅga—(Gangabal in Lar *ḥargana* of Kāśmīra) HC. IV. 54. It is also called Haramukūṭa-gaṅgā and Mānasottaragaṅgā
- Uttaragokarṇa—Var. 216. 22, K. II. 35. 31
- Uttarajāhnavī—H. C. XII. 49. When the Vitastā takes a turn towards the north it is so called.
- Uttaramānasa—Ā (in Kāśmīra) Anu. 25. 60, NM. 1118 (the guardian *naga* of the north of Kāśmīra). The Gangabal lake is popularly so called. See Stein's note on R. III. 448 and H. C. IV. 87; B (near Gayā) Vā. 77. 108, 111. 2, V. Dh. S. 85. 36, Śānti 152. 13, M. 121. 69, K. II. 37. 44, R. 115. 10. Vide pp. 650-651 above
- V
- Vajlavā—(also called Saptacaru) V. 82. 92-99, 222. 24, V. Dh. S. 85. 37. The com. Vaijyanti says that it is some tirtha in the southern part of India, but Vanaparva points to north-west. Dey p. 220 identifies with Bāku on the west coast of the Caspian sea.
- Vadbūsarā—(r. on bathing in which Paraśurāma recovered his *tejas* taken away by Rāma) V. 99. 68
- Vāgīśvari—(under Go.) B 135. 25
- Vāgmātī—(r. Bāgmātī of Nepal which rises in Himālaya) Var. 215. 49 (says that it is 100 times holier than Bhāgīrathī)
- Vāgmātī—Manivati-saṅgama—Var. 215. 106 and 110
- Vāhā—Vām. 57. 78
- Vāhinī—Bhī. 9. 34
- Vaidarbhā—M. 22. 64, Nalacampū VI. 66 (Dakṣiṇasaravati sā vabati Vidarbhā nadi yatra). Probably the same as Varadā
- Vaidūrya—(a hill in Ānarta) V. 89. 6, 121. 16 and 19 (to which Pāṇḍavas came after crossing Payoṣṇī). Pān. IV. 3. 84 teaches the derivation of Vaidūrya precious stone (Beryl) from Vidūra in the sense 'tasmāt prabhavati'. Mbh. (vol. II. p. 313) quotes a verse on this which says that grammarians denominate the mountain Vālavāya as Vidūra. Probably it is the Sātpuḍā range which has Beryl mines. Vide Pargiter pp. 287 (n), 363 (n). It may be the Oroudian mountain of Ptolemy (pp. 80-81)
- Vaidyanātha—A-M. 13. 41, 22. 24, P. V. 17. 205 (same words as in M 13. 41); B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 84, 114; C (under Sābhramati) P. VI. 160. 1; D (Devi is called Bagalā here) Devi-Bh. VII. 38. 14; E—temple of Vaidyanātha, probably one of the 12 Jyotirliṅgas, at Deoghar in Santal Pargana. Vide I. G. I. vol. XI p. 244 for the great temple of Vaidyanātha, which is the oldest of the 22 Śiva temples at Deoghar
- Vaiḥāra—(one of the five hills that surrounded and guarded Citivraja) S. 21. 2
- Vaiḥāyasi—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18
- Vaijayanta—(a Sārasvata-tirtha) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
- Vaikunṭha-kāraṇa—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 21-23

- Vaikuṇṭhatīrtha**—**A** (under Gayā) M. 22. 75, N II. 47. 75; **B** (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 1-4 and 10-12
- Vaimānika**—**Anu**. 25. 23.
- Vaināyakatīrtha**—**M**. 22. 32, G. I. 81.8.
- Vairā**—(**r**.) M. 22. 64
- Vairocanaśvara**—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 140.
- Vaiśakha**—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 156 (established by Viśakha i. e. Skanda).
- Vaiśravaṇeśvara**—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148
- Vaiśvānara-kunḍa**—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 58
- Vaitaraṇī**—**A** (**r**. in Orissa rising in Vindhya) V. 83.6, 114. 4, Vā. 77. 95, K II. 37. 37, P. I. 39. 6, Ag. 116. 7, M. 114. 27, B 27. 33; Jaipur (i. e. Yayātipura) stands on this river, which is the boundary between Balasore and Cuttack (I. G. I. vol. VI. p. 223). Sometimes Utkala and Kalinga are held to be separate as in B 47. 7 and Raghuvaṃśa IV. 38. Utkala is said to be derived from Utkaliṅga (what is outside Kālūga); **B** (in Gayā) Vā. 105. 45, 109, 17, Ag. 116. 7; **C** (in Phalākivana) Vām. 36. 43-44, P. I. 26. 79; **D** (a well in VS) L q by T. K. p. 63.
- Vaivasvatatīrtha**—(under Sūkara) Var. 137. 240 (where the sun practised *tapas* for a son), **Anu**. 25. 39
- Vaivasvateśvara**—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p. 104.
- Vajrabhava**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 61 (the water falls into Kauśikī).
- Vajreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104
- Vālakhilyeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66.
- Vāliśvara**—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 51.
- Vālmikeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
- Vālmiki**—**āśrama** (on the Ganges) Rām. VII. 47. 15-77. Vide under Sthāṇutīrtha and Tamaśā.
- Vāmana** or **Vāmanaka**—(under Kuru-kṣetra) V. 84. 130, V. 83. 103, Ag. 109. 20, P. I. 26. 96 (Vāmanaka), I. 38. 47; **B** (under Gayā) N. II, 46. 46; **C** (under Sābhramatī) P, VI. 153.2 (where seven rivers flow). Vide I A. vol. 54 (at end) p. 41 where it is said that Vanthali about 8 miles south-west of Junāgad is the Vāmana-tīrtha of the Mahābhārata.
- Vāmaṇeśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 26
- Vamśadharā**—(**r**. rising from Mahendra) Vā. 45. 106, Mār. 54. 29 (reads Vanśakarā) and Var. 85 (profe) reads Vamśavarā. Pargiter (p. 305n) says that it is the modern Bams-dharā on which Kalingapatam stands, 17 miles from Chicacole. Vide Santa-Bommali plates of Indravarma (E. I. vol. XXV p 194) issued from Kalinganagara
- Vamśagulma**—(on confluence of Narmadā and Soṇa) V. 85. 9
- Vamśamūlaka**—P. I. 26. 38
- Vamśodbheda**—**M**. 24. 25
- Vānaraka**—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 6. It may be a misreading of 'cānarake'.
- Vandanā**—(**r**) Bhī. 9. 18
- Vāṇī-saṅgama**—(under Go.) B. 135. 1 and 23
- Vāñjarā**—(**r**. on south bank of Go.) B. 159.45. It is probably the modern Manjarā river that falls into Godāvari in Nander District
- Vāñjarāsaṅgama**—(under Go) B. 159. 1
- Vāñjulā**—**A** (**r**. rising from Sahya and falling into Go.) M. 114. 29, Vā. 45. 103, Vām. 57. 76; **B** (**r**. rising in Mahendra) B. 27. 37
- Vaṅkṣu**—(modern Oxus) Sabhā 51, 20 (*rāsabhas* were brought as presents)
- Varadā**—(the Vardhā river in C. P) Rām. IV. 41. 9, Ag. 109. 22, Nalacampū VI. 66 (Virapurusaṃ tad-

- etad Varadātatanāmakam Mahārāṣṭram) See under Varadāsāngama.
- Varadāna—V. 82. 63-64, P. I. 24. 12 (both contain story about Durvasas conferring a boon on Viṣṇu)
- Varadā-sāngama—V. 85. 35, P. I. 39. 32
- Varāhamūlaksetra or Varāhaḥsetra—(modern Bārāmūla in Kāśmīra). It is on the right bank of the Vitastā at the head of the western entrance to the Kashmir valley and is sacred to Ādivarāha: R. VI. 186, H.C. XII. 43, K. R. pp. 11-12 and SM. pp. 201-202
- Varāha-parvata—(probably Bārāmūla in Kāśmīra) V. Dh S. 85. 7
- Varāha-sthānas—(places sacred to the Great Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu are Kokāmukha, Badarī and Lohargala) Var. 140. 4-5
- Varāhatīrtha—A (under Kuroksetra) Vām. 34.32, P. I. 26. 15; B (under VS) P. I. 37. 6, K. I. 35.5; C (under Mathurā) Var. 166 23 (there were four golden images of Varāha, Nārāyaṇa, Vāmana, Rāghava); D (on Vitastā in Kāśmīra) NM 1359; E (a sub-tīrtha of Sahyāmalaka) Nr. 66 34; F (under Sābhramālī); P. VI. 165. 10; G (on Narmadā) M. 193. 74, K. II. 42. 14, P. I. 20. 71; H (on Payoṣṇī) V. 88. 7 and 9 (king Nrga performed yajña here and the tīrtha is holiest of all rivers), K. II. 20 32, Vām. 90. 4; I (under Go.) B 79. 6.
- Varāheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 98.
- Varaṇā—(r. northern boundary of Banaras) M. 22. 31, 183. 62. Vide pp. 625-626 above; L. I 92 87 calls it Varuṇā.
- Varāṇasī—Vide pp. 618-642. Though Kāśī and Varāṇasī are treated as synonyms almost everywhere (pp. 624-626) still it seems to me that Kāśī was on the eastern side of the Ganges and Varāṇasī on the western.
- Varaṇavati—(r.) Atharvaveda IV. 7.1.
- Vāraneśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 29.
- Vardhanadruma—(in Kāśmīra, an āyatana of Vināyaka Gāṇḍeya) NM 1161
- Vāridhāra—(m.) Bh. V. 19. 16
- Varnāśā—(r. Banas in Rajputana rising from Pariyātra and falling into Chambal) Br. II. 16. 28; see under Parṇāśā.
- Varnu—(r.) Pāṇ. IV. 2 103 (varṇau vuk). Kāśikā explains that the country on Varnu was also called Varnu. This appears to be modern Bannu. Varnu occurs in Suvāstravādi-gaṇa. (IV. 2. 77).
- Vārtraghnī—(r. rising in Pāriyatra and falling into the sea) P. VI. 131. 56, 68, VI. 164. 1 and 71, Mār. 57. 19; Vā. 45. 97 reads Vitragnī and B. 37. 28 Vārtraghnī.
- Varuṇasrotasā—(m.) V. 88. 10
- Varuṇā—(r. tributary of the Go.) P. VI. 176. 59
- Vārūnatīrtha—V. 83. 164, 88. 13 (in Pāṇḍya country), Bār. Sūtra III. 88 (on the shores of the eastern sea).
- Varuṇeśa—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66; B (under Narmadā) M 191. 6.
- Varuṇeśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 103; B (under Narmada) P. I. 18. 6
- Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa—(under Lobargala) Var. 151 40. There is a Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa on the Alakanda at Deva-prayāga. Vide I.G.I. vol. XI. p. 274.
- Vasiṣṭhāpavāha—(on Sarasvatī) Śal. 42. 41.
- Vasiṣṭhārama—A (near Jyestheśvara in Kāśmīra) R. I. 107 (and Stein's note thereon in vol. I, pp. 23-21), NM 1323; B (on mount Arbuda (which see) V. 102. 3; C (on Badarīpācana, which see) V. 102.3 (narrates that in Vasiṣṭhārama Kāleyas devoured 188 brāhmanas

- and 9 *tāpasas*. The location is uncertain.
- Vasiṣṭhatīrtha—M. 22. 68 (śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here).
- Vasiṣṭheśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 47.
- Vasiṣṭhī—V. 84. 48, P. I. 32. 12 (same verse in both, but P. reads Vasiṣṭham).
- Vasordhārā—V. 82. 76, P. I. 24. 24 (same verse in both, P reading Vasudhārā).
- Vastrāpathakṣetra—(territory round about Girnar in Kathiawad) SK. VII. 2. 1-3 (it is quintessence of Prabhāsa, Raivata-kṣetra is so called), VII. 2. 11. 16 (it is four yojanas in extent). The holy river therein is Suvarṇarekhā (which see)
- Vāsuka—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42. 6
- Vāsukīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48.
- Vāṣṇatīrtha—A (under VS) P. I. 39. 79, L. q. by T. K. p. 48; B (under Prayāga) V. 85. 86 (also called Bhogavatī)
- Vāsupradā—M. 22. 72 (śrāddha here makes a man reach highest goal).
- Vasutuṅga—(Jagatpati is the *guhya* appellation of Viṣṇu here) Nr. q. by T. K. p. 251
- Vaṇa—A (in Prayāga) M. 104. 10, 111. 10; B (in Gayā) V. Dh. S. 85.5.
- Vāṇanadī—M. 22. 37 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible fruit).
- Vāṇeśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 27, K. II. 41. 19, P. I. 18. 27 (same verse in K and P), Ag. 109.20; B (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 73, P. I. 38. 46, N. II. 47. 59; C (under Prayāga) M. 22. 9; D (under Puruṣottama) N II. 56. 28
- Vāṇeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 66
- Vāṇeśvarapura P. I. 38.46
- Vātika—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1459.
- Vāṭodakā (r. in Pāṇḍya country) Bh. IV. 28. 35
- Vatsakrīḍanaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 156. 1
- Vāyavyatīrtha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 75
- Vāyutīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 33. 5; P. I. 37. 5 (same verse in both); B (under Mathurā) Var. 152. 65; C (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 5.
- Vedadhārā—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 20.
- Vedagiri (hill in Sahya range to the south of Brahmagiri and a sub-tīrtha under Kṛṣṇa-Venyā) TS. p. 78
- Vedaśīras—(most efficacious for śrāddha) M. 22. 71.
- Vedasmṛti—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) Anu. 165. 25, M. 114. 23, Vā. 45.97, Br. II. 16.27. Dey p. 223 opines that it is the river Bosuli in Malwa and a tributary of the Siadh; Br. S. 16.32 mentions it.
- Vedaśrutī—(r. after Kosala towards the south) Rām. II. 49. 10
- Vedavatī—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) M. 114. 23, Br II. 16. 27, B. 27. 29, Anu 165. 25; this and the above two rivers cannot really be identified. There is a river called Vedāvatī or Hagarī which rises in Mysore and ultimately falls into the Tuṅga-bhadra. Vide I. G. I. vol. XIII p. 5.
- Vedeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 44.
- Veditīrtha—(v. l. Devitīrtha) P I. 26. 92.
- Vegavatī—(r. modern Vaiga or Baiga on which Madurā in south India is situated) Var. 215. 58, Vām. 84. 6, P VI. 237. 9. Vide E. I. vol. XIII p. 194 where there is a gift of Ambikāpura on north bank of Vegavatī to the Śaṅkarācārya of Kāmakoṭi piṭha. The form Vaigai appears in the Silappadikāram (Prof. Dikshitar's tr. p. 270).
- Venā—A (r. rising from Vindhya) B. 27. 33, M. 114. 27. This is the Wain-Gangā in C. P. and falls into Godāvarī; B-r, rising from Sahya m.

near Mahabaleshwar. The Pengangā falls into Wardha, acc. to I. G. I. vol. V p. 22, vol. XIII. p. 229, vol. XX. p. 102 and the united stream of the Waingangā and Wardhā is known as Prānabitā which ultimately falls into the Godāvarī. Vide I. G. I. vol. 24 p. 349, Bhī. 9. 20, 28, V. 85. 32, 88. 3, 222. 24, Anu. 165. 20, Bh. X. 79. 12, Venā is often mentioned as Kṛṣṇavenā or—Venā or—Venī as in M. 114. 29. Rājasekhara in Kāvya-mīmāṃsā p. 94 mentions 'Venā' and 'Kṛṣṇavenā' separately in the first quarter of the 10th century. Vide Pargiter p. 303n for the various forms of this name.

Venāsāṅgama—V 85. 34, P. I. 39. 32

Venī—A (confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā) Vide above p. 603 n 1369. Vide Banaras Ins. of Karmadeva in Kalacuri year 793 (i.e. 1042 A.D.) in E. I. vol. II. p. 297 at p. 310 (Venyām snātva...Trilocanam...sambharyaya), Kamauli plate of Jayacandra in E. I. IV. at p. 123 (dated samvat 1230 i. e. 1173 AD); B (r. rising in Sahya from the root of an āmalaka tree and falling into Kṛnā) TS. p. 79

Veṅkaṭa—(m. in Dravida country, Arcot District, near Tirupati) G. Brahmakhaṇḍa, chap. 26 deals with Veṅkaṭagiri-mābātmya, Bh. V. 19. 16, X. 79. 13 (in Dravida), R. VI. 280. 19, SK. III. Brahmakhaṇḍa, 52. 102; SK. I. Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa is Veṅkaṭācalamābātmya. The shrine was once considered so holy that till 1870 no Christian or Moslem was allowed to ascend the hill of Tirumala.

Venumatī—(śraddha thereon most efficacious) M. 22. 20

Venyā—(r. rising from m. Sahya and falling into the Kṛnā) Vām. 13. 30, Anu. 165. 22 (Godāvarī ca Venyā ca

Kṛṣṇavenā tathāpi ca), Bh. V. 19. 18, P. VI. 113. 25 (Mahādeva became Venyā)

Vetasikā—(r.) V. 84. 56, P. I. 32. 20, P. VI. 29. 20 (speaks of Vetasī-Vetravati-sāṅgama)

Vetravati—A (modern Betwa river, which rises in the Bhopal State and falls into the Yamunā) M. 22. 20, 114. 23 (rises from Pāriyātra), Br. II. 16. 28 (rises from Rksavati), K. II. 20. 35; Meghadūta (l. 24) says that Vidiśā (modern Bhisā), the capital of Daśarṇa, was situated on Vetravati; B (a tributary of the Sābbramatī) P. VI. 130 and 133. 4-5. In 'Questions of Milinda' (S. B. E. vol. 35 p. 171) among ten great rivers flowing from the Himālaya Vetravati is one. This must be different from the above two

Vibhāṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Vidarbhā-sāṅgama—(under Go.) B. 121. 1 and 23; acc. to AC p. 182 Vidarbhā is the name of Kuṇḍīnapura (v. 979)

Vidhiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116

Vidiśā—A (r. rising from Pāriyātra m.) B 27. 29, Br. II. 16. 28, Mār. 54. 20. Vide Vetravati above; B—A city mentioned in Raghubarāṇḍa 15. 36 (Rāma gave to the two sons of Satrughaṇa, Satrughaṇin and Subāhu, the cities of Madhurā and Vidiśā); Meghadūta l. 24 states that Vidiśā was the capital of the Daśarṇa country. In the Mālavikāgnimitra (V. 1) Agnimitra is shown as enjoying himself on the banks of the Vidiśā river and later on Fuṣyamitra refers to his son Agnimitra as Vaidiśastha (i. e. Vaidiśā would mean a city on the Vidiśā). Vide Vāḍnera plates of Kaṭacchuri Buddharāja in 360 of the Kalachuri era (i. e. about 609 A. D.) issued from 'Vaidiśa-vāsakāt vijaya

- skandhāvāṛāt'** (E. I. vol. XII. at p. 30)
- Vidyādhara**—(under Gaṇḍakī and Sāla-grāma) Var. 145. 62
- Vidyādhareśvara**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 11, P. I. 37. 14
- Vidvara**—(m.) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250. Is it Vidūra?
- Vidyātīrtha**—(same as Sandhyā) V. 84. 52, P. I. 32. 16
- Vidyēśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 49
- Vihagēśvara**—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 1
- Vihāratīrtha**—(of Madana, under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 10
- Vijayēśvara**—(modern Vijabror in pargana Vular in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 191-195 (HC calls it mahākṣetra). Ain. A. vol. II. p. 356 refers to this. Vitastā is to its east and north, Gambhīrā to the west and Viśvavati to the south
- Vijaya**—(a lūga) M. 22. 73, K. II. 35. 21
- Vijaya-lūga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 112
- Vijayēśa**—(in Kāśmīra) NM. 1240. R. 1. 38, SM. p. 173; one of the most famous tīrthas in Kāśmīra. It is less than two miles above Cakradhara
- Vijayēśvara**—A (in Kāśmīra) R. I. 105 and 113; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 76
- Vijvareśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Vikīrṇatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 7
- Vimala**—V. 82. 87 (where silver and golden-coloured fish were found). P. I. 24. 35 (same verse in both)
- Vimalā**—(a city) P. IV. 17. 67 (destroys sins of numerous murders, just as Avanti and Kāñci do)
- Vimala**—(a famous spring near Mārtāṇḍa temple in Kāśmīra). Vide Mārtāṇḍa p. 780 above
- Vimalāśoka**—V. 84. 69-70, P. I. 32. 33 (almost same verse in both)
- Vimaleśa**—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
- Vimaleśvara**—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 14, 194 38-39, 22. 8, K. II. 41. 5 and II. 42. 36, P. I. 17. 11; B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34. 15, P. VI. 131. 50
- Vimocana**—V. 83. 161, P. I. 27. 49
- Vinaśana**—(where Sarasvatī disappears in the great desert in Ambala and Sirhind in Punjab). It was known from Brāhmana period; vide pp. 682 and 684 above and V. 82. 111, 130. 34. Śal. 37. 1 (śūdrābhīrān prati dveṣāt yatra naṣṭā Sarasvatī), K. II. 37. 29, Br. III. 13. 69. Manu II. 21 mentions it as the eastern boundry of Madhyadeśa. Devala q. by T. K. p. 250 speaks of it as one of the Sārasvatatīrthas. Mbh. (vol. I. p. 475 on Pān. II. 4. 10 and vol. III. p. 174 on Pān. VI. 3. 109) speaks of it as 'ādarśa' and as eastern boundary of Āryāvarta. The Kāṇkā on Pān. IV. 2. 124 speaks of Ādarśa as a Janapada (country). As Oldham says (in JRAS for 1893 at p. 52) the exact position of Vinaśana is unknown, but Oldham surmises that it was not far from Sirsa.
- Vināyakakuṇḍa**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53
- Vināyakeśvara**—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 126
- Vindhya**—one of the seven great mountain ranges of Bharatavarṣa) V. 313. 2, Bhī. 9. 11, Vā. 77. 34, M. 13. 39, Bh. V. 19. 16. It is the Oindion of Ptolemy (p. 77)
- Vindhyavāsinī**—(a Devsthāna) M. 13. 39, Devī—Bh. VII. 38. 8.
- Vipās**—(modern Beas river in Punjab and Hyphasis or Hypasis of Greek writers) Rg. III. 33. 113, IV. 30. 11. The Nir. IX. 26 explaining Rg. X. 75. 5 states that Vipās was originally called Uruñjitrā, and then Ārjikiyā and that when Vasiṣṭha threw him-

- self into it bound by ropes through grief he rose up from the river with the ropes rent asunder. Pāṇ. (IV. 2. 74 'udak ca Vipāśah') mentions Vipāś in connection with hills to the north of it; Ādi. 177. 1-5 refer to Vasiṣṭha's attempt to commit suicide, V. 130. 8-9 (Vipāś here), Anu. 3. 12-13 refer to the same story. Vide Rām. II. 68. 19, Vām. 79. 6, N II 60. 30
- Vipratīrtha—(under Go.) B 167. 1 and 33 (also called Nārāyaṇa)
- Virabhadreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87.
- Viraja—A (country round Jāipur in Orissa) V 85. 6; B (acc. to Tīrthendusekhara p. 6) it is Lonāradeśa and lake i. e. in Balidana District in Berar; C (on Sabya m. near Godāvari and Bhīmā) B 161. 3.
- Virajā—(r. in Orissa) K II. 35. 25-26, Vām. q. by T. K. p. 235
- Virajamaṇḍala—(northern boundary of Oṅradeśa) B. 28. 1-2
- Virajatīrtha—(on Vaitaraṇī river in Orissa) V. 85. 6, P. I. 39. 6, I. 45. 28-29, (it is an Ādityatīrtha), B. 42. 1 (Viraje Virajā mātā brahmāni sampratigṛhitā), Vām. 22. 19 (the southern vedī of Brahṁā), Br III. 13. 57. Vide T. P. pp. 598-599 for Viraja-kṣetra, which is the popular name of Jāipur in Orissa
- Virajādri—(under Gayā) Nā. 106. 85 (Gayāsura's navel rested on it)
- Virapatañi—(r.) Eg. I. 104. 4
- Virapramokṣa—V. 84. 51, P. I. 32. 14 (same verse in both); probably near Bhṛguliṅga
- Virāśrama—V. 84. 145 (where Kārtikeya resides)
- Virasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 14, 160. 20
- Virūpākṣa—A (Hampi) P V. 17. 103, SK., Brahṁakhaṇḍa 52. 102; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102
- Viśakhayūpa—(near Kurukṣetra) V 90. 15, 177. 16, Vām. 81. 9, Nr. 63. 14 (Viṣṇu's guhya name is Viśveṣa here)
- Viśālā—A—same as Ujjayinī; Meghadūta I. 30; vide under Avantī and Ujjayinī. A. C. says 'Ujjayinī syād—Viśālāvantī Ruspakaraṇḍinī'; B (asrama near Badarī) V 90. 25, 139. 11, Anu. 25. 44, Bh. V. 4. 5, XI. 29. 47; C (under Gayā) Vām. 81. 26-32 (a river), Ag. 115. 54, P. I. 38. 33
- Viśalākhyavana—Mār. 106. 57 (on a mountain in Kāmarūpa)
- Viśālākṣi—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115
- Viśalyā—A (r.) V. 84. 14; B (under Narmadā) M. 186. 43 and 46-48 (also called Viśalyakaraṇī), K. II. 40. 27, P. I. 13. 39, Br. III 13. 12
- Viṣaprastha—(hill) V 95. 3 (near Gomatī probably)
- Viṣṇucaṅkramaṇa—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 80 q. by T. K. p. 127
- Viṣṇudhārā—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 17
- Viṣṇu-Gayā—P. VI. 176. 41 (where there is Lonārakuṇḍa)
- Viṣṇukāñci—P. VI. 204. 30
- Viṣṇupada—A (under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 103, 130. 3, NM 1238; B (lake on Niṣadha mountain) Br. II. 18. 67, Vā 47. 64; C (under Gayā) vide pp. 645, 646, 653 and note 1471 above and R. D. Banerji's 'Fālna of Bengal' (Memoirs of A. S. B. vol. V pp. 60-61 for Viṣṇupāda temple inscription of the 7th year of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign; D (under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 42
- Viṣṇupadī—(name of Gaṅgā, as it is said to rise from the left toe of Viṣṇu) Bh. V. 17. 1. Amarakośa mentions it as a synonym of Gaṅgā (Gaṅgā Viṣṇupadī Jabnu-tanayā)
- Viṣṇusaras—A (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 24; B (under Goniskramaṇa) Var. 147. 43
- Viṣṇutīrtha—A (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 71-74; B (under Narmadā)

- M 191. 99, K. II. 41.52 (it is Yodhīpuram Viṣṇusthānam); P I. 18. 94 (known as Yodhanīpurā); C (under Go) B. 136. 1 and 41 (also called Maudgalya)
- Viṣṇutīrthas—(108 enumerated) P. VI. 129. 5-16.
- Viśokā—(r. in Kāśmīra) modern Vesā NM. 307, 373, 381, 1493, HC. XII. 35. NM. 307 says that Lakṣmī at the request of sage Kāśyapa became Viśokā; NM. 381 says that it formed Vitastā below Vijabror; NM. 1491-1493 speak of the confluence of Kaundīnī rising from lake Kramasāra with Viśokā.
- Viśrāntī-tīrthā—A (the most sacred spot in Mathurā) Var. 163. 162, 167.1 6, P. VI. 209.5 (on the bank of Yamunā where Kāṁsa was killed by Kṛṣṇa); B (a different kṣetra' from the above in Madhuvana, where Viṣṇu assumed the form of Varāha) P. VI. 209. 1-3 and 5
- Viśvā—(r.) Bh V. 19. 18
- Viśvakarmesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 55
- Viśvakāyā—P. VI. 129. 8
- Viśvāmītranadi—V. 89. 9, Bh. 9. 26 (has Viśvāmītrā as a river)
- Viśvāmītrā—mahānada (in Punjab) NM. 151
- Viśvāmītrārama—Kām. I. 26. 34
- Viśvāmītratīrthā—A V. 83. 139; B (under Go) B 93. 4 and 27 (where Rama honoured Viśvāmītrā), P I. 27. 28
- Viśvamukha—(tīrthā on jālandhara) Vide under jālandhara p. 758 and P. VI. 129. 26
- Viśvapada—(a pītṛtīrthā) M. 22. 35
- Viśvarūpa—(under VS) P. I. 37. 2
- Viśvarūpaka—P. VI. 129. 14 (in Māyāpurī, it appears)
- Viśvavati—same as Viśokā IIC. X. 192 (it is southern boundary of Vijayēśvara)
- Vīśvedeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87.
- Viśveśvara—(one of five līngas in VS) K. I. 32. 12 and II. 41.59, P. I. 34. 10, N II. 51. 4; vide pp 632-33 above; B (in Girikarṇa) P. VI. 129.10.
- Viśvāvasveśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116.
- Vitamsā—one of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (S. B. E. vol. 35 p. 171). Dey p. 40 identifies it with the Vitastā without assigning any reason.
- Vitāntā—saṅgama (with Narmadā) P. II. 92.33.
- Vitastā—(r. in Kāśmīra, now known as Zhelum) Ig. X. 75. 5. Vide under Kāśmīra and Takṣakanāga; V. 82. 88-90 (Vitastā is the home of Takṣakanāga), 130. 20, K. II. 44. 4, Vām. 90. 7, NM 45. 305-06 (Umā became Vitastā), 336-341 (Śaṅkara struck with his trident and made a hole as big as *vitasti* i. e. 12 aṅgulas and Sati came bubbling forth as a river which is called Vitastā from the word Vitasti). K. V. 97-100 inform us that the great and self-taught engineer Suyya in the days of king Avantivarman of Kāśmīra (7th century) changed the course of the Vitastā and the spot of its confluence with the Sindhu. Vide Stein's note I in translation of R. vol. 11 pp. 329-336 and the note of Mr. J. C. Chatterji challenging the correctness of Dr. Stein's remarks (in 'confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu', 1906)
- Vitastā-Gambhīrā-saṅgama—SM. pp. 101, 110
- Vitastā-madhumatī-saṅgama- NM 1442
- Vitastā-sindhu-saṅgama—(exceptional sanctity) K. IV. 391, V. 82. 97-100, NM 394-95. The place where these two rivers meet enjoys among Kāśmīra people the same sanctity as the confluence at Prayāga.



**Vitastātra**—(spring of Vithavatur, one mile to the north-west of Vernag spring in Kāśmīra) R. I. 102-103. Aśoka is said to have built many stūpas here. This spring is traditionally considered to be the main source of the Vitastā, Vide SM p.182  
**Vraja**—(village of Nand-Gopa) Bh. X. 1. 10. Vide Gokula above.

**Vṛddhakanyātīrtha**—(sage Gālava's son married an old spinster who had practised *tapas* for a husband worthy of her) Śal. 52.1-25, Devala q. by T.K. p. 250 (as one of the Sārasvatatīrthas)

**Vṛddhapura**—(where there is a lake of Sanaścara i. e. Saturn) P VI. 34. 33-35

**Vṛddhāsāṅgama**—(under Go.) B 107.1.

**Vṛddhi-Vināyaka**—(under Gayā) Ag 116. 31

**Vṛndavana**—(last of the twelve vanas of Mathurā) M 13. 38 (Devī is Rādhā here), Var. 153, 45, 156.6 (the demon Ketū was destroyed here), Bh. X. 11.28 and 36, X. 20, X. 21. 5 and 10, P. IV. 69. 9, IV 75. 8-14 (esoteric interpretation), IV. 81. 60 (is the best place in Mathurā), VI. 16. 72 (where Vṛndā gave up her mortal body), BV (Kṛṣṇajñanmahāṇḍa) chap. 17. 204-222 (explain how Vṛndā performed *tapas* and how Vṛndā is one of the 16 names of Rādhā. A G. identifies Klisoboras of Arrian with this

**Vṛṣabhājīrjaka**—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 33

**Vṛṣabheśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 43.

**Vṛṣadhvaja**—(under VS) K. I. 35, 13, L. I. 92. 106, N II. 50. 48

**Vṛṣākapa**—(under Go.) B. 129. 1.

**Vṛṣotsarga**—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 8

**Vṛtraghoi**—(r. that springs from Pāri-yātra) Br. II. 16. 27, Mār. 54. 19. Dey p. 42 says that it is a tributary of the Sābhramatī

**Vṛtresaṅgama**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96

**Vyāghreśvara**—(under VS) K. I. 35.14, P. I. 37. 17, L. I. 92. 109, N. II. 50. 56

**Vyāsakuṇḍa**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 86

**Vyāsasaras**—Vā. 77. 51, Br. III. 13.52

**Vyāsasthali**—(where Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son), N II. 65. 83-84, P. I. 26. 90-91

**Vyāsātīrtha**—A (in Kurukṣetra) K. II. 37.29, Br. III. 13. 69; B (under Narmada) Vā 77. 67, P. I. 18. 38; C (under Go.) B 158. 1

**Vyāsavana**—(near Mīśrakā) P. I. 26. 87  
**Vyoma-Gaṅgā**—(under Gayā) N II. 47. 57

**Vyoma-līṅga**—(under Śrīparvata) I. I. 92. 161

**Vyoma-tīrtha**—(under VS) P. I. 37.14

## Y

**Yajana**—V. 82. 106

**Yājñavalkya-līṅga**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 47, 88

**Yājñavarāha**—celebrated temple of Varāhadeva at Yājñapura or Jājpur on Vaitaraṇī in Orissa

**Yakṣatīrtha**—(later called Hamsatīrtha) Var. 144. 155-156

**Yakṣiṇī-saṅgama** (under Go.) B. 132. 1.

**Yamalārjunakuṇḍa**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 188.

**Yamatīrtha**—A (under VS) K. I. 35. 6, II. 41. 83; B (under Go.) B 125. 1 and 131. 1; C (under Narmadā) P I. 37. 6.

**Yamavyasanaka**—(under Kokāmukha) Var 140. 55.

**Yamunā**—(r.) Kg. V. 52. 17, VII. 18. 19, X. 75. 5. For Yamunā-māhātmya, vide P. VI. chapters 195-197. It is the jomanes of Pīṇy

**Yamunāprabhava**—(Yamnouri) K. II. 37.30, Br. III. 13. 71 (where there are hot springs and very cold water)

**Yamunāsāṅgama**—Var. 174 deals with its power.

**Yamunātīrtha**—Śal. 49. 11-16 (where Varuṇa performed Rājasūya). M. 108. 23-24 (as the daughter of the sun), P. I. 29. 6.

**Yamuneśvara**—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66; B (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 12

**Yantresvara**—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190. 1.

**Yasṭi**—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 82. Dey p. 215 says it is 'Jetbian' about two miles north of Tapovana in Gayā

**Yavatīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 88.

**Yayātīrtha**—A (under Sarasvatī). Vām. 39. 36; B (under VS) Śal. 41. 32, P. I. 37. 9

**Yayātipatana**—V 82. 48, P. I. 12. 8 (same words in both)

**Yayātipura**—(modern Jāipur) on the Vaitarani river in Orissa; A. G. p. 512.

In E. I. vol. XI. p. 189 there is a Yayātinagara. It is doubtful whether it is the same as Jāipur.

**Yayātiśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115.

**Yogitīrtha**—(under Sūkara) Var. q. by T. K. p. 210

**Yonidvāra**—(on the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā) V. 84. 94-95, P. I. 38. 15 (same words in both), N. II. 44. 76-77

**Yugandhara**—A—a country or people acc. to Pāṇ. IV. 2. 130 and the Kāśikā mentions it as one of Sālvā-vayavas; B (a m.) acc. to Kāśikā on Pāṇ. III. 2. 46. Vām. 34. 47 'Yugandhara dadhi prāṣya uṣitvā cācyuta-sthale tadvad-Bhūtālaye snātvā saputrā vastum-icchasi'. Br. S. 32. 19 appears to mention Yaugandhara as the name of a people or country.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS ON TIRTHAS

At the end of this long list of tirthas a few words, as promised on p. 722 above, must be said about the attitude that we Indians of the 20th century should adopt towards the mountains, rivers and other holy places in Bhārata. Modern secular education and the prevailing economic conditions, stresses and trends leave hardly any room for moral and spiritual uplift. We are surrounded on all sides by anxiety, want, misery, hardness of heart and crime. Therefore, the endeavour of all those who have the good of our country at heart must be to cherish all such institutions as tend to lift the mind out of narrowness and to make it concentrate for some time at least on noble thoughts and aspirations and on detachment from the all-engrossing pursuit of money. Pilgrimage is one of such institutions. Those who have faith in pilgrimages as enabling a pilgrim to attain heaven, to collect merit and reach release from saṃsāra should give pilgrimages a new orientation, should see that their charity is not wasted on indolent, ignorant and vicious priests, should improve the methods of worship at holy places in such a way as will satisfy all hygienic requirements. The priestly class at holy places should remember that in the coming generations they are likely to find their occupation gone, unless they improve themselves, unless they try to be less ignorant and indolent than they are at present and really serve as honest business agents or 'Travelers' Guides. The number of people visiting holy places in the belief of accumulating merit is sure to become less and less, as modern secular education spreads. But it would be a calamity for the moral and spiritual greatness of India if pilgrimages to holy mountains and rivers came to be stopped altogether. I would very strongly recommend to all men, however highly educated, the undertaking of pilgrimages to certain hallowed spots. Our country has recently secured independence and it now rests entirely with us to make or mar the character of the teeming millions of this our land. All things that tend to create in Indians the deep feeling that amidst diversities of physical features, food, dress and habits, all of them are one people, that there is no part or district of this vast land which cannot claim to have made some substantial contribution in religious and philosophical thought, in abiding literature, in works of art and in holy places, that the destinies of the Indians

of one part of Bhārata are bound up with the destinies of all others. Frequent visits to distant places in Bhārata, mixing up among people of other parts and understanding their peculiar good points, needs and failings is absolutely necessary if we are to keep our freedom. India is thrice blest in the mountain ranges of the Himālaya, which contains the highest peaks in the world and is full of large and life-giving rivers and of numerous shrines associated with the names of the greatest sages and heroes of antiquity. Every Indian who is proud of the great religious and spiritual heritage of our country must make it a point to devote some part of his time to frequenting holy mountains, rivers and other places of pilgrimage. When we see even from a distance the purity, the whiteness and the serenity of the snow-capped peaks of the Himālaya, the play of delicate and exquisite hues and tints of blue, mauve, and pink when the sun begins to shine on them, a sense of wonder, joy and elevation comes upon us. The glorious view of a peak like Kinchinjunga, which is an unforgettable experience, lifts up the whole life of the onlooker to a higher plane for long. Similarly, the sight of the holy Ganges at night or at sunrise in Haridvāra or on the majestic Ghats in Banaras surely empties our minds of meanness and for the moment at least fills our hearts with a sense of nature's beauty and with purity, and brings us in tune with the Infinite. I may state here that the talk of the conquest of Everest in which some members of European expeditions indulge jars on my ears. This great peak has so far vanquished (physically) all those who attempted the conquest § But in a figurative sense Everest and other high peaks have been for ages conquering the hearts of men. Even the members of these expeditions will admit that Everest and its brethren have drawn men to themselves from all parts of the world, made them give up their usual uneventful and placid activities, have evoked in those who attempt the climbing of these giants unbelievable courage, endurance, resourcefulness and self-abnegation and have been instrumental in exhibiting to the world what unknown powers the human spirit possesses. Therefore, these silent but awe-inspiring peaks should be looked upon as teachers of mankind and not as material things to be conquered and dealt with by human beings as they please.

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§ While these pages were passing through the Press, news was broadcast on the very morning of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II that Sherpa Tensing Norkay and Mr. Edmund Hillary, two members of Col. Hunt's British Expedition, had successfully climbed to the top of Mount Everest.

## APPENDIX—of long Sanskrit Passages

**Page 118 Note 267.** On pp. 117-118 above reference has been made to the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those that had been converted to Christianity or Islam by force or fraud or even voluntarily. Not only was there re-admission of those that were converted, but non-Hindus, such as Yavanas, Kirātas, Śakas, were absorbed into the Hindu fold and were induced to adopt the practices of Hindus (such as śrāddhas and gifts to brāhmanas). Vide Śāntiparva chap. 65. 13-21 quoted above in note 830 (p. 364). A Greek ambassador of king Antialkita (Antialkidas) named Heliodora, son of Diya (Dion), was accredited to the court of king Bhāgabhadra, called himself Bhāgavata and raised a column in honour of Vāsudeva in the 2nd century B. C. (JRAS 1909, pp. 1053 and 1087 and JBBRAS vol. 23 p. 104). Uśavadāta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Ksatrapa Nahapāna, is described in one of the Nasik inscriptions (No. 14a in E. I. vol. VIII at p. 85) as a *śakva*, but made very extensive donations to brāhmanas at Broach, Prabhāsa and other places. Part of one of his inscriptions is cited on p. 710 note 1618 above. Though the name Uśavadāta (Rśabha-datta) is a Sanskritized one the two names Dinika and Nahapāna of the Ksaharāta race appear to be non-Indian. Abhiras, Hūpas and Gurjaras became absorbed into the Hindu community. People, after being made Moslems, returned to their original communities and gods. Moslem writers make this clear. Vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India' vol. I. p. 126 ('the people of India had returned to idolatry, excepting those of Kasa') and Alberuni's India (tr. by Sachau) vol. II. pp. 162-163 where he refers to the return of Hindu slaves in Moslem countries to their country and religion. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in 'Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture' (1940) pp. 59-65 presents a very lucid and informing summary of the evidence on this point of the re-admission of those that were converted and of the absorption of non-Hindus. But it is not known what procedure was followed for this purpose. Therefore, a model rite for the return of a convert is set out here.

परावर्तिष्ठुः (एकः अनेके वा पुरुषाः स्त्रियो वा) स्नात्वा धीतं कुञ्चं वासः परिधाय  
(स्त्रियस्तु यथायोग्यं यथाचारं वा परिधाय) चन्दनादिभिस्तिलकं कुत्वा (स्त्रियस्तु कुङ्कुमादि-  
द्रव्येण तिलकं कुत्वा) सिद्धसभां प्रार्थयेत् । सर्वं धर्मविवेकारो ज्ञानशीलसमन्विताः । विधिनाहं  
परावर्त्य संग्राह्यः रणो मनीषिभिः । इति । अथ सिद्धाः परावर्तिष्ठोः (परावर्तिष्ठन्तु वा)

देशकाल-कामाकामशक्त्यादि विचार्य अथर्व-अल्प-गुह्यजामन्यतेम प्रायश्चित्तं निश्चयेत् 'ओं तथा । अमुकप्रायश्चित्तं कृत्वा परावर्तनविधिना भवान् संयुहीतो भविष्यति' इति ब्रूयुः । परावर्तिष्णवे नूतनं वासश्च ब्रूयुः । स च तत्परिदध्यात् । ततः परावर्तिष्णुरासने पुत्राभिमुख उपविश्य आचम्य प्राणानामभ्य 'इह पुष्टिर्वा जम्बूद्वीपे भरतवर्षे दक्षिणापथे ('आर्यावर्ते' इति नमोदाया उत्तरतः) अमुकग्रामे अथ अमुकनामसंवरसरे अमुकमासे अमुकपक्षे अमुकतिथौ अमुकवासरे अमुकनक्षत्रे हिन्दुधर्मे परावर्तिष्णुरहं शिष्टैरुपदिष्टं प्रायश्चित्तं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् । सङ्कल्पोत्तरमाचार्य आसने प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य स्वदक्षिणतः परा-

वर्तिष्णुमुपवेद्य आचमनं कारयित्वा स्वयं द्विराचम्य पवित्रपाणिः प्राणानामभ्य गणपतिं ध्यायेत् । 'ओं गणानां स्वा गणपति हवामहे कथि कवीनामुपमश्वस्तमम् । ज्येष्ठराजं ब्रह्मणं ब्रह्मणस्पत आ नः शृण्वन्तसिभिः सोऽहं साधनम् ॥' इति प्रार्थयेत् । 'ओं महागणपतये नमो नमः । निर्विघ्नं कुरु' इति नमेत् । ततो देशकालौ संकीर्त्य 'इह पुष्टिर्वा... नक्षत्रं अथ परावर्तनेच्छाः परावर्तनविधिं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य पुण्याहवाचनं कुर्यात् । 'अथ परावर्तनेच्छाः परावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मणः पुण्याहं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति प्रार्थयेत् । शिष्टाः 'ओं पुण्याहम्' इति ब्रूयुः । आचार्यः 'अथ परावर्तिष्णोः करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्याय कर्मणं स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । शिष्टास्तु 'ओं स्वस्ति' इति प्रतिब्रूयुः । आचार्यः 'अथ परावर्तिष्णोः करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मणं ऋद्धिं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । शिष्टाः 'ओं कर्म ऋपतत्' इति प्रतिब्रूयुः । ततः शिष्टास्तत्कृत्य प्रणम्य च विस्मर्न्वत् । तत आचार्यो गोमयाग्नौ छौदे स्थले छौदमुदा चतुर्विंशत्पङ्क्तुमात्रं समचतुरस्रं चतुरङ्गुलौघतं स्थाण्डिलं कृत्वा अभ्युक्ष्य तत्र, ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः प्रवेशकनामानमग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयामीत्युक्त्वाग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयेत् । प्रोक्षितेत्थनानि निक्षिप्य धमन्यादिना प्रज्वाल्य 'अग्रे वैश्वानरं शाण्डिल्यगोत्रं मेघध्वजं मम संमुखो बरवो भव' इति प्रार्थयेत् । अग्निं परिसमुह्य परित्सीर्य पर्युक्ष्य प्रादेशमात्रं पञ्च-दशमिध्मे प्रादेशमात्रं बहिश्च संनद्याग्रेरुत्तरतो निदध्यात् । तत आत्मनोऽग्रतो भूमौ प्रोक्ष्य तत्र बहिरास्तीर्य तत्राज्यरथालीमाज्यस्य पूर्णां निदधाति । दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दक्षीमग्निं निष्टप्य नामहस्तेन गृहीत्वा दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्भाद्यैर्दर्भाजिलं संमार्ष्टि दर्भमूलैश्च दर्भमूलम् । पुनर्निष्टप्य प्रोक्ष्य आज्यस्थाल्या उत्तरतो बहिषि निदधाति । संमार्गद्वर्भानग्रीं प्रहरत् । इधमग्न्यनरञ्जुं भूमौ निधाय तत्रेध्मं संस्थाप्य दर्भाज्येन मूलमध्याग्रेष्वभिधाय दक्षिणेन हस्तेन गृहीत्वा 'ओं, अयं न इधम आत्मा जातवेदस्तेनध्वसवर्धस्व चेन्धि वर्धय चारमाग्रजया पशुभिर्ब्रह्मवर्ध-सेनाकाद्येन समेधय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेणाग्रापञ्चपाधाय 'जातवेदेऽग्नये इदं न मम' इति त्यजेत् । दर्भाज्यमादाय स्थण्डिलस्य वायव्यकोणमारभ्यअग्निकोणपर्यन्तमस्वपुण्ड्रपाधाय 'अग्रे जुहोति । पुनर्दर्भाज्यमादाय नैऋतकोणमारभ्य ऐशानकोणपर्यन्तं तथैव जुहोति । तूष्णीमेतावाचारहामी । पुनर्दर्भाज्येन 'ओं अग्नये स्वाहा' इत्यग्रावुत्तरभागे जुहोति । अग्नय इदं न ममेति त्यामः । पुनर्दर्भाज्येन 'ओं सोमाय स्वाहा' इत्यग्रीं दक्षिणभागे जुहोति । 'सोमायेदं न मम' इति त्यागः । अस्मिन्काले परावर्तिष्णुराचार्यस्य दक्षिणतः प्रहः कृताञ्जलि-स्तिष्ठन् आचार्यं प्रार्थयते । 'हिन्दुत्वमागाम्य । हिन्दुरसानि' इति । आचार्यः 'ओं तथास्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । तत आचार्यः अग्नौ कृताञ्जलीं तिष्ठति प्रविशति (अथवा कृताञ्जलिषु प्रविशिषुषु) दर्भाज्येन चतुर्भिर्नैऋतैश्चतस्रः प्रधानाहुतीजुहोति । 'ओं सुः स्वाहा । अग्नय इदं न मम । ओं सुवः स्वाहा । वायव इदं न मम । ओं स्वः स्वाहा । सूर्यायेदं न मम । ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा । प्रजापतय इदं न मम ।' अथासीनः प्रविशिषुः अग्रीं समिधमाधाय प्रदीतायां तस्यां दर्भाज्येन पञ्च प्रधानाहुतीजुहोति । ओं उद्धयं तमसस्परी पश्यन्तो ज्योतिरुत्तरम् । द्रवं वेपथ्रा सूर्यमग्नय ज्योतिरुत्तरम् स्वाहा । सूर्याय ज्योतिष इदं न मम ॥ ओं उद्यजद्य मित्रमह आपोहन्तुत्तारं विषयम् । हवीर्गं मम सूर्य हरिमाणं च नाशय स्वाहा । सूर्यायेदं न मम । ओं असतो मा सद्गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम । ओं तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम । ओं सूर्योर्माऽसुतं गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम इति ।

अथाचार्यः प्रविशिषुं स्वदक्षिणत उपवेद्य होमशेषं समापयेत् । ओं यदस्य कर्मणोऽत्यरीरिचं यद्वा भूनामेशाकरम् । अग्निहोतृं स्विष्टकृद्विद्वान् सर्वं स्विष्टं सुहृदं करातु मे ॥ अग्नये स्विष्टकृतं सुहृदं हृते सर्वहृत् आहुतीनां कामानां समर्पयित्रे स्वाहा इति स्विष्टकृतं जुहोति । 'अग्नये

स्विदकृत इदं न मम' इति स्थापः । इह्यमवधनरज्जुमगनावभाषाय सत्तावं जुहोति । 'ओं तिस्रेणो द्वेरेणः स्वाहा' इति । 'तिस्रेणो द्वेरेण इदं न मम' इति स्थापः ।

तत आचार्यः प्रविबुध्या (अथवा प्रविबुधभिः) सह कृताञ्जलिस्तित्तजयति । 'ओं च मे स्वरञ्च मे वज्रोप च मे नमश्च । यत्ते स्मृतं तस्मै त उपयत्तेऽतिरिक्तं तस्मै ते नमः । अङ्गा मेधां पद्मः मङ्गा विद्यां बुद्धिं त्रिषं बलम् । आशुषं तेज आरोग्यं देहि मे इत्यवाहन ।' इति ।

ततो होमावशिष्टं योपृतं पात्रान्तरेण प्रविबुधये (अथवा प्रविबुधभ्यः प्रत्येकं) दद्यात् । प्रविबुधश्च 'ओं मित्राय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेण प्राश्नीयात् । ततः स्थण्डिलस्थां विभूतिमावापः प्रविबुधश्च हलाले धारयेताम् ।

तत आचार्यस्तित्तज् हर्षां तीर्थोक्तं पृथीत्या 'ओम् । इत्यभिमन्त्र्य तेन आसीनप्रविबुधिरिति 'ओं आप उज्ज्वलु जीवसे वीर्यायुष्याय वरुणसे' । 'ओं' इति मन्त्रायां सकृत् प्रोक्षेत् ।

ततः शिष्टैः प्रविबुधोन्मोहवारिकं किञ्चिच्चाम कार्यम् । ततः प्रविबुधस्तै भयवद्विज्ञा-पुस्तकं हर्षा साधारणधर्मः, वैशाखरसम्पत्तिः, अष्टवामं चोपदेष्टव्यानि । ततः प्रविबुधः कृताञ्जलिस्तित्तज् वदेत् । 'भवाद्भिरष्टपृथीतोऽहं धर्मे मनो निधाय प्रवर्तित्वे । 'ओं ओं ओं ।' ततो भयवन्तं हर्षं दद्यात् नमस्कृत्य प्रार्थयेत् । 'ओं सा मा सःपोकः परिपातु विभता यावा च यत्र तत्तनकाहनि च । विभमन्यकविज्ञते पक्षेजति विभवाहापो विभवाहोदेति हर्षः ॥' इति ।

तत आचार्योऽग्रेः पश्चात् प्रविबुध्या (प्रविबुधभिः वा) सङ्कोपविद्य 'अनेन विधिना सर्वोद्धारकः श्रीहर्षनारायणः प्रीयताम्' इति कर्मसमाप्तिं नोक्तं कृषात् । 'ओं तत्सत्' इत्युक्त्वा द्विराचामेत् । ततः सर्वेभ्यः प्रसादं दद्यात् सर्वां विसर्जयेत् ।

This procedure is based on the हिन्दूकरणविधि prepared by the Dharmamirayamandala, Lonavia. The late Lala Lajpat Rai in his work on the Aryasamaj gives (on pp. 221-222) a much briefer rite adopted by that body,

N. B.—These hymns are translated and annotated above at pp 191-201.

Note 441. क. १०. १४. परेषिषोसं प्रवतो महीरतु बह्वयः पन्थामनुपस्पृशानम् । वैवस्वतं सङ्गमनं जनानां यमं राजानं हविषा हवस्य ॥ १ यमो नो वातुं प्रथमो त्रिवेदं नवा गन्धुनिरप-भवेत्ता उ । यथा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेपुरेना जज्ञानाः पदथा ॥ अनु स्वाः ॥ २ मातली कार्येयमो अङ्गिरोभिर्हृत्स्पतिः क्रकभिर्वाहुधानः । यांश्च देवा वाहपुषं च देवास्त्वाहाभ्ये रवधपाग्ये मदन्ति ॥ ३ इमं यम प्रस्तरमा हि सीदाङ्गिरोभिः पितृभिः संपिदानः । आ स्वा मन्त्राः कविज्ञास्ता बहम्बेना राजन्तु हविषा माहवस्य ॥ ४ अङ्गिरोभिरा गहि यज्ञियेभिर्यमं ईक्ष्येरिह माहवस्य । विवस्वन्तं हृते यः पिता तस्मिन् यज्ञे बहिषया निषद्य ॥ ५ अङ्गिरसो नः पितरो नवम्मा अघर्षाजो भुवः सांस्पासः । तेषां वयं ह्यमती यज्ञिषानामपि यज्ञे सोममसे रयाम ॥ ६ मेहि मेहि पथिभिः पूर्येभिर्यथा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेषुः । उभा राजाना स्वधवा मदन्ता यमं पदपायि वदन् च देवम् ॥ ७ सं गच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेनहापुतेन परमे ष्योमन् । हिन्वावायद्यं पुनरस्तमेहि सं गच्छस्व तन्वा सुवर्चाः ॥ ८ अपेत वीत वि च सर्पतातोऽस्मा एतं पितरौ लोकमक्रन् । अहंभिरद्विरकभिर्पक्तं यमो ब्रह्मायवसानमरमं ॥ ९ अति ब्रुव सारमेयो भ्वानी चतुरक्षी शकली साधुना पयो । अथा पितृन्सुविद्वान् उपेहि यमेन ये सधमाहं मदन्ति ॥ १० यं ते भ्वानी यम रक्षितारो चतुरक्षी पथिरक्षी सुब्रह्मसो । ताग्यामेनं परि देहि राजस्त्वस्ति कारमा अनमीवं च धेहि ॥ ११ उऊणसापहृत्पुता उतुम्बली यमस्य इतो वरतो जगो भद्र । तावस्मभ्यं दशये हर्षाय पुनर्वातामहममेह भद्रम् ॥ १२ यमाय सोमं ह्युत यमाय उतुता हविः यमं ह यज्ञो नच्छापमिद्वतो अरंकुतः ॥ १३ यमाय धृतवज्रविजुहोत म च तिष्ठत । स नो द्वेरेवा यमवदीर्यमायुः प्रजीवसे ॥ १४ यमाय मधुमक्षमं राज्ञं हर्षं जुहोतन । इदं नम कविभ्यः पूर्येभ्यः पूर्येभ्यः पथिङ्गमचः ॥ १५ त्रिककुकेभिः पतति वदुर्वीरकमिदुहत् । त्रिपुष्पायत्री छदांसि सर्वा ता यम आहिता ॥ १६

अथैव १०. १५. उदीरतामवर उत्परास उन्मध्यमाः पितरः सोम्यासः । अहं य ईपुरवृका  
 अतज्ञासो मोऽवन्तु पितरो हवेयु ॥ १ इहं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्वयं ये पूर्वासो य उपरास ईडुः ।  
 ये पाथिवे रजस्या निष्पासो ये वा नूनं सुवृजनास्तु विष्टु ॥ २ आहं पितृभ्योऽभिज्ञौ अभित्सि नपातं  
 च विष्कर्मणं च विष्मोः । बहिर्वहो ये स्वधया सुतरस भजन्त पितस्त इहावमिष्टाः ॥ ३ बहिर्वहः  
 पितर ऊत्थ पूर्वाविमा यो हव्या चकुमा जुषस्वम् । त आ गतावसा संतमेनाथा नः शं योररपो  
 दधात ॥ ४ उपहृताः पितरः सोम्यासो बहिर्वहेषु निधिषु मियेषु । त आ गमन्तु त इह स्ववन्त्वाधि  
 भुवन्तु तेऽवस्वस्मान् ॥ ५ अस्या जालु दक्षिणतो निषद्येयं यज्ञमभियुगीत विश्वे । मा हिंसिह  
 पितरः केनचित्को यद्वा आगः पुरुषता कराम ॥ ६ आसीनासो अरुणीनामुपस्थे रथि घत दाक्षुषे  
 मर्याय । पुत्रेभ्यः पितरस्तस्य वरवः य यच्छत त इहोर्जं दधात ॥ ७ ये नः पूर्वं पितरः सोम्यासोऽ-  
 न्हिरै सोमपीथं वसिष्ठाः । तेभिर्धमः संराणो हवींषुशङ्खशङ्खिः शतिकागमन्त ॥ ८ ये तातुषुर्-  
 वत्रा जेहमाना होत्राविदुः स्तोमतासो अर्कः । आग्ने पाहि सुविद्वेभिरवोक् सार्यैः कथ्यैः  
 पितृभिर्धमसद्भिः ॥ ९ ये सत्पासो हविरवो हविष्या इन्द्रेण देवैः सरथं दधानाः । आग्ने पाहि  
 सहस्रं देववन्दैः परैः पूर्वीः पितृभिर्धमसद्भिः ॥ १० अग्निश्वात्ताः पितर एह गच्छत सवःसवः सवत  
 सुयणीतयः । अथा हवींषि प्रयतानि बहिर्वधया रथि सर्व वीरं दधातन ॥ ११ त्वमग्ने ईदितो  
 जातवेदोऽनाह्वयानि सुरभीणि कृत्वा । प्राद्याः पितृभ्यः स्वधया तेऽनाह्वि त्वं देव प्रयता  
 हवींषि ॥ १२ ये चेह पितरो ये च नेह योश्च विश यौ उ च न प्रविश । त्वं वेथ यति ते  
 जातवेदः स्वधाभिर्धनं सुकृतं जुषस्व ॥ १३ ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा मध्ये दिवः स्वधया  
 मादयन्ते । तेभिः स्वराजसुनीतिमेतां यथावशं तन्मं कल्पयस्व ॥ १४

अ. १०. १५. मैनमग्ने नि दहो मामि शोचो मास्य त्वचं चिक्षिपो मा शरीरम् । यदा जूतं  
 कृणो जातवेदोऽधेमेनं प्रहिणुनात्पितृभ्यः ॥ १ जूतं यदा करासि जातवेदोऽधेमेनं परि दत्तात्पितृभ्यः ।  
 यदा गच्छात्पुसुनीतिमेतामथा देवानां वज्ञानोर्भवाति ॥ २ स्यं चक्षुर्मच्छतु वातमात्मा घां च गच्छ  
 पृथिनीं च धर्मणा । अपो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रति तिष्ठा शरीरैः ॥ ३ अजो भामस्त-  
 पसा तं तपस्व तं ते शोचिस्तपतु तं ते आर्चिः । यास्ते शिवास्तम्यो जातवेदस्ताभिर्धनं सुकृतास्तु  
 लोकम् ॥ ४ अव सृज पुनरग्ने पितृभ्यो यस्त आहुतश्चरति स्वधाभिः । आयुर्वसान उप वेतु शेषः  
 सं गच्छतां तस्या जातवेदः ॥ ५ यस्ते कृणुः शकुन आतुतोद पिपीलः सर्प उत वा स्वापदः ।  
 अग्निष्टाहिश्वादग्वं कृणोतु सोमश्च यो ब्राह्मणौ आविवेश ॥ ६ अग्नेर्वमं परि गोभिर्धन्यस्व सं मोर्युज्व  
 पीपसा मेदसा च । नेत्सा धृष्णुर्हरसा जह्वानो तृधृग्विधस्वन् पर्यङ्कयाते ॥ ७ इममग्ने चमसं मा  
 वि जिह्वरः पिपो देवानामुत सोम्यानाम् । एष यश्चमसो देवपानस्तस्मिन् देवा अमृता मादयन्ते ॥ ८  
 कथावमग्निं प्र हिणोमि दूरं यमराज्ञो गच्छतु रिमवाहः । इहैवायमितरो जातवेदा देवेभ्यो हर्यं  
 वहतु प्रजानन् ॥ ९ यो अग्निः कथात्यविवेश यो गृहनिमं पश्यन्तिरं जातवेदस्वम् । तं हरामि  
 पितृयज्ञाय देवं स धर्ममिन्नापरमे सधरथे ॥ १० यो अग्निः कथ्यवाहनः पितृभ्यः सद्दत्तादुधः ।  
 प्रेक्षु हस्यानि वोचति देवेभ्यश्च पितृभ्य आ ॥ ११ उशन्तस्त्वा नि धीमह्युशन्तः समिधीमहि ।  
 उशङ्कता आ वह पितृहविषे अस्तरे ॥ १२ यं त्वमग्ने समदहस्तसु निर्वापया पुनः । कियाम्बवत्र  
 रोहतु पाकहृवा ध्यत्कज्ञा ॥ १३ शीतिके शीतिकावति ह्लाविके ह्लादिकावति । मण्डूकया ॥  
 सु सं गम इमं स्वर्गं हव्यं ॥ १४

अ. १०. १७ त्वष्टा दुहित्रे बहदु कुणोतीतीर्षं विश्वं भुवनं समेति । यमस्य माता पर्युष्टा-  
 माना महो जाया विवस्वतो ननाश ॥ १ अपायुह्वसुतां मर्येभ्यः कुत्वी सवर्णामवपुर्विषस्वते ।  
 उताश्विनावभरथतदासीद्वज्राहु इमिथुना सरण्युः ॥ २ पूषा त्वेत्प्रथावयतु य विद्वाननह-  
 पक्षुर्भुवनस्य गोवाः । स त्वेतेभ्यः परि दत्तात्पितृभ्योऽग्निर्वैवेभ्यः सुविद्वन्निरेभ्यः ॥ ३ आयुर्विश्वायुः  
 परि पासति त्वा पूषा त्वा पातु प्रपथे पुरस्तात् । यत्रासते सुकृतो यत्र ते ययुस्तत्र त्वा देवः सविता  
 दधातु ॥ ४ पूषेमा आशा अयु वेद सर्वाः सो अस्मौ अभयतमेन नेषत् । स्वस्तिदा आपृणिः सर्व-  
 वीरोऽप्रयुच्छन्पुष्ट पतु प्रजानन् ॥ ५ प्रपथे पथामजानिह पूषा प्रपथे दिवः प्रपथे पृथिव्याः । उमे अभि  
 म्रियतमे सधरथे आ च एरा च चरति यजानन् ॥ ६ सरस्वतीं देवयन्तो हवन्ते सरस्वतीमभ्यरे  
 तायमाने । सरस्वतीं सुकृतो अद्वयन्त सरस्वतीं दाक्षुषे वार्यं वात् ॥ ७ सरस्वति या सरथं यथाथ  
 स्वधाभिर्धेवि पितृभिर्धवन्ती । आसथास्मिन् बहिर्वि मादयस्वानमीषा इष आ धेह्यस्मे ॥ ८  
 सरस्वती या पितरो हवन्ते दक्षिणा यज्ञसभिनसामाणाः । सहस्राधिमिदो अत्र भागं रायस्पोषं



यजमानेषु धृतिः ॥ ५ ॥ अपां अस्मान्मातरः शुन्ध्यन्तु घृतेन नो घृतपवः पुनन्तु । विश्वं हि रिपं प्रवहन्ति देवीरुद्विदाम्यः शुचिरा घृतं एभिः ॥ १० ॥ द्रष्टव्यश्चरन्दः प्रथमोऽनु छनिमं च योनिमनु यश्च पुनः । समानं योनिमनु संचरन्तं द्रष्टं जुहोम्यनु सप्त होत्राः ॥ ११ ॥ यस्ते द्रष्टः स्कन्धति यस्तं अक्षुबाहुस्थितो पिषगाया उपस्थान् । अध्वर्यावां परि वा यः पवित्रासं ते जुहोमि मनसा वषट्कृतम् ॥ १२ ॥ यस्ते द्रष्टः स्कन्धो यस्तं अंशुरवश्यं यः परः शुचा । अयं देवो बृहस्पतिः सं तं सिंश्नु राधसं ॥ १३ ॥ पयस्तीरोषधयः पयस्स्वामामकं वचः । अपां पयस्वदितपयस्तेन मा सह शुन्ध्यत ॥ १४ ॥

क. १०. १० परं भूयोऽनु परेति एण्यां घृतेन स इतरो देवयानात् । चक्षुषमते शृण्वते ते अग्निमि ना नः प्रजां रीरिषां मोनं वरिण ॥ १ ॥ सुन्धोः पदं योपयन्तो यद्वैत द्वायीय आयुः प्रतरं दधानाः । आप्यायमानाः प्रजया धनेन शुद्धाः पूता भवत यज्ञियासः ॥ २ ॥ इमे जीवा वि भूतैरा- ननुवक्ष्यन्तद्वा देवहृतिर्नो अयं । मांश्च अगाम द्युतये हसाय द्वायीय आयुः प्रतरं दधानाः ॥ ३ ॥ इतं जीवेभ्यः पारिधि दधानि मेघां नु गादपरो अर्धमेतम् । इतं जीवन्तु शरदः पुरुक्षीरन्तमृन्तु दधानां परंतेन ॥ ४ ॥ एषाहास्तिपुण्यं भगवन्ति यद्य कृतवः कर्तुमिच्छन्ति साधु । यथा न पूर्वमपरा जहायेवा धातराद्युचि कृतपरिदाम् ॥ ५ ॥ आ रोहतायुजैरसं वृणाना अनुपूर्वं यतमाना यति उ । इह गृष्टा सुजनिमा सजोया दीर्घमायुः करानि जीवसे वः ॥ ६ ॥ दृमा नारीरामेधवाः सुपत्नीराश्रनेन मणियां सं विशन्तु । अनश्रवाग्निमीशाः सुरन्ना आ रोहन्तु जनयो योनिमये ॥ ७ ॥ उर्दीर्घं नायंभि जीवलोके गतासुमेतमुप ऊप एहि । हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषास्तवेदं एन्धुर्जनिममभि सं प्रमुष्य ॥ ८ ॥ धनुर्मेनादादधानां मृतस्याग्ने क्षत्राय वचसं वहाय । अश्वेव त्वाहितं वय सुशिरा विभ्राः स्फुषो अभिमानाजयेम ॥ ९ ॥ उप सर्प मातरं भूमिमेनामुकपचमं पृथिवीं सुशोभाम् । ऊर्ण- भदा पुनतिर्दक्षिणायन एषा त्वा पातु निरुत्तरवस्थान ॥ १० ॥ उरुश्वस्य पृथिवि मा नि बाधधाः सुपायनास्मि भव सुप्रवक्षन् । माता पुत्रं यथा मिच्छाभ्येतं भूम ऊर्णहि ॥ ११ ॥ उरुश्वमाना पृथिवीं सु निउतु मरुतं मित उप हि अयस्ताम । ते गृहामो वृत्तश्चान् भवन्तु विश्वाहारमं शरणाः मनवश्च ॥ १२ ॥ उते इतन्नामि पृथिवीं स्वर्गशीमं लोकं निदधमो अहं रिषम् । एतां स्फुषा गिनरो धारयन्तु नेष्ट्वा यमः मादना न निनेतु ॥ १३ ॥ प्रवेक्षन्त मामहनीशः पर्याभिरा इधुः । प्ररीक्षां जघ्ना वाचमश्वे रजानया यथा ॥ १४ ॥

Note 693a नास्तीचदशकाः न विज्ञानाय

नामार्गमिदमवय विद्विष्ये मासत्रयद्वयो यथा  
नामाह विष्य मयिस्त्रायिधरतः स्थानं पिताः सर्वदा ।  
जातीनां पतनादि ज्ञानमरणं मित्रिदशार्हं मदा  
गाम्भः प्राक् तदुपनि मृतकृत्याह नास्तीदशार्हं परम ॥ १ ॥

जातीनां दशना-प्राक् जनविधे मासात्रयोदशक्यते  
चोत्तानां प्राक्दशार्हं परमहर्षिनात्र दशनात्र उपरम ।  
प्राक्मे चित्रमय व्रतादशदिने जन्ममरणमर्थं मदा  
गामं पंचमये तु मातुस्परवत्तदशार्हाधिकम् ॥ २ ॥

अथभवाप्रतिश्रुतादयं दिनं दाने इतं चोभयो-  
जांयक्तमृतसम्भवे पितृकुलसंघाटम् भर्तृभवेन ।  
व्रतास्त्रायं मृतासु वा पितृणः मरणं त्रिग्रात्रे दिने  
तदशक्यं पराश्रयास्त्रयि तथा भर्ताश्र तत्पक्षपातः ॥ ३ ॥

दानाद्याहितवद्विकेषु मरणाग्र्येषु तेषां पुनः—  
संस्कारं द्यतमाहितगामिनिषये तस्मिन्दशार्हं त्वचम् ।  
प्रियादौ सिदिनेनरा दशदिनेतानि द्यतं त्वाग्रयोऽ-  
न्यदं द्याद्विनालजं न जनमे नैवानुपताम्ये ॥ ४ ॥

छात्रिः पूर्वसमातिः सहस्रयोर्योगेतिर्द्व्युतिकां  
द्विर्विंशत्युतजन्मनोर्हृतवशाद्वर्षरूपयोर्दीर्घतः ।  
अल्पाव्ययद्विधाधिकादशदिनां गच्छेद्दशाहागमः  
पूर्वस्याल्यदिने यदि द्विद्विंशत्युत्पद्येत्यभाते इयहात् ॥ ५

उत्पद्ये त्रिदिवं द्युतेऽनुपमयादूर्ध्वं समानोदके  
पुत्रे चैवमनोरसेऽप्यपितुजे ग्रेते तथा सोदरे ।  
मातृभ्रातृपितृस्वसृष्वभ्रातृपत्यप्यभिगाचार्यतद—  
भायां तत्सुतयाज्यशिश्वपृहसंभातेषु वा ज्ञातेषु ॥ ६

पित्रोस्तामहजेषु तत्सुतपतिष्वभ्योग्यतः पक्षिणी  
स्यादेकाध्वयनेपि सा शुक्लसुहृजपस्वसुयंस्वहः ।  
स्पृष्टारिष्टन त्रिदिवं दिवं तु विरसेऽनुध्या प्रवाचामकी  
शिष्ट भोक्तुरपेक्षशुद्धयधिकं मोहाद्विवं चापदि ॥ ७

सद्यः स्यात्कपावदासभिषर्जां कुर्येष्टमारयस्य वा  
कष्टापत्सु च पूर्वमभृतमखोद्वाहोत्सवादिष्वपि ।  
कुच्छादिष्वगृह्याश्वमेषु वसतां यते यनो निन्दिते  
गोमायादिभिरिच्छतां च मरणे तत्रापि बंध इयहम् ॥ ८

निर्हारे सुतवन्मुताकरहिते श्रीण्यप्यवाने दिवं  
संयोजितस्तु बहिर्भूतो द्विगुणितं धर्मं सचैलाङ्गः ।  
रादे स्नानमनरिथ वाचमनकं हीनेषु रात्र्याभ्यां  
शूत्रे तु त्रिदिवं निशाप्यनुयतो बह्व्यादियुक्तं च तत् ॥ ९

क्षत्रे द्वादश विंशतिविंशि निशाः त्रिंशच्च शूत्रे क्रमाद्—  
विंशद्द्विंशच्चतुर्गुणा ययसि सन्दृष्टे तु पञ्चाक्षरे ।  
प्रसास्त्रिसुलाशिव्यदासभृतका भवदिवह बान्धवे  
हीने स्वं लघु वा तदीयमधिकं शूत्रेः समाः सङ्कराः ॥ १०

The text of the आशीचदशक here printed is based on three mss. from the Deccan College collection (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona), viz. No. 216 of 1879-80 copied in *samvat* 1539 (1482 A. D.), No. 196 of 1884-1887 copied in *samvat* 1578 (1521 A. D.) and No. 85 of 1895-1902 copied in *samvat* 1780. All these mss. contain the *bhāṣya* of Haribara, which ascribes the work to विज्ञानेश्वर. In the first ms. the commentary on the first three verses is wanting. I intended at first to give explanations in Sanskrit of these verses (as p. 308 will indicate) but owing to considerations of space I omitted the Sanskrit explanations.



# GENERAL INDEX

## OF

### Vol. IV ( of the History of Dharmaśāstra )

( N. B. This Index deals with pages 1-727 only. As the list of tirthas from p. 730 onwards is arranged alphabetically, no entries from these pages are included in this Index, except in very rare cases for special reasons. When the name of a person or work occurs both in the body of the book as well as in the foot-notes on the same page, only the page is entered and nothing else ).

Abhiṣit, a Vedic sacrifice, as prāyaścitta, 91, 92n

Abhiṣatīrthacintāmani 566n

Abhiṣrut, a Vedic sacrifice deemed to remove even intentional sins 61n, 91

Ābhyudayika-śrāddha 359n, 525-529; see under Mātṛs and Nāndiśrāddha; Āśv. gr. mentions only four śrāddhas by name of which this is one 525; darbhas to be employed are straight 526; even number of brāhmaṇas to be fed 526; followers of Sāmaveda do not perform mātṛśrāddha in this rite 527; *homa* is made on the hand of the brāhmaṇa 526; is a modification of pārvaṇaśrāddha 526; is made of three parts, viz. mātṛśrāddha, pītṛśrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha 528; is to be performed in the morning 526 (except on birth of a son when it is to be performed at once); is treated as synonymous with Vṛddhiśrāddha, but has wider import 528; performed when there is a lucky event such as the birth of a son, or the latter's upanayana or there is a marriage or the commencement of *pūrta* acts such as the dedication of a tank or park to the public 525; pindas are offered to the mātṛs, the paternal ancestors and

the three maternal ancestors, while some do not offer pindas in this śrāddha 527, 529; pītṛs called Nāndi-mukha are invoked 526, 528; procedure of 526-527; sacred thread is worn by the performer in the usual form 526; *saukalpa* of 526n; while brāhmaṇas are dining holy texts may be recited (except the mantras addressed to pītṛs, viz. Rg. X. 15, 1-13) 527; word 'svadbā' not to be used 526; yavas are to be used instead of sesame 526

Acamana, has to be performed after one sneezes 454

Actions, are of three kinds, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya* 60n

Adābhya, cup, used in Jyotiṣṭoma 157

Adam's Fall 8n

Ādhaka, see under 'droṇa'.

Ādiparva, 51, 161, 223, 614, 615, 687

Ādipurāṇa, 215, 234, 288, 291n, 296, 299, 303n, 306, 604, 652n, 685.

Ādityapurāṇa, 574n

Ādityas, are twelve 490

Adopted son, conflict between Nirṇaya-sindhu and Dharmasindhu as to his priority in being an *adhikārin* for Antyeṣṭi rites, in opposition to grandson of the deceased 258n; is supposed by the High Courts and by the Privy Council, relying on Manu IX.

- 142, to become totally severed from the family of birth, but this is not quite accurate, since Nirṇayasindhu, Dharmasindhu and the Dattakandrikā state that the adopted son can perform the śrāddha of his natural father if the latter has no son at the time of his death 538-539; to whom should he offer pinḍas 538
- Adultery, prāyaścitta for a, by men and women 105; prāyaścitta for a, was only half when the lapse was due to mistake 105
- Aśud stone Inscription of Ādityasena 605n
- Aghamarṣaṇa, hymn (Rg. X. 190) as purifier from sins 45, 46n, 126, 130, 578
- Aghamarṣaṇa-vrata, 130
- Aghoramāntra, set out 699n
- Agnes, Saint, was canonized primarily for her refusal to bathe 311
- Āgneya-kṛcchra, means subsisting on sesame alone for 12 days 131
- Agnicayana, 115, 249n
- Agnihotris, even in modern times perform their *nitya-śrautahoma* during āsaucha 240
- Agnipurāṇa, 17, 18n, 19, 23, 30, 32, 35, 42, 53n, 54, 74, 75, 76n, 80, 81, 88, 104, 107, 109, 150-51, 160, 162-63, 168, 174-75, 265n, 266, 282n, 287, 290, 293n, 300, 301n, 310, 334, 335, 370, 371n, 374-75, 389n, 445n, 448, 449n, 512-13, 531n, 562n, 566, 467n, 574n, 579, 585, 588n, 595, 597n, 599n, 600n, 601, 606n, 609, 614, 615, 617, 623, 625n, 626n, 628, 649, 651, 654n, 655n, 656n, 657n, 660, 661n, 663n, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670n, 677, 689, 705n, 710
- Agniṣṭut, a vedic sacrifice 62n, 91, 92n
- Āhāva, meaning of 503n
- Ain-i-Akbari, 605n, 627, 642
- Altareya Aranyaka, 46n
- Altareya Brāhmaṇa, 8, 57-58, 63, 100n, 146, 160, 196n, 224, 269, 274, 275n, 310, 344n 345, 464n, 502n, 546, 550n, 558, 585, 643, 680, 681
- Aiyangar, Prof. K. V. Rangaswami 705
- Aiyangar, Dr. S. Krishnaswami 712
- Ājyabhāgas, 357
- Alberuni on India 641.
- Allan, James, author of 'Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India' 688
- Altekar, Prof. A. S., author of 'History of Benares' 618 n, 622 n, 632 n, 633, 636n, 639n, 642
- Āmantrana, distinguished from 'nim-aotrana' in some ancient works 408.
- Amarakaṇṭaka, mountain, whence Narmadā rises 703, 704.
- Amarakoṣa, 11n, 217n, 278n, 387, 394n, 590n, 703n,
- Āmasrāddha (Śrāddha with uncooked grains) 514-515; can be offered by him alone who is eligible for offering pārvana-śrāddha 514; is always prescribed for śūdras 514; is performed in the forenoon 515; to be performed when a brāhmaṇa or materials are not available or when one is on a journey or one's wife is in her monthly illness or on the birth of a son 514
- Amāvāsyā, is of two kinds, sinivālī (on which an āhitaṅni should perform śrāddha) and kuhū, on which those who have not kept śrauta fires and śūdras should offer śrāddha 369; derivation of 369n
- Ānanda, favourite disciple of Buddha arranged for elaborate funeral rites for his master through the Mallas of Kusinārā 234-235
- Anākulā, commentary of Haradatta on Āp. Gr. 354n, 357n, 426n, 433.
- Ancestor, only three rites for departed a. in very ancient times, viz. pinḍa-pitṛyajña, the mahāpitṛyajña and Aśtakā 349-350, 353
- Ānarta, country through which Narmadā flowed acc. to Vanaparva and in which Dvārakā was situated 704n
- Angiras, smṛti of 41, 47, 59, 75, 78, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86n, 90, 95n, 98,

- 105, 109, 123, 146n, 148, 150, 223, 262n, 263, 270n, 271, 291n, 292n, 293n, 294n, 296n, 301, 326, 331, 321n, 464n, 478, 562n, 575.
- Āṅgīrasas**; vide *Navagvas* and *Daśagvas*; are a class of *pitr̥s* in the *R̥gveda*, associated with *Yama* 341; *Vairūpas* are a sub-division of 192, 192n
- Āṅguttara-nikāya** 659, 668n, 677, 697
- Annals**, of *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 182n.
- Annasūktas** (*R̥g.* I. 187 and others) 494.
- Antyakarmadīpaka**, 183, 184n, 185n, 217n, 262
- Antyeṣṭi**, see 'funeral rites'; is one of the 16 *sanskāras* performed for *dvijas* with *vedic* mantras 189-190
- Antyeṣṭipaddhati**, of *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* 183, 184n, 185n, 217n, 262
- Anupātakas**, enumerated by *Viṣṇu Dh.* S. are treated by *Manu* and *Yaj.* as equal to or like those that are *mahāpātakas* 106; persons guilty of, were purified by *Aśvamedha* or by pilgrimages 106.
- Anuśāsanaparva**, 54, 164, 166, 180, 185n, 223, 311, 347n, 348, 364, 371, 372-74, 380, 385, 390, 392, 400n, 411, 419, 423, 434n, 466, 480, 481, 535, 539n, 545, 555, 585, 586, 588n, 594n, 597, 604n, 617, 620, 649, 651, 707
- Anustaraṇī**, cow or goat 206, 209n
- Anvāṣṭakā** or **Anvāṣṭakya** 358; acc. to *Āp.* gr. and *Sāh.* gr., procedure of A. is the same as that of *pinḍapitr̥-yajña* 358; explanation of the word 359n; most notable characteristic of A. is that female ancestors are invoked and liquor, acum of boiled rice, collyrium and garlands are offered 358, 474; performed after each *Aṣṭakā* 360; procedure of, from *Āśv.* gr. 359-360; some say that *Aṣṭakā* is the model on which the procedure of other *śrāddhas* is based while others say that *Aṣṭakā* and *Anvāṣṭakā* are modelled on the monthly *śrāddha* 358
- Āpāmārga**, a plant used for cleaning the performer of religious rites 250
- Āpāṅkteya**, 391-392
- Ājārāhṇa**, three views about what is 376
- Āparārka**, 11n, 25n, 34n, 41n, 50n, 53n, 54, 55n, 65n, 66n, 83n, 87n, 88, 89, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99n, 104n, 105n, 108, 114n, 121, 124n, 125n, 127n, 128n, 131n, 133, 139, 142, 147n, 161n, 199n, 210n, 215, 216n, 218, 220n, 221, 222n, 224-26, 227n, 237, 238n, 255n, 256n, 261n, 262n, 274n, 285n, 289n, 294, 297n, 301n, 304n, 305n, 309, 310, 312-14, 317, 322n, 323n, 324, 351n, 364, 369n, 371n, 376, 377n, 378n, 394n, 395n, 397, 399n, 400, 413n, 417n, 418n, 422n, 424, 440n, 443n, 444n, 445, 447n, 448n, 449n, 450n, 453, 455n, 456n, 457n, 471, 476n, 478, 479n, 480, 483n, 514n, 515n, 517, 518, 519n, 521, 526, 528n, 529, 530, 531n, 547n, 548n, 604, 669
- Āpasavyam**, meaning of, 487n.
- Āpastamba-dharmasūtra**, 10-14, 17-19, 21-23, 37n, 40, 41, 50, 54, 64, 65, 70, 71, 73, 74, 82, 88, 89, 91, 94-96, 101, 103, 104, 107, 110-112, 120, 132, 162, 175, 211, 217, 218n, 238, 282, 312, 315, 322, 329, 331, 335n, 349, 365, 370, 372, 375, 379, 384, 387, 388, 392, 394n, 401, 404, 406, 412, 422, 468, 459, 604
- Āpastamba-gr̥hyasūtra** 353, 358, 384, 438, 469, 471, 472
- Āpastambamantrapāṭha**, 353, 357n, 438, 439, 444n, 461n, 469, 474, 476, 496n, 498
- Āpastamba-smṛti** (in verse) 28, 79n, 98, 114, 117, 123, 126, 131, 143, 263, 288, 314n, 323, 324n, 575
- Āpastamba-śrautasūtra**, 45, 184n, 312, 426n, 462n, 468n, 479, 499n, 537n, 558

Apātrīkarāna sins, 15, 35; expiation for 118-119

Aponaptriya hymn (Rg. X. 30) 558

Apratiratha hymn, 439, 507

Archaeological Survey of Western India, reports of 678n

Archaeological Survey Reports of Mysore 716n, 717

Archaeological Survey of India, reports of 683, 685, 686

Ardhakṛccbra, 131

Arghya, respectful offering of water or water with unhusked rice grains, flowers etc. to gods or venerable persons 435n, 441n

Arthavāda (laudatory passage), may in some cases be construed as a vidhi (injunction) 62

Āryasamāja, objects to the institution of śrāddha 339

Āśauca; vide under 'adopted son', 'death', 'food', 'kāyasthas', 'men', 'pratiloma', 'sapinda's', 'śuddhi', 'sūtaka', 'wife', 'women', 'yati'; āgha is used often as a synonym for ā. 267-268; *atikrāntāśauca* 282-284; birth and death are causes of ā. only when they become known to the person to be affected 276; brāhmaṇa who has studied the vedas and kept vedic fires becomes free from impurity in one day, one who has only mastered the veda in three days, one devoid of both in ten days 270; defined by Mitākṣara 268; derivation from the word 'śuci' 267; differing views in ancient times as to explanation of the origin of ā. for ten days on birth and death 309; explanation of varying provisions on ā 288; impurity on birth 275; exceptions to rules about *atikrāntāśauca* 284; five classes of cases in which rules about ā. do not operate 296; for adopted son in case natural father or adoptive father dies or for natural father and adoptive father when the adopted son

dies and for sapindas 280-281; for carrying a dead body for money 289; for father and sapindas on abortion, still-birth or after the birth of a child 275; for mother when there is abortion in the first four months of pregnancy or in later months of pregnancy or on still-birth or after birth 275; for slaves when masters die 292; form 'āśucya' is found in Devala and other smṛtis 267; general rules about ā. 276-277; great divergence of views on question about the periods of ā, if a sapinda's death comes to one's ears more than ten days after death 283; Haradatta's definition of ā. 268; in the case of an *āhitāgni* or non-*āhitāgni* dying in a different country, whose bones even are not found and whose effigy is cremated 286; intensity of impurity was arranged on a descending scale in the following order viz. a *sūtikā* (a freshly delivered woman), *rajasvalā* (a woman in monthly illness), death and birth 274; king's death required the residents of the country to observe ā. up till the advent of the day or night next after the king's death 281-282; Manu and others mention several optional periods of impurity 270-271, 307; Manu and others urge men not to increase through laxiness the number of days for which ā is to be observed 271; meaning of *āśaucasannipāta* 292ff; meaning of life-long impurity 274; medieval brāhmaṇas attached exaggerated importance to ceremonial purity after ā. 273; Mitākṣara says that dicta of Parāśara on periods of impurity should be discarded as opposed to several smṛtis and popular usage 272; most important subject under the head of *śuddhi* is ā. 267; no *atikrāntāśauca* for sapindas on birth 283; no periods of ā. prescribed

for *pratiloma* castes, but some say that they are like *sūdras* 288; no unanimity among *smṛtis* as to periods of *ā*, on death 277ff; on birth *ā*. lasted ten days even in the Vedic period 274; on death of a child for parents and *sapiṇḍas* before ten days from birth or before the striking of teeth, before *cīdā* or *upanayana* or after *upanayana* 277-278; on death of a person after *upanayana* all *sapiṇḍas* had to under. o *ā*. for ten days and all *śamānodakas* for three days 277; on death of a girl after three years of age and before betrothal or after betrothal but before marriage and after marriage 278; period of *ā*. depended on several circumstances, such as the *varṇa* or on whether deceased was an infant or a male or a female or whether death was before or after *upanayana* or on the vicinity or otherwise of the deceased, the degree of relationship, the time that elapsed after birth or death 271-273, 286-287; periods of *ā*. for relatives in the case of *annuloma* or *pratiloma* marriages 488; periods of *ā*. for four *varṇas* were respectively fixed at 10, 12, 15 days and a month 271, periods of 10 days of *ā*. were fixed for men of all *varṇas* by some *smṛtikāras* such as *Āṅgiras* and *Sātātapa* and the reason for such fixation 271, 307; period of *ā*, for less than ten days on the ground of vedic learning was included among *Kalivarjya* 271; rules about *ā*, on death of *bandhus* such as maternal grand-father, grand-mother or maternal uncle, daughter's son and father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, wife's brother 279-280; rules about *ā*. on the death of an *ācārya*, his wife or son or of a guru or pupil 281; rules about *ā*. apply only when times are easy and peaceful 306; rules about the period of *ā*. when the knowledge

of birth or death comes to a man after the periods fixed 282-284; *sannipāta* or *sampāta* of *ā*. (another *āśauca* supervening while one is being under-gone), rules of 292-294; several printed works and mss. on *ā*. are in verse 272-273; ten varieties of impurity, according to *Dakṣa* 274; things that could be taken without taint from the house of one under-going *ā*. though not from his hand 291-92; two characteristics of *ā*. viz. taking away the privilege of performing religious acts and rendering a person untouchable to others for some time, 268-269; two kinds of *ā*. viz. *jananāśauca* or *sūtaka* (arising on birth) and *śavāśauca* or *mṛtakāśauca* (arising on death) 269; two varieties in each kind of *ā*. viz. for a short period and for a long period 269; two views as to the day from which period of *ā*. is to be calculated, if a man died at night or news reached at night 287-288; usage of the country the most important in matters of *ā*. 306; when calculating the period of *ā*, the day of cremation in the case of an *āhitāgni* and the day of death in the case of a non-*āhitāgni* is the first day 276; when a solemn sacrifice (like *Somayāga*) is begun or a marriage rite or festival in honour of *mātr̥s* has started or the foundation or dedication of a temple or image is begun, supervening cause of *ā*. does not matter 291; why birth and death should cause impurity to relations has not been discussed by most writers 269-270; woman's delivery or death at her father's or brother's house and at her husband's makes a difference as to *ā*. 276, 278; women of all *varṇas* become touchable after ten days from delivery but they are not fit to take part in religious rites 30 or 40 days from birth according as a son or daughter is born 276; words like '*ābah*' and '*rātrih*'



mean day and night in texts on ā.  
276

Āsaucadaśaka, attributed to Vijñāneśvara, deals with āsauca in ten Śārdūlavikrīḍita verses, 273.; text of 276, 277, 290

Āsaucāṣṭaka, attributed to Vararuci, deals with āsauca in eight Śragdharā verses 272-273.

Ascetics, see under 'Nārāyanabali', 'yati'; general rule for, is that for eight months they must move from place to place and may spend four months of rainy season in one place, but this rule was abrogated when a. entered Kāśī 641; great emphasis laid in some works on inviting them at a śrāddha dinner 388, 399; had to tonsure the whole head when undergoing prāyaścitta 123; have not to undergo the condition of *preta* and no *ekoddiṣṭa* nor *sapindikaraṇa* is to be performed for them, but only *pārvaṇa* on 11th day after death 519; is not affected by āsauca 298; mahālayaśrāddha for, is to be performed on 12th day of Bhādrapada dark half 533; Vasiṣṭha and others insist that an a. must partake of flesh served at a śrāddha 423

Aśoka, in times of, a branch of the *bodhi* tree was transplanted to Ceylon 667; tradition that Aśoka dug up seven out of the eight mounds of the relics of Buddha and distributed the contents in 84000 boxes throughout India and built stūpas over them 236 n.

Āśramavāsikaparva, 223, 451n, 534

Association, see under 'samsarga'; even 4th or 5th in a series of persons guilty of a. with one guilty of *mṛhā-pātaka* is liable to some expiation 27

Asthisañcayana, see under 'sañcayana'

Aṣṭakāśrāddhas, see Anvaṣṭakā; 353-360; cow is sacrificed acc. to Khādīra-grhya 355; days of A. were four or

three or one only 354; derivation of Aṣṭakā from *aṣṭan* 354n; first among seven *pākayajñas*, acc. to Gautama and one of the 40 *samśkāras* 353; five A. acc. to Bhaṭṭoji 361; flesh to be offered in all acc. to some writers 354; great variations on almost all points connected with A. such as the number of days and the months in which they were to be performed, the deities to be worshipped, the offerings to be made and the procedure 353; many options are given as to offerings acc. to several grhya-sūtras 355; meaning of A. was 8th *tithi* in any month after full-moon day 353; not performed now 361; offerings made on the three Aṣṭakās differed in different sūtras 355; pitrs are the deities of A. according to Vārtika on Pāṇini and Kāṭhaka-grhya, but great divergence on the devatās, acc. to others; 355-56; procedure of, comprises three parts viz. *homa*, inviting brāhmanas for dinner and the rite called Anvaṣṭakya or Anvaṣṭakā 356; procedure of A. in several grhya-sūtras, but the shortest is that of Āp. gr. which is set out 356-358, A. śrāddhas known to early Vedic literature 194n, 350n; twelve A. in a year 383n; were modifications (*vikṛtis*) of monthly śrāddha on Amāvāsyā 361-362, 434

Astrology, a brāhmana subsisting by the practice of, is unfit to be invited at a śrāddha 393; Yama states that if brāhmanas that do not declare (or advise on) the auspicious *nakṣatra*, *tithi* or day or *muhūrta* and other auspicious matters eat śrāddha food, the reward is inexhaustible 400

Āśucikara, sins so called 12, 14

Asuras, like Prahlāda, Bāṇa and Bali, though good and decent, are described as fighting with gods 659; usage of, about burial of dead bodies 232

- Asvaghosa**, author of *Buddhacarita* 621  
**Āśvalāyana** (in verse) 381n  
**Āśvalāyana-grhya-pariśiṣṭa** 219, 262 n, 524, 526, 527,  
**Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra**, 46n, 58, 98, 111, 112n, 149n, 190, 194n, 199n, 200n, 203n, 204, 205, 209, 218, 238, 240, 241, 244, 245n, 262, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357n, 358, 359, 360, 384, 389, 402, 412 n, 417, 433, 460, 463, 470, 491, 493n, 496n, 506n, 525, 527n  
**Āśvalāyana-śrānta-sūtra**, 45, 57, 58, 62n, 92n, 127, 184n, 200n, 202, 203 n, 346 n, 436 n, 463, 472, 477 n, 480, 494, 498, 499, 500 n, 511, 558, 681  
**Āśvamedha**, as a *prāyaścitta* 91, 92; deemed to have freed even gods from all sins, even including *brāhmaṇa* murder 37, 62; even a murderer of a *brāhmaṇa* becomes free from that sin by a bath at end of A. along with the king and priests after announcing his sin and after permission 94, 131; to be performed only by a king 91, 131; verses recited at time of making crowned queen get up from dead horse 200n.  
**Āśvamedhikaparva** 535  
**Āśvapati Kekaya**, a king, boasts that no drinker of *madya* dwelt in his kingdom 20  
**Atharvans**, a class of *pitṛs* 192  
**Atharvaśiras**, purifies from sins 45, 46n  
**Atharvaveda**, 5, 11n, 57, 155, 157, 159, 174n, 182n, 184n, 192n, 194n, 198, 204, 205n, 206n, 207n, 211, 232, 233, 242, 232n, 254, 321, 342, 345, 346, 347n, 351, 353, 433n, 462n, 555, 556, 645, 680  
**Atheists**, touch of 115  
**Atikṛcchra**, an expiation 130; how constituted 130; purifies a man of all sins except *mahāpātakas* 15, 88  
**Atipātakas**, no *prāyaścitta* for these except entering fire acc. to Viṣṇu  
 Dh. S. but Mann and Yāj. differ 88  
**Atirudra**, for reversal of a disease 178  
**Atisāntapana**, defined variously by *smṛtis* 130-131  
**Atithi**, who is, at a *śrāddha* 396  
**Atri**, *smṛti* of, 42, 48, 67n, 75, 94, 97, 124, 128, 138, 139, 141, 142, 145, 147, 149, 152, 173, 270, 271, 277, 287, 295, 298, 302, 310, 313, 324n, 392, 401n, 420, 421, 471, 545, 577, 604, 611n, 653  
**Audgāhamāni**, 354  
**Aulāna**, son of Śantanu 189n  
**Aurṇavābha**, 645  
**Ausanasas*smṛti* 222n, 301n, 339, 340, 386, 399, 400n, 411, 422  
**Avadānaśataka**, 176  
**Avakīrṇin**, see under 'brahmacārin'; has to offer to Nirṛti an ass according to procedure of *pākayajñas* 212  
**Avanti**, is name of country and Avanti was its capital 619  
**Avidhavānavan-śrāddha**, 533-534; performed for one's mother or other woman of one's family who died during her husband's lifetime, on the 9th day of Bhādrapada dark half 533  
**Avimukta-nirukti-sāra**, a work in 15 verses with commentary thereon, explaining the purport of a Jābālopaniṣad passage 610n  
**Bahiṣpavamāna**, *sāman* 46n  
**Bahvṛca-grhya-pariśiṣṭa** 443n  
**Baijavāpa**, 238  
**Bālācārya** Khuperkar, Pandit of Kolhapur 717 n  
**Bālakṛcchra**, see under *Śiśukṛcchra*  
**Bālabhāṭṭi**, 59, 60n, 140n, 142n, 391, 398, 574n  
**Bali**, grandson of Prahlāda and a devotee of Viṣṇu 144, 659  
**Bāna**, 371n, 625n (*Vāmanapurāṇa* exhibits similar style)  
**Bāna**, an asura, son of Bali, fought with Kṛṣṇa with the help of Śiva 659**

- Bandhus, are of three kinds 280;  
rules about āśauca on death of 280
- Banerji, R. D. on 'History of Orissa' 693, 694n, 698n
- Barbour, author of 'Sin and the new Psychology' 1n
- Bārhaspatya-sūtra 560n, 679, 712
- Barley, see under 'yava'
- Barua, Dr. Benimādhava, author of 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' 643, 644, 647, 649, 650, 651, 653n, 659, 664n
- Bath, as an easy substitute for some expiations 127; daily bath for all insisted upon by ancient and medieval Indians 311; prescribed after sexual intercourse with one's wife, for vomiting after sunrise, after shaving, after a bad dream or foul touch 311; prescribed on touching certain persons and substances such as a seller of Veda, a sacrificial post, a *patita*, a dog, a cāṇḍāla 331-332
- Bauddhas, touch of, required expiation 115
- Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra, 13, 14, 25n, 32, 40n, 42, 43, 45, 46n, 48, 54, 71, 75, 82, 96, 103, 106, 113, 120, 122, 123, 130, 132, 134-138, 142-145, 147, 149, 150, 229n, 231, 275, 292, 310, 312, 313n, 316, 317, 322, 325-328, 331, 339, 350, 354, 355, 358, 365, 368, 364, 385, 387, 403, 418, 443n, 448n, 450n, 463, 464n, 467, 538, 560
- Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra, 111, 474, 523
- Baudhāyana-grhya-śeṣasūtra. 229n, 304n, 305, 319n, 516, 542.
- Baudhāyanagrhya-paribhāṣāsūtra, 399n
- Baudhāyana-pitṛmedhasūtra, 182, 189, 190, 191n, 199n, 200n, 204, 205n, 207n, 208n, 209n, 223, 229, 238, 240, 244, 246n, 251, 253, 254n, 255, 263, 467n, 520, 521
- Baudhāyana-smṛti, 64, 217n, 261, 280n, 312, 316
- Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra, 346
- Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the western world' 608, 612, 629, 631, 650, 683, 688, 711
- Beginning, of certain acts such as a sacrifice or marriage how settled 291.
- Belvalkar, Dr. S. K. 648n.
- Bhagavad-gītā, 9, 46n, 68, 83n, 158, 186, 188, 236n, 265n, 335, 373, 496, 587, 611, 614, 683; some verses of, occur in V.śrūddharmasūtra 236n
- Bhāgavatapurāṇa, 163, 168, 349, 560, 690, 691n, 704n, 707
- Bhaktūpādhyāya, 59n
- Bhandarkar, Prof. D. R. 271
- Bhandarkar, Dr. R. G. 713n, 716
- Bhāradvāja, 367
- Bhāradvāja-grhya-sūtra, 58, 355, 476, 520, 522n
- Bhārasīvas, an imperial dynasty in ancient India that performed Aśvamedha sacrifices 634
- Bharata, author of Nāṭyaśāstra 217n
- Bharata Daśasanti 585
- Bhārgava, 79n
- Bhārhut stūpa, 709
- Bhāskarakeśetra, is Prayāga, according to some and Kōṇārka according to others 217n, 574n
- Bhaṭṭācārya, (explanation of what are mantras) 61, 268 (definition of *sūddhi*).
- Bhaṭṭoji, 262n, 361, 372n, 519n, 520n, 521, 568n, 573, 609n
- Bhavadeva, author of Prāyaścittapra-karaṇa 24
- Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, 15, 19, 21, 39, 40, 50, 53, 54, 56, 88, 90, 91, 93, 94, 96n, 124, 129, 131, 163, 225, 361, 375, 380n, 381n, 382n, 391, 396, 402, 413n, 468n, 478, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532n, 536, 541, 586, 587
- Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa, 540n
- Bhīṣma, story of, who waited for Uttarāyana as the proper time for death, is eulogistic of arcirādi path and not to be taken literally 188, 189; popular belief that death in Uttarāyana is best still persists 189
- Bhṛgu, smṛti of, 290n, 409, 546
- Bhṛguś, a class of pitṛs 192

- Birth**, good or evil future b. depends on good or evil conduct in this life 138
- Bloch**, T. in Z. D. M. G. vol. 60, for excavations at Lauriya 234n
- Bloomfield**, author of 'Religion of the Veda' 2n, 171
- Body**, importance of, for dharma 127
- Bombay Act 35 of 1947**, 320
- Bombay Gazetteer** volumes 303n, 571n, 686, 705n, 709, 710, 713, 714, 715, 721
- Boy**, whose upanayana has not been performed and who drinks *madya* through foolishness may undergo expiation through a *pratinidhi* (brother, father, friend), when he is himself unable to do so or is between the ages of 5 to 11, 98; whose upanayana was not performed was not to repeat Vedic mantras except the mantras that are required for the funeral rites and *śrāddha* of his father or mother 258
- Brahmā**, is said to have created in the beginning four classes, viz. gods, asuras, pitrs and men 342
- Brahmabandhu**, six kinds of 400
- Brahmacārin**, had to observe *āśauca* for three days after he returned from his *guru* for all relatives that died during the period of his studenthood 293; *prāyaścitta* for having sexual intercourse 112-113; is styled *avakīrṇin*, if he has sexual intercourse 112; may carry the corpse of his parents, maternal grandfather, *upādhyāya* and *ācārya* and perform funeral rites for them, but if another *adhikārin* is available he should not do so 260, 298; on death of, *sapinda*s had to observe *āśauca* 303; should not give up vedic studies and *vratas* even on death of parents 298
- Brahmamedha**, procedure of, employed only for an *ācārya* or *śrotriya* and the mantras called *caturhotārah* were recited therein 254
- Brahmāvarta**, country between *Sarasvatī* and *Dradvatī* 557n
- Brāhmana**, *ṛhitāgni* may, if his wife dies, marry again and establish fresh sacred fires or remain a widower and perform his *Agnihotra* with an effigy of the dead wife made of gold or *kuśa* grass 225-226; all deities reside in b. who knows the *veda* 488; becomes unfit for invitation at *śrāddha* by practising medicine, by teaching dancing or by going on the stage 14n; carrying the dead body of a person who is not a *sapinda* or carrying dead body of his mother's *sapinda*s became *puro* after three days 289; could be liable to death as *prāyaścitta* for a heinous sin, though not as punishment 73; could perform as *pratinidhi* of women and *śūdras homo* in ordinary fire 78; one drinking *surā* intentionally had to undergo an expiation viz. drinking boiling milk, cow-urine, water, which ended in death 96; expiation for threatening to beat or strike a b. 96; fighting for saving a *brāhmana*'s life or for saving twelve cows as expiation for murder of b. 93; following the funeral procession of a *brāhmana*, *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* or *śūdra* had to undergo a bath and also *āśauca* and expiation in the last three cases 290; general rule that *prāyaścitta* for intentional murder of b. was to end in death 88; guilty of grave sins committed intentionally was to be banished but was allowed to take his wealth with him and if guilty of the same unintentionally to be punished with middle amercement 72; guilty of theft was to go to a king with an iron club and ask him to smash his head as punishment 73; invited for *śrāddha* should

not refuse and after accepting invitation if he breaks the promise incurs sin 410; killing a b. woman is upapātaka except in two cases acc. to Manu and Yāj. 18; one killing one's own parent, brother, teacher of veda, or a brāhmaṇa who has studied the veda or kept vedic fires had to undergo expiation till death 94; Manu speaks of 13 prāyaścittas for murder of b. 88-93; Manu first prescribes twelve years of begging alms, carrying a bone in hand and on a staff 88; murder of, gravest of sins 10; not to be punished with death for any crime or sin but may be banished 31; prāyaścitta, extent of, when taken once for all for several murders of b. 90; prāyaścitta for murder of a person who is a brāhmaṇa without vedic learning 93; rules about a b. staying in the house of one dying or partaking of food there 289; should not violate, even when a knower of brahmavidyā, the injunction against eating unclean food when there is no distress or danger to life 100; three causes of a person being called a brāhmaṇa are *tapas*, vedic learning and birth from brāhmaṇa parents according to the Mahābhāṣya 400; twelve years *vrata* as prāyaścitta for unintentional brāhmaṇa murder 90; twenty-four years *vrata* for intentional b. murder 90; vedic sacrifices of Asvamedha, Gosava, Abhijit, Viśvajit or Agnistut as expiation for murder of b. 91; weeping with the family of a deceased person who is not a sapinda or who belonged to another varṇa had to undergo varying periods of āśauca and purifications which depended on the fact whether he went before or after the collection of bones 290; b. whether could be killed in self-defence 19-20; who drinks surā prepared from raw sugar, flour and honey should undergo Taptakṛccha, Parīkṣa and Cāndrāyana

respectively, acc. to Brhaspati 97; who drinks any intoxicant (except surā prepared from flour) had to undergo light expiation 97; who has studied the veda and is afflicted with bodily defects (which ordinarily exclude him from a row of dīnava) is acc. to Yama a pañcīpāvana 401; who remembers the Rgveda studied by him is not tainted by any guilt 47

Brahmakṛccha, an expiation 147

Brahmakūrca, an expiation, 146-147; is same as pañcagavya acc. to some smṛtis 147

Brāhmaṇasārvasva, of Halāyudha 346n, 434n, 504, 506n

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, 114n, 168, 311, 342, 344, 347n, 348, 349, 351, 372, 374, 375, 378n, 388n, 389, 390, 391n, 392, 393n, 399n, 414, 415n, 417n, 420, 421n, 443n, 448, 457n, 458n, 460, 463, 471, 473n, 479n, 481, 484n, 531n, 539n, 540, 560, 578, 587, 590n, 593n, 600, 623, 685n, 689n, 708n, 712

Brahmāṇḍa-dāna, one of the 16 mahā-dānas 166

Brahmapurāṇa, 41n, 50, 51, 84n, 109, 127, 133, 139, 146, 152, 163, 164, 166, 170, 174, 176, 180, 214, 217, 222n, 223-225, 227, 255, 257n, 265n, 266, 271, 277, 296n, 299, 301, 334, 337n, 340, 348, 371n, 372, 374, 378-379, 381n, 385, 388n, 392, 411, 414-416, 421, 423, 440n, 441n, 443n, 450n, 471, 473, 478, 479n, 481, 483, 518, 520, 528, 531n, 539n, 560n, 562n, 564, 567, 568, 570, 572, 573n, 582, 587, 592n, 595, 598, 608, 620, 622, 659, 688, 696, 699, 700, 702, 707, 708, 711; contains hymn to Viṣṇu which when repeated was deemed to free a man from all sins 51; states that even when a person remembers Viṣṇu through roguery, he goes to Viṣṇuloka after death 51

**Brahmarṣi**, deigned 393n

**Brāhmaṇas**, dinner to be given to, in all religious rites and at end of expiations 120-121; distinction has to be made between brāhmaṇas who should not be invited at a śrāddha because they are sagotras, bandhus, friends and those that are apāṅkteya or pāṅktidūśaka 391-392; hailing from the countries of Aṅga, Vāṅga, Kallīṅga, Saurāṣṭra, Gurjara, Koṭakaṇa, Dravida, Avanti, Magadha were declared in some purāṇas to be unfit to be invited at śrāddha 395-396; high ideal as to receiving gifts kept before, viz. that by frequent acceptance of gifts spiritual power acquired by learning is lost 116, 548-49; expiation prescribed by some texts for b. accepting gifts from kṣatriyas and men of other castes except in the case of distress 116; feeding of, as a substitute for expiation 128 list of apāṅkteya brāhmaṇas in Manusmṛti 392-394; not to accept gifts from kings that are parsimonious or act against śāstra dictates 116; in distress allowed by Manu and Yāj. to take food from anyone, to accept a gift from anyone or teach anyone whatever 116; scrutiny of the learning and character of, recommended in case of rites to Gods and Manes, but not in making gifts 390; were not to sell certain things and animals such as sesame and oil of sesame, curds, salts, grapes, wine, cooked food &c. horses, bulls, elephants 116-117; who are apāṅkteya brāhmaṇas 391-392

**Brahmasūtra**, 9n

**Brahmaśaivartapurāṇa**, 163, 413, 469, 583 n, 640

**Brandlag**, in case of the first four mahāpātakas resorted to only if the guilty person did not undergo prāyaścitta 72

**Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣad** 12, 39, 53, 158, 165, 166, 189n, 333, 342n, 343,

344n, 449n, 543, 619

**Bṛhad-devatā** 200n, 201n.

**Bṛhad-Viṣṇu**, 79n, 80n, 132

**Bṛhad-yāvaka**, 146

**Bṛhad-Yama**, 78, 79 n, 81, 95, 98, 111n, 113, 123, 147, 294n, 392, 464n

**Bṛhadyogayātrā**, 376n

**Bṛhan-Manu** 282n, 285n

**Bṛhan-nāradiya-purāṇa**, see *Nārada-purāṇa*

**Bṛhaspati**, one of the vedic gods 352

**Bṛhaspati**, smṛti of 18n, 25, 52, 60, 61n, 67, 69, 74, 79, 82, 97, 99, 104, 106n, 111, 119, 225, 270, 285, 292, 310, 313, 323, 332n, 351, 367, 381, 399n, 404, 440n, 447n, 457n, 459, 469, 470, 473, 475, 480, 503n, 506n, 524n, 530, 535, 539n, 541n, 569n, 570, 668n; emphasized the importance of usages of countries 82; laid down the famous rule that no decision should be given based merely on the words of the śāstra 67

**Bṛhat-Parāśara** 286, 304, 364, 386, 392, 425 n, 473,

**Bṛhat-sāma**, 46n, 430

**Bṛhat-samhitā**, 168

**Bṛhat-Saunaka**, 230

**Budge, E. A. W.** on Egyptian Heaven and Hell 170

**Buddha**, date of Nirvāṇa of 645; relics of, were divided into parts and distributed among Ajātasatru, the Licchavis and others, who built stūpas over them 235

**Buddhacarita** of Aśvaghoṣa 621, 646

**Buddhists**, religious rites for the dead among ancient 234

**Buddhism**, principles of, were first proclaimed at Benares by Śākya-muni 618

**Bühler, Dr. G.**, author of Kashmir Report 724

**Burial**, child when still-born or one that had not struck teeth was on death to be buried and not cremated

- 227; difference of view as to the age at which burial or cremation was to be resorted to in the case of a child on its death 227-228; of dead bodies not unknown in ancient India 232; procedure on b. of child 227-228; of yati 229-231; references to, in early Vedic Literature 232-233
- Caine, W. S., author of 'Picturesque India' 692, 712n
- Caitanya, great Vaiṣṇava saint, settled at Puri and lived there for 18 years till his death in 1533 A. D. 702; is said to have converted the Gajapati king Pratāparudradeva to his new faith 702; visited Vṛndāvana 692; was worshipped along with Viṣṇu at Jagannātha, being described as *navabrahma* while Jagannātha was said to be *dūrubrahma* 702
- Caitanyacandrodaya, a drama by Paramānandadāsa 692, 700-701, 702
- Caitanyacaritāmṛta, a poem by Paramānandadāsa 692, 702
- Caland, Dr., author of 'Altindischer Ahnencult' 57, 58 190, 231, 253n, 355, 435n, 439, 461n, 474
- Cambridge History of India 619, 688
- Candāla, sixteen castes were treated as, in matters of sight, touch, and speech 115
- Cāndrāyana, derivation of word c. 134; divided into *mukhya* and *gaṇa* 136; five varieties of 135-136; is the *prāyaścitta* for all lapses for which no specific penance is prescribed in smṛtis 135; may be undergone not as penance, but also for accumulating merit 35; prescribed as expiation for drinking any of the twelve excretions of the body or any of the several kinds of *madya* 99; prescribed as expiation for dining at a *śrāddha* on the birth of a son or at a *navasrāddha* 388; prescribed as expiation for incest in certain cases 103; prescribed as expiation for *apātirikaraṇa* and *sāhārikaraṇa* acts 118; procedure of, described in Gautama and others 137-138; rules about the size of the morsels to be taken in 137; sacrificial food to be employed in 138; *sāmānya* c. described 136; tonsure necessary if c. undertaken as *prāyaścitta* 137; two varieties of 134-135
- Caraka-saṁhitā 175
- Carrel, Dr. Alexis, author of 'Journey to Lourdes' 561
- Cārṇvāka, 34; views of the followers of 1n
- Caste, exclusiveness declared that a *dvija* even of bad character is to be honoured and not a *śūdra* though of good character 85; excommunicated a sinner if he refused to perform *prāyaścitta* 76, one guilty of a sin or crime had to give in some cases a dinner to men of his c 76; persons of 16 castes were treated as *candālas* as regards sight, touch or speech 115
- Caturhotarāḥ, mantras beginning with 'cittih sruk' 230, 254
- Caturvargacintāmaṇi, of Hemādri 314n, 582; vide under Hemādri
- Caturvīmśatīmata, 59n, 81, 85, 125n, 128, 143, 262n, 313, 361, 372n, 519n, 520n
- Chāgaleya, smṛti of 26, 64, 302, 525
- Chandogaparīṣad, (same as Gobhila-smṛti) 269n
- Chāndogya-upanīṣad, 8, 12, 20, 39, 42, 100, 158, 186-188, 232, 333, 449n, 613n, 681
- Chapekar, Mr. N. G. 551
- Chattopādhyāya, Prof. Kṛtiresachandra 556n, 608n
- Chaudhuri, Dr. J. B. 574n, 583
- Childe, Prof. V. G., on disposal of corpses in Paleolithic, Neolithic and bronze ages 234n
- Child, if dead, after upanayana, was to be cremated with ordinary fire and the procedure was same as for *āhitaṅga* 228; before upanayana may do

- as it pleases as regards behaviour, speech and eating 98; death of, before the appearance of teeth or before cūḍā entailed no āśauca except undergoing a bath 298-299; various views as to cremation or burial of a child according to age or the performance of cūḍākaraṇa or upanayana 227-228
- Christ, gave model prayer to his disciples for daily bread, forgiveness of sins and deliverance from evil 38a
- Christians, held fast by burial as the mode for the disposal of a dead body till end of 19th century relying upon literal interpretation of some Biblical passages and did not permit cremation 233; Roman Catholics allow only burial and no cremation even now 233; some early C. regarded dirt and absence of bath as one of the insignia of holy poverty 311
- Cities, seven holy, enumerated as Ayodhyā, Mathurā &c. 501, 678; some authorities include Kānti instead of Kāñci among the seven holy cities 678n, 762
- Citrāgupta, chief assistant of Yama 160; recommends to Yama the fate that the soul of a dead man deserves 160
- Clothes, purification of 330-331; purification of c. extremely polluted 330; silken c. are always pure 330; white c. are not defiled by the touch of anybody 330;
- Confession, as a means of removing the effects of sins 40-41; in Christianity 41
- Conflict, in case of, among smṛtis and purāṇas one should follow the usage of one's country, Vedic śākhā or family 519
- Conversion, see under sūddhi; to Hindu fold made by performing Vratyastoma in ancient times 118
- Converts, re-admission of Hindus forcibly made converts by Mlecchas 117
- Cooking food, for oneself only, condemned as an upapātaka 34
- Corinthians 171
- Corn, kinds of, recommended for use in śrāddha 413-414; cereals that were forbidden in śrāddha 414-415
- Corporal punishment to be moderate 19
- Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. I p. 696; vol. III p. 705
- Coulton, G.G., author of 'Five centuries of religion' 52a
- Country, extent of, varied from age to age 682n; what circumstances make one country distinct from another (deśantara) 285-286
- Cow, gift of, came to be the substitute for many expiations 127; gift of cow called Vaitaraṇī 545; gift of one cow in lieu of Prājāpatya, of two cows for Sāntapana &c 128; gold or money as a substitute for gift of cows in prāyaścitta 127-128; legend about the reason why kapilā cow is the best 545; prices of, in medieval times in India 129; procedure of gift of a cow on 2nd day after āśauca ends 545
- Cremation, see under 'effigy' 'death,' 'burial' 'fires,' 'dead bodies', 'funeral rites,' 'sacrifice', 'tonsure'; acc. to Brahmapurāṇa great noise should be made with four kinds of musical instruments when taking a corpse for 217; at end of c. relatives take a bath, offer water to deceased and on entering house touch a stone, a bull, fire, cowdung, fried barley 210; bamboo staff with a bundle of grass at its top was carried to cremation ground acc. to Kāt. Śr. 205a; bath for all relatives on mother's and father's side up to 7th degree (except for a child less than one year old) necessary on c. 211; brahmācārin was not to carry



the dead body of a person or relative except of his own parents or of guru or ācārya 214; brahmachārin carrying dead body of a person other than that of a parent or guru had to undergo expiation for *vratalopa* 215; carrying the dead body of a brāhmaṇa who is poor and without relatives is highly extolled as equal to a sacrifice at each step 215; cow or goat was taken to c. ground with its left fore-foot tied with a rope, was killed and corpse covered with its body 206; corpse should be first bathed and then cremated but not naked 216; dead body was not to be carried through a village when being taken for c. 216; dead body was carried to c. ground in a cart drawn by oxen acc. to Atharvaveda or by men, acc. to Sat. Śr. 205n, 206, 212; duty to carry dead body is on the sapinḍas of the deceased 215; *dvija* not to carry the dead body of a *śūdra* 214; fuel for the pyre was not to be carried by *śūdras* if deceased was *dvija* but if so carried the pyre should be made by the castemen only 216; ground for c. to be open on all sides 205; how relatives are to act and show grief after c. 211; long list of persons who should not be cremated 223; *Mitākṣarā* prescribes that if a brāhmaṇa carries a *śūdra*'s corpse the period of impurity for a brāhmaṇa is a month but if a *śūdra* has to carry the corpse of a brāhmaṇa the impurity is only for ten days 216; c. of bones of *āhitāgni*, if he died away from home 223; c. of effigy if a man gone to a distant land is unheard of for 12 or 15 years 225; c. of sacrificer with sacrificial implements is *pratipatti-dharma* of the implements 208n, 334n; parts of the body on which the several sacrificial implements are placed at time of c.

207-208; performer of c. rites had to undergo tonsure as an *aṅga* (ancillary part) 217; procedure of c. in modern times follows that in Āśv. gr and in Garuḍapurāṇa 212; procedure of, from Antyeṣṭi-paddhati, which is now followed by Rgvedins in Western India 212-214; procedure where a man returns alive after his effigy is cremated under the belief that he was dead 225; rites of, described frequently in Mahābhārata and sometimes in Rāmāyaṇa 223; rites of an effigy made with 360 palāśa leaves bound with yava flour and woollen thread, if even the bones of the deceased could not be found 224; Romans regarded c. as honourable way of the disposal of the dead body and reserved burial for murderers and those guilty of suicide 233; rules about periods of impurity on carrying dead body and staying with and eating the food of the family of the deceased 215-216; rules about impurity on carrying a dead body for a fee or from an interested motive 216; rules about selection of site for 204n, 205; rules about who were to carry the dead body to c. ground 214-215; rules for those who not being relatives carry a dead body to c. such as taking bath, touching and drinking ghee 215; sacrificial fires and vessels of *āhitāgni* are carried to c. ground 206-208; small pieces of gold or drops of clarified butter are cast on seven vital parts of the corpse 207n; special rules for c. of women dying in or immediately after childbirth or while in monthly illness 231; *śūdras* not to carry the dead body of a *dvija* if members of the deceased's varṇa are available 214; to be carried out at a

- sacred spot or at least after favouring the presence of tirthas like the Ganges in the water to be used for washing dead body 217; tonsure necessary in, on first day of death and also after end of impurity acc. to Madanapārijāta, others holding that it depends upon the usage of each country 218; varying views about the distribution of leaves to represent different parts of the body when an effigy is cremated 224-225; weeping permitted when body is burning, but none after cremation is finished and water is offered 218; wife of deceased made to lie down on wood pile arranged on c. ground and then made to rise up 207; wife of āhitāgñi dying before him had c. performed with his vedic fires and sacrificial implements 225
- Cremation Act, passed in 1902 in England 233
- Crusades, Gibbon's cynical references to crusaders 532; launched to free holy land of Christians from the domination of Moslems 552
- Cunningham, General, on 'Mahābodhi' 643; on 'Ancient Geography of India' 683n, 696, 723; on 'Bharhut stūpa' 709
- Cyavana, 18, 23, 80 n
- Dadhikr̥cchra, described 140
- Dakṣa, smṛti of 34 n, 53, 94, 119, 122, 220 n, 267, 269-271, 274, 288, 295, 306, 307, 310, 417
- Dakṣiṇā, (fee or gift) to be given to brāhmaṇas at the end of all prāyaścittas 121; to be given towards end of śrāddha rite 446, 451, 501
- Dakṣiṇāgni, homa in several śrāddhas by Agnihotris performed in 461-462
- Dānas, see under 'gifts'; in making dānas at death Kāmastuti is to be recited 184
- Dānavākyaṇvalli, of Queen Dhīramatī 583n
- Dandakāraṇya, 745; that part of it through which the Godāvari flows is most holy 708
- Dandaviveka, of Vardhamāna 71
- Dandekar, Dr. R. N. 160n
- Daradas, placed the bodies of dead relatives on trees 234
- Darbhas, sprang from the hair and perspiration of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation 418
- Darsapūṇamāsa, sacrifice to be offered by him who desires heaven 168
- Dasagvas, a sub-division of pitrs called Angrases 192n; identified with seven sages 341
- Dasahotārah, 230n
- Datta, Dr. B. N. on 'Vedic funeral customs and Indus Valley Culture' 241
- Day, divided into two, three or five or fifteen parts 376
- Dāyabhāga, 22n, 366, 404, 483n, 510; theory of, about sapinda 510
- Dāyatattva, 366n, 368n
- De, Prof. S. K., author of 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' 692, 702, 718
- Dead, bodies, disposal of, in ancient India had four stages, cremation, collecting charred bones and depositing underground in an urn, Śānti-karma, erection of a monument over the urn 255; embalming of, not unknown in ancient India 233; general rule in India of cremation of, from the times of the oldest literary monuments 232; methods of disposal differed at different times and among different peoples 231-232; preserved in caves, as in Rome 232n; cult of the dead, prominent feature in primitive societies 339
- Death, see under 'man', 'vratodyāpana', 'soul'; attitudes towards d. by men 180; generally looked upon with awe and terror 179; causes of premature 180; in Uttarāyaṇa heat 187; if date of death of a man dying in a distant land not known,

then certain tithis had to be accepted as the dates of his d. and śrāddha performed on those dates 306; indications of the immediate approach of 181; of son, pupil or wife due to corporal punishment no sin, when punishment moderate 19; man near death should be made to give gifts 182; rites after (see funeral rights); rites after first day of cremation and collection of bones begin in modern times on 10th day after d. 263; signs indicative of the approach of 181; sentence of death for theft, carried out by cāṇḍālas 74; times when it is best to die 187-188; to whom d. is happy and easy 180; terror of death was due to several causes 179; three classes of rites after death, acc. to Viṣṇupurāṇa 261; various views even among those who say there is survival after d. 180; was presumed after a man was unheard of for 12 or 15 or 20 years and effigy was cremated and āśauca observed 225, 256; d while treating a brāhmana or a cow medically does not amount to sin 109; worst indications of the approach of death are not being able to hear humming sound in the ear when closed with fingers and not being able to see the light in the eye 181

Debts, see 'father'; one of the fundamental conceptions of the Hindu faith has been the idea of d. owed to sages. Gods and pitrs 550; whoever took the estate of a man had to pay latter's d. 570

Decalogue, 11n

Deceased, goat was carried along with the body of 196; parts of the body of, such as eye, breath were supposed to merge in the sun, wind 196; does not become free from condition of being a *preta* till *navaśrāddhas* are performed 263; *piṇḍas* offered for ten days after death built up a subtle body for the departed 263

Defamation, fines or punishment for, depended upon the caste of the offender as well as of the person defamed 81

Deśas, holy, are all mountains, all rivers, lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages, cowpens and temples 560

Devakrechra, 140-141

Devala, 11n, 24, 26, 29, 33, 35, 54, 70, 75, 77n, 78, 79n, 81n, 86, 90, 108, 115, 117, 119, 132n, 133, 138, 142, 143, 147, 149, 151, 181, 210, 215, 217n, 267, 276, 283, 284, 292, 295n, 298n, 314, 317, 318, 322, 327, 339, 352, 383n, 384n, 394n, 405, 415, 446n, 453n, 469, 478, 483, 484, 514, 535, 542n, 559, 584, 593n

Devapāla, commentator of Kāṭhaka-grhya (or Laugākṣigrhya) 53n, 140n, 358n, 359n

Devāpi and Santanu were brothers and sons of king Kuru 681

Devayājñika, commentator of Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra 219, 368

Devyāna and pitryāna paths 198; described in the Gītā 188; explanation of the word 'light', 'day' 188; of hoary antiquity 189n

Devī-Bhāgavata 712

Devipurāṇa, 560n, 578n, 616n

Dhāmas, four, viz. Badrināth, Jagannātha, Kāmesvara and Dvārakā 678

Dey, Nandolal, author of 'Geographical Dictionary of ancient and medieval India' 678n, 691n, 723-724

Dhanada-krechra 141

Dharma, body being the all-in-all (or only source) of d., should be saved by all efforts 127; is in its pristine glory in Kṛtyayuga and has four feet but loses one foot in each succeeding yuga 540n

Dharma-dvaita-nirṇaya 28n

Dharmapradīpa 482

Dharmatāstra writers, very fond of divisions, sub-divisions and classifications and elaborate rules on āśauca

- 307-308  
 Dharmasindhu, 219, 230, 258n, 259, 263, 275, 276, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287n, 288, 292n, 294, 298, 300, 305, 319, 533n, 711n  
 Dhaumya 368, 473  
 Dhavana, meaning of, in procedure of building up of a sepulchral mound acc. to Satyāsādhā Brāhṃa 252, 253-255; now followed nowhere in India 254-255  
 Dhruva-śrāddha, 517  
 Diddā, cruel but energetic queen of Kashmir 571  
 Dikshīt, S. K. on 'Mother Goddesses' 529n  
 Dikshitar, Prof. V. R. Ramchandra, author of 'Purāṇa Index' 726  
 Dīpakalikā, commentary on Yāj, 18n, 96n, 105n, 134n, 142n, 163, 221n, 227n, 314n, 324n, 334n, 377n, 422n, 517n  
 Diseases, evil, were said to be eight 394n; no complete agreement among smṛtis as to what sins lead to which diseases 175; particular diseases removed by particular gifts 178; procedure of driving out disease by means of images of the sun and of the disease and offering worship to the images 178; were believed by ancient Indians and other peoples to be the consequences of sins 174-175;  
 Divākara, a. of Prāyaścittamuktāvalī 15  
 Divodāsa and Indra in the R̥gveda 619; founded Varāṇasī on the northern bank of Gomati 620; ruler of Kāśī 620; great-grandson of Dhanvantari king of Kāśī 620;  
 Divodāsiya, 548n  
 Divyāvadāna, 235n  
 Doctor, incurred no sin when patient died, though proper treatment given 19  
 Drona, a measure of capacity, generally held equal to four āhnikas 330n  
 Dyita, (see Ekata) 11  
 Eclipse, eating during course of e. of sun or moon forbidden, but that applies only to the brāhmaṇa who eats, but not to the giver of food, who reaps good results thereby 375  
 Edgerton, Prof 182n  
 Effigy, burning of, when even bones of a person could not be found 224-225; burning of, recommended by Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra as meritorious in the case of everyone and was not restricted to cases where the dead body was not found 225  
 Egyptians, ideas of, about Heaven and Hell were similar to those of most ancient and medieval Indians 170  
 Ekabhaṅga, an exp'ation 132  
 Ekāṣṭakā, is the 8th tithi after full moon of month of Māgha 353-54; said to be the wife of the year 353-355  
 Ekata, story of 11  
 Ekoddiṣṭa, (see 'navasrāddha', 'navamiśra') 516-520; is śrāddha offered to one deceased person alone whereas in pārvaṇasrāddha three paternal ancestors are invoked 380, 516; is a modification of pārvaṇasrāddha 516; place of performing (not in the house) 520; points of difference between pārvaṇasrāddha and e 516-517; suitable words have to be substituted in mantras 517; to be performed every month for a deceased dvija till sapindikarāṇa 517; three kinds of, viz. nava, navamiśra and purāṇa 517; what are E. śrāddhas 520  
 Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India' 631, 632, 692n, 699  
 Encyclopaedia, of Religion and Ethics 1  
 Enemies, of man, such as anger 9  
 Ephesians, 171  
 Epigraphia Carnatica, 572n  
 Epigraphia Indica, 52, 182n, 255, 572n, 580n, 634n, 636, 637, 639n, 683, 688, 689, 700, 709, 710n, 711

- Eschatology**, meaning of 179; subject of, is what happens to a man after bodily death 179; two aspects of, destiny of individual after death and the ultimate end of all things 179
- Eween, J.** author of 'Benares, a hand-book for visitors' 618
- Excommunication** (*Ghaṭasphoṭa*), process of 105
- Expiation**, for acts said to be equal to *mahāpātaka*s is half of that for the latter 29-30
- Fa Hien**, Chinese Traveller (399-413 A. D.) 235n, 630,
- Fast**, vide 'upavāsa'; all religions (except Zoroastrianism) emphasize as a discipline the necessity of 54; f. for a day is the penance for omitting rites ordained by Veda or for neglecting duties of a *anātaka* 53; Gautama includes f. under *tapas* 52; Mlecchas even think highly of f., according to *Mahābhārata* 51; observer of, had to give up certain actions such as chewing *tāmbūla* 53; *Sāntiparva* says that merely emaciating body by f. is not *tapas* 54
- Father**, debts of, should be paid acc. to Yāj. by the sons or grandsons, even when they receive no ancestral property, but the great-grandson need not pay even the principal if he has received no ancestral property 366-367
- Fergusson and Burgess**, authors of 'Cave temples of India', 678n
- Fine**, disposal by king of, imposed and recovered from one guilty of mortal sins 71
- Fires**, disposal of, in the case of an *ahitāgni*, if he became *patita* or committed suicide in one of various ways 227; employed in the cremation of a widower, a widow, *brahmacārin*, unmarried girl, a boy whose *upanayana* was not performed or an ascetic 226; five fires are *Gṛhapatiya*, *Āhavanīya*, *Dakṣiṇāgni*, *Āvasathya* (or *Aupāsana*) and *Sabhya*.
- Fire-temple**, called *Jvālāji* near *Baku* 118
- Fleet**, Dr. 235n, 634n, 706
- Flesh-eating**, at *śrāddhas* by *brāhmaṇas* 424; *Mitākara* and *Kalpataru* written about 1100-1120 A.D. do not expressly say that flesh-eating is forbidden in the Kali age 434; *Vasiṣṭha* and *Manu* appear to be in two minds about 425
- Food**, cooked along with hair or insects (like ants) or that is polluted by contact with a woman in monthly illness should not be partaken of but if food already cooked is polluted then it should be used after purifying it with ashes, water and the like 329
- Food**, cooked in marriages, festivals in honour of a deity or in a sacrifice may be served through others, if an *āśauca* on birth or death intervenes 291; exceptions to prohibition about food 100; gift of cooked f. highly eulogised 534n; offered as sacrifice to gods and manes must be given only to a *brāhmaṇa* who has studied the veda and what is presented to most worthy *brāhmaṇas* brings greatest reward 386; one requiring inner purity should avoid forbidden f. or vomit it if he takes it through ignorance and take same *prāyaścitta* 100; purification of polluted cooked f. 328-329; rules about f. in expiations 124; rules about, for relatives after the performance of funeral rites for three days and twelve days 238-239; seen by dogs, *cāṇḍālas*, those guilty of *mahāpātaka*s and a woman in her monthly illness or by a sonless woman or by one suffering from white leprosy becomes unclean 379-380; unclean food even may be taken in case of distress or danger to life 100; wealthy men should not throw away polluted f. if it is more than a

- drogs in quantity and poor men should not throw away more than an *āḍaha* 330
- Force, enjoyment or gift of property or a transaction brought about by, is void 118
- Forest, a large f. is invoked as a deity in Rgveda 561; seven holy forests of Kurukṣetra 561
- Francis of Assisi, saint, considered dirt as one of the signs of holy poverty 311
- Fraud, consequences of, are the same as those of force in cases of gifts and other transactions 118
- Fravashis of Parsi scriptures, see under pīṭṛs 341n
- Funeral monuments; erection of a *laṣṭī* (a staff) in the Andhau Inscription of the time of Rudradāman (2nd century A. D.) 255; planting of a *puṣkaraka* tree on the site of cremation or building of an *adūka* 255
- Funeral rites, see under 'Agnihotrin', 'cremation', 'child', 'deceased', 'mantras', 'sati', 'water'; animal in, may be killed or donated or let off acc. to Āśvalāyana-grhya 209n; are same for all whose upanayana has been performed except that *ābitāgni* is cremated with the three Vedic fires, except that one who has *smārta* fire only is cremated with that fire and one who has neither of these with ordinary fire 210; couch on which corpse was carried was to be of *udumbara* wood 204, 206n; description of death and funeral rites of Gautama Buddha 234-235; differ in each Vedic Śākhā, though certain matters are common to all 190; earthenware vessel filled with water continuously and cooked rice at mid-day to be offered for the deceased's benefit 219; ethereal body was supposed to be built up by the *piṇḍas* offered to the deceased for ten days after death 221; for an *ābitāgni* in general 204-208; for one who had undergone consecration for a *soma* sacrifice or *satiṣṭra*, acc. to *śrauta sūtras* 202-204; for ten days after death, a handful of water mixed with sesame was to be offered to deceased on the stone called *asmā* placed on *kūṣas* and one large *piṇḍa* also on *kūṣas* every day 262; for Yati 229-231; funeral pyre is to be made of the wood of sacrificial trees 211; great importance attached to the incident of a crow seizing or eating the *piṇḍa* offered on the 10th day after death 264; king to arrange for funeral rites of the deceased in the absence of all relatives 256-257; lamp fed with sesame oil to be kept burning for ten days after death 219; milk and water to be placed in space for ten nights after death for reducing torments of thirst to the spirit of the deceased 340; no funeral rites for those who start in anger on the Great Journey (to the Himālayas) or who commit suicide in one of various ways 222-223; order of persons who are *adhikārin* for performing f. r. is generally the same as the *adhikārin*s for *śrāddha*, but varies in different works 256-260; person who begins the funeral rites on the first day has to carry them on till the 10th day even if a nearer relative becomes available after the former has begun 221; *piṇḍas* to be offered to deceased on day of cremation and for ten days more in addition by the son or nearest sapīṇḍa 219-221; procedure of, according to Āśv. gr. 208-210; procedure of, became more elaborate in medieval and later times 190; procedure of offering water to deceased after cremation 218-219; procedure of what to do after returning to the house on cremation 237; procedure for ten days after death 262; procedure on 10th day after death 263-264; procession of relatives returning after

cremation arranged according to age, the elder coming first 199n; relatives after performing f. r. should touch *dūrvā* tendrils, fire and bull and should offer a *piṇḍa* to the departed 237; relatives should, for one day after rites on death, purchase or obtain food from another (house) of one kind only and without salt 238; rules of conduct to be observed by relatives (male and female) after they return from cremation and for three days after 238-239; slaves and attendants were buried with the corpses of the master in Babylon and Celtic Britain but no such practice mentioned even in early Vedic literature 256; some persons, such as the impotent, thieves of gold, women that kill their foetus or husbands, or drink *surā* were forbidden to offer water to deceased relations 222; some works allow a man to perform his own *antyeṣṭi*, while living 261; the mantra '*asmā-tvam*' is not to be repeated in f. r. when deceased had not kept *śrāuta* fires 210-211; toes and thumbs of the corpse were tied with a white thread or the fringe of a garment in, 204; throwing of *asmā* into water after anointing it with oil 264; urn containing bones was supported by wooden post 201n; varied acc. to the *śrāuta* or *gṛhya* sūtra, or acc. as the deceased was an *āhitāgni* or not, or acc. as the deceased was a woman or child or an ascetic or died in a distant land or by accident or committed suicide 190; verses of Rgveda X. 14-18 were employed by most of the sūtras, are used even now in cremation rites and occur in other Vedic *sambhitās* 191; views differ as to the stoppage of certain actions for ten or twelve days after death by relatives 239-240; what fire cannot be used in f. r. 210; what the relatives and those who carried

the corpse though no relatives were to do on day of cremation and one day thereafter 238; what is stopped for ten days after death is performance of *kāmya* rites, giving and accepting gifts, *homa* and vedic study, but *nitya* and *naimittika* acts to be performed in vedic and *smārta* fires are to be performed through another 239; women could, in default of son or male *sapinda*s of the deceased, perform f. r. of their husbands or father, father-in-law, brother but without vedic mantras, acc. to some 256-257, 259; words of condolence and comfort were to be addressed to the relatives of the deceased according to several works, after they have offered water, expatiating on the grip of *Kāla* on everything, on the certainty of death for every one born, on *dharma* alone following the soul in its wanderings and on the futility of mere lamentations 236-37

Führer, Dr. 297n

Gadādhara on Śrāddhasūtra 507n

Gadre, Mr. N. K., author of a Marāṭhi work 719n

Gāhaṇvāla Inscriptions 572n, 636-37, Gajacchāyā 171n, 532

Gāṇagāri, view of, on śrāddha 511

Ganahoma, 43n, 44

Gaṇeśa is called *Dhvanḍhi* at Kāśi and derivation of the word 638

Gaṅgā (Ganges) 585-596; G. and Kurukṣetra were the most sacred spots acc. to Manu 587; as long as a particle of the bones of a man lies inside the G. so long does the man remain happy in heaven 586; casting of the ashes of a cremated person in the Ganges 594-595; countries, hermitages, mountains through which G. flows are pre-eminent in purity 586; defining the extent of the *kṣetra* of G., the *tīra* (bank) and the *garbhā* 589-90; derivation of word

- 'Gaṅgā' 589; eulogy of, in Viṣṇu-purāṇa 587-588; four different streams of G. in four directions 587; grand eulogy of, in Vanaparva chap. 85 verses 86-97, 586; G. does not forsake even the most sinful or wicked man 589; G. is equal to all the 35 millions of holy places declared by Vāyu, says Kūrma 588; G. water and residence thereon are said to be superior to Vedic sacrifices, *tapas*, and *yoga*, since they yield heaven and *mokṣa*. 588; G. represents Viṣṇu who represents all gods 589; God Nārāyaṇa is the owner of the strip of land within four cubits from the flowing water of G. 590; interpretation of the story of Gayāsura by Mitra, O'Malley and Barua 359-360; invocation of the clay in the bed of G. 591-592; *kṣetra* extends to two *krośas* on each bank of G. 590; mantras to be recited at the time of a bath in the Ganges 594; *mūlamantra* about G. 589; names of the seven streams of the G. 587; no tonsure on, according to Vācaspatimīśra 575; on G. all times are auspicious and all men are fit for receiving gifts 589; one thousand names of, in Skandapurāṇa, Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 29, 565; procedure of a bath in the G. prescribed by Matsyapurāṇa chapter 102 for all varṇas and all students of the several *vedas*, 591-594; Purāṇas contain hundreds of verses eulogising the sanctifying activity and greatness of, 585; Purāṇas say that G. springs from toe-nail of Viṣṇu and that Śiva let it off from his matted hair in seven streams 587; residence on the bank itself of G. is not desired 590; *saṅkalpa* to be made at time of bathing in G. 590n; some purāṇas say that the G. is easy of access everywhere except at three places viz. Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāga and where it joins the sea 588; special merit accumulated by bath in the Ganges on certain days 596; supposed to flow in heaven as Mandākinī, on the earth as Ganges and in Pātāla as Bhogavati 587; *tarpaṇa* on G. after one bathes with water for the gratification of the three worlds 592; waters of, burn all bad deeds 586; waters of, are white, while those of Yamunā are dark 596n
- Gaṅga kings of Orissa built magnificent temples at Bhuvanesvara, Konārka and Puri 699
- Gaṅgā-bhaktitarāṅgiṇī of Gaṇapati 576n, 586, 587n, 588n, 592n,
- Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka of Vardhamāna 585
- Gaṅgāpattalaka of Gaṇeśvara 585
- Gaṅgāvākyāvali of Viśvasadevi, queen of king Padmasimha of Mithilā 586; 587n, 588n, 574n, 576n, 577n, 590n, 591, 595n, 601, 609, 615n, 616n; said to have been really composed by Vidyāpati in honour of his patroness 583n
- Garga 398n
- Gārgya 373
- Garuḍapurāṇa 53, 166, 168, 174, 182n, 184n, 212, 216, 218, 219, 221, 224, 225, 231, 236-38, 240, 262n, 263, 265n, 266n, 268, 302n, 304, 338n, 401, 418, 419, 440n, 445, 448, 458n, 483, 488n (verse 'apavitraḥ pavitro vā'), 517, 578, 520-22, 523n, 524n, 535, 536n, 541, 547n, 577n, 579, 580n, 588, 649, 651 (same verses as in Vāyu 110. 34-60), 663n, 666n, 668n, 669n, 678n.
- Gāthās sung by piṭṛs 633
- Gautama, views of, on śrāddha, 354, 511
- Gautama, Dharmasūtra of, 9, 14, 16n, 19, 21, 23-25, 30-32, 35, 39-42, 45, 49-52, 59n, 61, 62n, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 82, 84, 88, 89, 91, 93-97, 98, 99, 103, 107, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 119, 122, 125, 130, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138n, 150, 161, 211, 215, 218, 222, 223, 238, 240, 246n, 256, 261, 268-71, 277, 290, 292,



297, 298, 300, 301, 310, 314-15, 329, 331, 353-54, 379, 384, 387, 388, 400, 402, 410, 426n, 444, 456, 521, 606

Gautamapitṛmedhasūtra 185, 189, 204, 207n, 208n, 218n, 220n, 222, 224, 236, 240

Gautama-smṛti 174, 175

Gavyūti is equal to two krośas 186n

Gayā, pp. 643-679; see under Gayāśīras, Viṣṇupada, Akṣayavatā at 661n; Akṣayavatā śrāddha at G. and honouring Gayā brāhmaṇas established by Brahmā 666, 676; sages did not prohibit *kṣaura* even at Gayā but only *mūṇḍana* 575; all sins are destroyed by performance of śrāddha at Gayā 654; ancestors to whom śrāddha is offered at G. are either six, nine, or twelve 669; Anuśāsanaparva mentions three spots in Gayā that are not mentioned in Vanaparva chap. 84, 649; ascetic has to offer no śrāddha, but should put down his staff on Viṣṇupada 655; bath of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta explained 664; bathing of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta is obligatory in Pañcatīrthī rites and the rest may be done according to one's ability 675; Brahmā, it is stated by Vāyupurāṇa and Agni, bestowed upon G. brāhmaṇas 55 villages, Gayātīrtha, well-appointed houses &c. but he enjoined on them not to beg or accept gifts from others, but they being greedy officiated at a sacrifice of Dharma and begged of him fees whereupon Brahmā cursed them and deprived them of everything and when they bewailed he pitied them and told them to maintain themselves at Gayātīrtha 55, 579, 657; by performing śrāddha and offering piṇḍas on Viṣṇupada pilgrim saves one thousand families and takes them and himself to the world of Viṣṇu 665; comprehended, when Buddhism

waned, all the tract from Pretaśīlā to Mahābodhi tree 650; conduct of modern Gayā brāhmaṇas 405; description of rites performed for seven days after entering Gayā 662-668; Dhāmins are a special but lower class of priests at 668; Dharmāranya was founded by Asūrtarayas, says Rāmāyaṇa 653n; enumeration of the principal holy rivers, peaks and hills, bathing places, sacred sites and trees in G. 660-664; expenses on Gayāśrāddha to be on a profuse scale 404-405; full pilgrimage at Gayā lasts for seven days 662; Gadāloḥa, why so called, 665n; Gadāloḥa, śrāddha at 676; Gaya is not a demon in R̥gveda 59n; G. named after king Gaya who is mentioned in even Buddhist and Jaina works 646; Gayā-kṣetra has an extent of five krośas and Gayāśīras of one krośa 655, 677; Gayāśīras is the centre of Gayā, the most holy spot and smaller than Gayā 665n, 677; Gayāśīras and Gayā were well-known places in Buddha's days 668, 677; Gayāyātrā described in Vāyu 110, 661-662; Gayāls or Gayāwals are priests who make profit from Gayā pilgrimage their business 580; great divergence of views as to the ancestors to whom śrāddha is to be offered at Gayā 668-669; if one out of many sons goes to G. and performs śrāddha, the pitṛs secure *muktī* 539; great divergence of views among modern scholars about the antiquity of the Gayāmāhātmya 644; hill called Mūṇḍapṛṣṭha 658; if pilgrim unable to perform all details of Gayāśrāddha at Phalgu, Pretaśīlā and other spots he may offer only piṇḍas 671, 673; in whose soever name a piṇḍa is offered at Gayā that person if in hell goes to heaven and if in heaven secures release from *samsāra* 665, 670; is spoken of as

pitṛtīrtha 654; king Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas, performed a sacrifice in which food and fees were distributed in plenty 653; Krauñcapāda is the hill Muṇḍapṛsthā 665; literature on the History and Antiquities of 643; Mahābodhi tree, verses addressed to 664, 667; mahānadi in Vāyupurāṇa on Gayā generally means Phalgu 676; mātṛhātmya of G. in Vāyupurāṇa is a patchwork made between 7th and 10th centuries 951-952; mango tree at G. famous verse about 661n; mātṛpūṣaśī described by Raghunandana with 16 mantras which do not occur in Vāyu 677; most important work on G. relied upon in medieval digests is the Gayā-māhātmya i. e. Vāyupurāṇa chapters 105-112, 644; not a spot in G. that is not a tīrtha 656; numerous sub-tīrthas of G. are mentioned in Vanaparva chapters 77 and 82; occupies a unique place in the hearts of all pious Hindus even now 643; on entering G. pilgrim bathes in Phalgu river, performs tarpaṇa and śrāddha and on same day performs śrāddha on Preta-śilā and offers piṇḍas whereby the persons for whom this is done become free from the position of *preta* 662-663; one may offer piṇḍa to oneself but without sesame 670; one may offer to pitṛs at G. piṇḍas of *pāyasa*, boiled rice, barley flour, fruits, roots, sesame cake, jaggery or honey 653; order in which several tīrthas at G. are to be visited 662ff.; *padas* (stone slabs with foot-prints thereon) at G. and śrāddhas at them 661n, 676; pañcatīrthī (five tīrthas) of Gayā and rites there 663n, 675; passed through several vicissitudes 650; pilgrim should gratify the Gayā brāhmanas 656; Pretaśilā adjoins the west bank of Phalgu river and is to the north of Gayā 671; procedure of offering

a piṇḍa to oneself while living 670; procedure of śrāddha, acc. to Vāyupurāṇa 653-656; procedure of Gayā śrāddha acc. to Raghunandana 671-677; Rāmatīrtha (i. e. Prabhāsabrada), bath, śrāddha and piṇḍas at, free pitṛs of pilgrim from condition of being *preta* 674; references to Gayā from Rgveda downwards 645-647; rites from the first to the seventh day of entering Gayā described 672-676; river Vaitaraṇī in G. 656; rules of conduct to be observed while one is in Gayā 655-656; Samārohana, meaning of, in Aurnavābha's explanation of the three padas of Viṣṇu 647; saṅkalpa acc. to Raghunandana, before a bath in Phalgu 671n; seven gotras to whom śrāddha may be offered at G. 662; six Gayās that confer *mukti* by worship and piṇḍadāna at them, enumerated 667; size of piṇḍas to be offered at Gayā-śrāddha 662; Śoḍaśīkarma at G. described 672-673; special characteristics of śrāddhas at G. 669-670; śrāddha may be performed at G. at all times, even in an intercalary month, even when Jupiter and Venus are invisible 370, 655; śrāddha at G. is made without arghya and āvāhana 661; śrāddha at Pretaśilā is the first and that at Akṣayaṇa is the last and the rest of the śrāddhas should be performed in the order set out in Vāyupurāṇa or, if one does not know it, in any order 666; story of Gayāsura 656-657; story of the mace manufactured from the bones of an asura called Gada 660; story of Śilā, that was placed on the head of Gayāsura 657-658; story of Viśālā, a sonless king and of a person who offered one-sixth of his property to a trader and who was saved from remaining *preta* 666; *tarpaṇa* of ancestors at G. 671n; tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śrāddha at Gayā 571; the

unmanifest forms (such as hills like Prabhāsa) and manifest forms (such as image of Ādi-Gadādhara) of Viṣṇu 660-661; though there are numerous tirthas at Gayā, visit to three alone is absolutely necessary viz. to Phalgu river, Viṣṇupada and Akṣaya-vaṭa 666; Uttaramānasa tank 650-651, 653; Vedīs, at which the leisured pilgrim may offer piṇḍas in G. are forty-five 667; very sublime formula repeated at the time of offering piṇḍa and water at, 550; Viṣṇupada is Ādi-Gadādhara himself 665; Viṣṇupada is deemed to be the foot-print of God Viṣṇu 667; was named according to Agni and Vāyu after Gaya who performed a sacrifice there 654; was all emptiness and desolation in Fa Hien's time, while in Hiouen Tshang's time it was a flourishing town with 1000 brāhmaṇa families 650; why Hari is Ādi-Gadādhara at G. 657, 660; works dealing with procedure of śrāddha at G. 670-671; Yājñavalkya says that whatever a man gives in Gayā leads to inexhaustible rewards 653

Gayāls or Gayāwals are notorious for their indolence, ignorance and are a dying race 644; function of, at Akṣaya-vaṭa in Gayā 580, 668; have become a guild or close corporation and resent the intrusion of a stranger 580; have got books in which they enter the names and addresses of pilgrims who are asked to sign themselves and recommend to their descendants to honour them when the descendants might come to Gayā 581; Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa limited the injunction about honouring Gayāwals alone to śrāddha at Akṣaya-vaṭa 670; pilgrims to Gayā must honour Gayāls alone and not other brāhmaṇas however learned they may be 670; profess the Vaiṣṇava faith established by Madhva 644; referred to in a copperplate grant of

Lakṣmaṇasena in 1183 A. D. 580; strange practice among them of adopting the same person in several families at the same time and yet allowing the son so adopted to retain his rights in the family of birth 580-581; the number of, is being gradually reduced 581

Gayāśīras, extent of, according to Nārada-purāṇa 647; is the Brahma-yoni hill according to some modern scholars, while Dr. Mitra holds it is not 646n; named in the Vanaparva, in several Purāṇas and in ancient Buddhist works such as the Mahāvagga 646

Gayāśrāddhapaddhati of Raghunādana 583

Gayāśrāddhapaddhati of Raghunātha 671

Gayāśrāddhapaddhati of Vācaspati 670

Gāyatrī, inaudible *japa* of, highly eulogised 47; repeating of, as secret expiation for sins 126-127; repeating of, in śrāddhas 507, 543; to be recited while performing expiation 120

Ghaṭajātaka 668

Ghoṣasānti 178

Ghose, Dr J.C. on 'Antiquity of Gayā', criticized 643

Gibbon, author of 'Decline and fall of the Roman Empire' 129n, 552

Gifts, see 'dakṣiṇā', 'food'; acceptance of gifts from kings is terrible in its consequences 549; as removers of the consequences of sins 51-52; one or more of ten g. should be made by a dying man 182; of gold, cow, clothes, horse, land, clarified butter and food destroy sin 51; of all wealth or of a large portion as expiation of brāhmaṇa murder 92

Goat was carried with the dead body 196n

Gobhilagrhya, 53, 64, 346, 354, 348n, 355, 358, 417, 525, 526

Gobhila-smṛti (often cited as Chandogapariśiṣṭa of Kātyāyana) 149n, 182, 207n, 218n, 223, 224, 225, 226, 237, 239n, 240, 269, 297, 321, 355, 356, 361, 417, 418, 440n, 441n, 443n, 455n, 464n, 473, 475n, 476, 477, 480, 482, 487n, 513, 517n, 518, 521, 524, 529, 537; quotes some verses of Yājñavalkyasmṛti and a verse from Mahābhārata 237

Godāvarī (or Gautamī) 707-711; see 'Daṇḍakāranya'; bath in G. when Jupiter enters Leo highly regarded even up to the present day 711; Brāhmapurāṇa, chapters 70-175 laud Godāvarī and about 100 sub-tirthas at great length 707-708; Ganges is called Gautamī in the south and Bhāgirathī in the north 707; Gautama brought Ganges from Siva's matted hair to Brahmagiri where he had his hermitage 708; G. is said to be 200 yojanas long and to have 35 millions of tirthas on it 707-708; G. is pre-eminently a place for performing śrāddha 708; holiest spot in Nasik is Kāmakunda 710; Govardhana (6 miles to west of Nasik), history of 710; Nasik on G., history of, from 200 B. C. 709; Pañcavāṭion G. 709-710; referred to generally as Gautamī in the Brāhmapurāṇa 707; story of Bāvarī who resided on the Godāvarī and sent several disciples to Buddha, acc. to Suttanipāṭa 707; Tryambakeśvara is the hill on which Gautama had his hermitage 708; two epics and purāṇas contain numerous references to it 707; Vana-parva speaks of it as a holy river in the south 707; verse occurring in several purāṇas says that G. is on the Sahya mountain and the country through which G. flows is the most charming in the world 708

Gods, see under pitṛs; Gods like Mitra and Varuṇa are implored to confer immortality 156; of Vedic pantheon

described as guardians and promoters of ṛta 3; distinction drawn in Sat. Br. about what is done for g. and for pitṛs 249n

Gomaṭividya, an expiation for go-vadha, 108-109

Gomūtrakṣcchra 134

Gopalan R., author of 'History of the Pallavas of Kāñcī' 712

Gopatha-brāhmaṇa 618

Gosava, a strange Vedic rite 62n, 434; deemed by Vasiṣṭha to be a destroyer of sin 62n

Goṣṭhīśrāddha 381-382

Govadha is at the head of all upapātakas 107; different prāyaścittas for, in different smṛtis 107-109; expiation for, is same as one for killing a vaiśya or śūdra 107; four expiations prescribed for by Yājñ 107; was no sin, if a cow or bull died while being medically treated 109

Govindacandra, emperor of Kanauj 634n, 636, 637, 639

Govindānanda, commentator of Prāyaścittaviveka 39n, 86n, 88, 92, 222n, 265

Govindarāja, a commentator of Manusmṛti 481

Govrata, as prāyaścitta 134

Grants, Bṛhaspati's rules about g. of land 52; of land and villages state that they are made for the increase of the merit of donor and his parents 52

Graves, or sepulchral mounds 245-250; at Lauriya Nandanagarh resemble in many respects the mounds described in Śrauta-sūtras 254; clods or baked bricks were employed in building mounds over charred bones of deceased persons 254; difference between g. of godly people and of asuras 247-248; ground of, should not be visible from the village 248; height of, depended on the varṇa of persons whose ashes were to be buried 250; pegs of different kinds of trees are fixed in different directions

- of these 250; performer of rites about graves return to their houses holding the tail of an ox 250; placing of bricks silently without mantras 249-250; procedure of the erection of a mound with *dhavana* and without *dhavana* including dialogue, dancing and singing acc. to Sat. Śrauta 251-252; procedure for making sepulchral mounds for those who had performed *agnicayana* 248-251; proper time for making 247-248; shape of, should be four-cornered and not round (which is practised by Asuras and Eastern people) 247-248; not too large, but broader behind and on north side 248; should not be erected near certain plants and trees 248; size of, should be just the size of the man whose bones were to be deposited 248; size of mounds differed among 'devadarsins' and Śaunakins 253; various measurements in the sūtras provided for constructing a mound over the charred bones deposited in a pit 253; verses were recited while piling up layers of clay or bricks, which refer to pillars and posts 254; were in ancient India generally quadrangular, but sometimes also round 254
- Greece, some ancient writers in, held theory of transmigration of souls 180
- Gṛhashtaratnakara 25n, 48n, 226n
- Gṛhyāgnisāgara, of Nārāyanabhaṭṭa Arde 360n
- Gṛhya-kārikas 286
- Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa 219, 221, 546
- Growse, F. S. on 'Mathurā' 688, 692
- Guild, brāhmana who is a member of a g. or who officiates at a sacrifice on behalf of g. is unfit to be invited at a śrāddha 393, 394
- Guṇas, in Sāṅkhya philosophy 9
- Gupta Inscriptions 16n, 605n, 634n, 646n, 712
- Guru, eleven males so called 24; meaning of 24
- Gurvaṅganāgama, (sexual intercourse with *guru's* wife), see under 'incest'; a mahāpātaka 23-25, 103; prāyaścitta for 103-104; sexual intercourse with maiden of higher varṇa, with friend's wife, sister, son's or sagotra's wife or with *antyaja* woman equal to g. 103
- Hades, the Greek word for Hebrew Sheol 170
- Haj and Haji 552n
- Halāyudha, commentator of Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana, 443n, 450n, 455n, 470n, 484n, 516n
- Hall, Dr. Fitz-Edward 623n
- Haracaritacintāmaṇi, 724
- Haradatta, 11n, 46n, 49n, 50n, 53, 59n, 62n, 64n, 71, 79n, 90, 93n, 96, 108n, 111, 114n, 124, 126, 130, 135, 136, 138n, 144n, 149n, 150, 161n, 218, 222n, 223, 268, 271, 275n, 278n, 289, 292, 293n, 301, 305n, 335n, 349, 353, 369n, 384, 392n, 394n, 397n, 402n, 404, 406, 410n, 437n, 444, 482
- Hāratalā, 215, 216, 221n, 222n, 234, 240, 241n, 267n, 269n, 270n, 271, 273, 274n, 276n, 288, 291n, 293n, 296n, 297n, 298n, 299, 300, 305n, 306, 307, 310, 315n
- Haraprasad, Shastri, M. M. 458, 542n, 572n, 607n,
- Harilāra, commentator of Āśaucadāśaka, mss of which are dated 1482-83 and 1522-23 A.D. 273, 460
- Harṇi, verses from Atharvaveda 242
- Hārīta, 16, 40, 60, 83, 88, 106, 114, 119, 124, 126, 143, 173, 175, 215, 234, 270, 333, 355, 514, 515n, 523n, 536-537, 546, 548, 604
- Hārīta-saṁhita (on medicine) 176
- Harivamśa 117, 350, 445n, 620, 690
- Haracarita, 371n
- Harsbe, Dr. K. G. 181.
- Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics by, 1
- Havell, E. B., author of 'Benares, the sacred city,' 618n, 631, 632n,
- Haviya, food, what is 149n, 412, 414n

Hayasirsa-pañcarātra, 319n

Heaven, see under 'Hell', 'karma'.  
'Yama', 'worlds', 'svarga'; ancient machinery of Heaven and Hell has largely failed to keep people moral in these days 172n; calculating and bargaining spirit of smṛtis and purāṇas about actions that lead to, 166; descriptions of the pleasures of, 165-166; glowing descriptions of, in Mahābhārata and purāṇas 165; generous donor or worshipper goes to it and mixes among gods 156; history of idea of 154-158; idea that h. is a place or state of eternal bliss to which the spirits of the religious or of warriors go is common to many ancient peoples 158; idea of heaven in post-vedic literature 161-164; in heaven, acc. to Atharvaveda, there are beehives of women, ponds of ghee, streams of milk and honey, wine flows like water and there is no disease 157; is devoid of fear or old age, or hunger or thirst or sorrow acc. to Upaniṣads 158; is placed in the north by Śāntiparva, in which there is no hunger or thirst or old age or sin 166; life in h. is said in Ṛgveda to be full of joys and delights 156; pious dead become united in h. with their *iṣṭāpūta* and their forefathers 156; theory of, came to be modified by the doctrine of *karma* and *punarjanma* 158; said to be the abode of Yama in the Ṛgveda and full of music and song 156; theory that pleasures of h. have a time limit 167; three heavens mentioned in Ṛgveda 156; warriors killed in battle were supposed even in the Ṛgveda and generally in the Gītā and later to ascend to h. and there had the society of beautiful damsels 158

Hell, see 'Naraka', 'Yama' and 'Citrāguṇḍa'; Buddhists took over the idea of hell 164; h. called *pus* 161;

clear references in Atharvaveda to, 155; description of the torments of 167-168; different views about whether it is a place 161; different numbers of hells 162-164; eighteen evil actions which lead to h. 173; four hells named in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 155; is a man's lot when he transgresses his dharma 162; names of hells 162-163; no clear or express references in Ṛgveda to h. 154; in Jain literature 163; land of everlasting fire for the devil and his myrmidons 170; no mention of tortures of hell in Ṛgveda 155; periods for which several sinners undergo torments of 164; Quranic ideas of 171n; seven hells, acc. to Vedāntasūtra and Viṣṇupurāṇa 162; some Purāṇas state that the number of hells is crores 154; twenty-one hells mentioned by several works 162; torments in, described 167-168; task before modern Indian leaders is how to build up virtues of tolerance and respect for life apart from ideas of heaven and hell 172

Hemādri 59, 77, 115, 147, 148, 151, 304, 309n, 343, 351n, 352n, 361n, 376, 378n, 385, 386, 388, 389, 390n, 392n, 394n, 395n, 396, 397, 398n, 399n, 400n, 403n, 407n, 408, 409, 411, 413, 414n, 415n, 416, 418n, 422n, 424, 433n, 441n, 442n, 444n, 445, 449n, 450n, 453, 455n, 457, 458, 459n, 460, 463, 466, 467n, 469, 471, 472n, 475, 476, 477n, 479, 480n, 481n, 482, 484, 507n, 508n, 513n, 514, 523n, 528, 530n, 536, 542, 545, 582n, 669, 717

Hemaśrāddha (śrāddha with gold i. e. money) 515; if the person who has to perform a śrāddha cannot offer even amaśrāddha, he should perform h. 515; occasions when it is allowed 515

Herodotus 180

Hibbert Journal, 1n, 8n

- Himālaya, all parts of, said to be holy in the Purāṇas 560; mentioned in the Atharvaveda 559; spoken of as 'devatātmā' by Kālidāsa 560; vide list of tirthas
- Hinduism, spread of, in Java, Bali and other countries of south-east Asia 118
- Hiouen Tshang 608, 629, 631, 683, 688, 711, 766
- Hiranyakeśi-grhya-sūtra 58, 353, 354, 355, 361, 384, 385, 439, 471, 474, 559, 619
- Hiranyakeśi-pitr-medha-sūtra 185
- History of Dharmakāstra, vol. I—582, 586, 610n, 651n, 721n; vol II—11, 13n, 19, 24n, 36n, 42, 46n, 47, 48n, 52, 54, 62n, 76, 82, 85, 91n, 92n, 93n, 111, 112, 115, 117, 118, 120n, 131, 133n, 141, 144n, 168n, 184n, 199n, 200n, 207n, 222n, 229n, 230n, 231, 239n, 249n, 275n, 302, 309, 311, 327n, 331, 332, 349n, 357n, 359n, 369, 384, 397, 412, 415, 417, 422, 425, 434n, 435n, 440n, 442n, 443n, 501n, 510, 529, 536n, 543n, 553n, 554, 555n, 558n, 571n, 592n, 593n, 604, 605, 676n, 722n, 734; vol. III—11, 13n, 19, 21, 25, 51n, 69, 74, 76, 80, 82, 89n, 92, 100n, 105, 106, 118, 129, 164n, 257, 258, 271, 275n, 280n, 286, 302, 330n, 331, 364, 380n, 424, 425, 439, 453n, 454, 473n, 510, 525, 538, 540n, 550n, 590n, 604, 638, 628
- Holy cities, seven enumerated 678
- Holy places, what are 55n, 555
- Homa, as a means of removing consequences of sins 43-44; could be performed in ordinary fire 78n; for women and śūdras to be performed through a brāhmaṇa as a *pratimithi* acc. to some digests 78n; general procedure of 543n; number of oblations of clarified butter is either 28, 108 or 1008, 543; one lakh of homas with sesame accompanied by Gāyatri recitation as substitute for heavy expiations 128; should be performed in all expiations 120.
- House, see under 'purity,' 'purification'; constructed with burnt bricks is purified by wind and the Sun 323-24
- Hunter, W. W., author of work on 'Orissa,' 692, 695n, 696, 697, 698, 699, 702, 750.
- Image, see under 'purification,' 'purity,' 'temple'.
- Impurity, see 'Āśauca'; observed by man for ten days, when he performs his own śrāddha while living 544; some persons are free from, not at all times, but only when they are engaged in some peculiar actions such as sacrifices while engaged in sacrifice 298
- Incest, see under 'gurvaṅganāgama'; prāyaścittas for, acc. to Parāśara 104; punishment and prāyaścitta for, are same viz. excision of testicles 72
- Indian Antiquary, 271, 451n, 572n, 612n, 642, 650, 702, 716, 726, 765
- Indian mind revels in divisions and classifications 344
- Indische Studien 449n.
- Indian Historical Quarterly 610n, 716n
- Indra, consigned yatis to Śalāvṛkas 63; invoked to strike down evil-doers 154
- Indradyumna, a *cakravartin*, mentioned in Maitrāyaṇyupaniṣad 695
- Inheritance, close connection between the right to perform funeral rites and taking i. 257; Mitākṣarā and Dāya-bhāga doctrines on 257; whoever takes i. has to offer piṇḍa to the deceased 257
- Inscriptions, see 'Epigraphia Indica'; Andhau Inscription 255; in a fire temple at Baku on the Caspian see 118; of Hoysala king granting revenues of a village for meeting taxes levied on pilgrims to Benares 572; recording gifts of lands and houses,

- coins and gold as *prāyascitta* for benefit of deceased 182n
- Intercalary month 546-547; all *śrāddhas* that come after *Sapindikāna* were not to be performed in 546; is called by various names such as *Ambhasapati*, *Adhimāsa*, *Malamāsa*, *Malimluca*, *Samsarpa* 546; is to be discarded for all rites in honour of gods and pits 546; *purāṇas* call it *Puruṣottamamāsa* 546; the *sāṃvatsarika-śrāddha* of one who dies in an intercalary month may be performed in the same intercalary month, but if there be no i. m. of that name, then in ordinary month of same name 446-447; thirteenth month and vendor of *soma* were condemned as *pāpa* (sinful) 546; was known even in the times of the *Rgveda* 546; what religious actions could be done in 546
- Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* 606
- Israelites, ancient, customs of, concerning the relatives of the dead 309
- Iṣṭīśrāddha* is *Karmāṅgaśrāddha*, 9th among twelve classes of *śrāddhas* 457n
- Jābāla*, *smṛti* of 60n, 61, 136, 140, 146, 147, 152
- Jābāli*, *smṛti* of 64, 121, 134, 139, 142
- Jābālopaniṣad*, 610n, 625
- Jaimini*, a of *Purvamīmāṃsāsūtra* 9n, 20n, 24, 27n, 40n, 45, 53, 58, 61-63, 66n, 89n, 92, 112, 137n, 168n, 169, 208n, 310n, 353, 373, 419, 439, 440n, 442n, 447, 453, 454, 481n, 534n, 602n, 670, 672n, 687
- Jaimini-grhya* 355, 418
- Jaiminiya-samhitā*, of *Sāmaveda* 46n
- Jains*, accept the doctrine of *tapas* as a destroyer of sins 43; though they emphasized 'ahimsā', they encouraged religious suicide called *Sallekhanā* under certain circumstances 612
- Jalakṛcchra*, see 'Toyakṛcchra' 138
- Jamadagni*, *smṛti* of 43, 94, 163n, 461n
- James, Prof. E. O. in 'Christian Myth and Ritual' 234n
- James, William, author of 'Varieties of religious experience' 171n
- Janasthāna* (in *Dandakāraṇya*), said to be four *yojanas* in extent and *Pañcavati* was part of it and it was so called after *Janaka* 710
- Japa*, a means of removing consequences of sin 44-51; distinguished from *stuti* 45; demands three things 46; food on which one should subsist, when engaged in 49; is expiation for sins unintentionally committed 46-47; original idea of, spiritual 46; of mantras, a hundred times where no particular number is specified 47; three kinds of 44-45; superiority of, over Vedic sacrifices and *pākayajñas* 47; *upāṃśu* J. described and praised 45; way in which *śūdras* and women were to engage in 49
- Jātibhrāṣṭakara* sins 15, 35; expiation for, is *Sāntapana* and *Prājāpatya* 118
- Jātūkarṇya*, *smṛti* of 98, 182n, 190, 206n, 209n, 225, 389n, 390, 469, 512, 531n
- Jayaswal, K. P. author of 'History of India' (150-350 A.D.) 634, 689n, 762
- Jerusalem, holiest place for Christians 552
- Jesus, miraculously cured a blind man 174n
- Jikana*, 80n
- Jivat-śrāddha* or *Jivaśrāddha* 542-545; effigy representing a human figure is to be made of threads and *palāśa* stalks on which the performer sleeps, then rises up and on the 4th day it is burnt 543-544; one cannot perform one's *Sapindikāna* 544; performed by a man himself while alive for the benefit of his soul after death once every month up to 12 years and then he stops 544; procedure of, according to *Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra* 542-544; procedure of acc. to *Līṅga-purāṇa*, is substantially different 544; this *śrāddha* is a perversion of the



- ancient idea of śrāddha 545; water and piṇḍa are offered to himself with a mantra 544; word 'preta' is not to be used in this rite 544
- Job, book of, in Old Testament 170
- John, epistle of 41n
- John, Gospel of St. 233
- Jolly, Dr. 540n
- Journal Asiatique 176n
- Journal, of American Oriental Society 154n
- Journal, of Asiatic Society of Bengal 643, 644, 659, 664n, 688n
- Journal, of Benares Hindu University 160n
- Journal, of Bihar and Orissa Research Society 643
- Journal, of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society 376n, 678n, 687n, 707, 745
- Journal, of Department of Letters, Calcutta University 556n, 610n, 726
- Journal, of Ganganath Jha Research Institute 736, 738
- Journal, of Oriental Research, Madras 698
- Journal, of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain 176, 235n, 636, 696, 706, 730, 767
- Journal, of U. P. Historical Research Society 608n, 720n, 746, 760
- Judicial function, separated early from the executive function of the king 69
- Jyēṣṭhasāmāni 46n, 384, 386, 450
- Jyotirlingas, twelve, names and locations of 678-679; divergence of views about identifications of some J. 678n; each J. has an Upalinga 678n
- Jyotiṣoma, 157 cups (grahas) used in, were to be cleansed with a strainer of wool, but not the *camasas* 310; one who offers the Adābhya cup in, goes to heaven while still living 157
- Kadalivana, 178
- Kailāsa, temple at Ellora is not one of the twelve Jyotirlingas 678n
- Kākinī, value of 129
- Kalanos, an Indian Gymnosophist from Taxila, accompanied Alexander and burnt himself to death at the age of 70, 612
- Kāla, see under Time
- Kālidāsa 60, 605, 691, 706
- Kālikāpurāṇa, 467
- Kalivarjya acts 65, 271, 302, 424, 425, 608
- Kalpa, 164
- Kalpataru, 21, 98, 108, (prāyaścitta), 131, 136, 148, 181 (moksakāṇḍa) 187n (moksakāṇḍa), 222n, 238n, 270n, 273, 274n, 289, 292n, 293n, 297, 305n, 315n (śrāddha), 334 (śrāddha), 339 (śrāddha), 368n, 371n (on śrāddha), 377n (śrāddha), 378 (śrāddha), 380n, 381n, 383, 385, 386, 391, 392, 396n, 398n, 400n, 401n, 424, 441n, 444n, 445, 455n, 457n, 458n, 463n, 468n, 469n, 471n, 473, 475, 477, 479, 481, 512, 514n, 517n, 518, 523n, 524n, 528, 529, 531, 532n, 536n, 537, 538n, 542, 555n, 559n, 560n, 561n, 569n, 610n (on āśauca), 623n; held that an *anupānita* boy and unmarried girl incurred no sin by drinking surā 21, 98; its date 624n; verses quoted by it from Skandapurāṇa are not found in the printed purāṇa, but are found in the Liṅgapurāṇa 624n
- Kīmastuti, repeated in many ceremonies such as marriage, adoption, gifts made on approach of death 184n; repeated when making a gift of a cow on 2nd day after āśauca ends 545
- Kāmya rites should be undertaken only when one is able to perform all parts of them 373
- Kāñci, 711-712; famous temples of 712; history and antiquity of 711-12; Kāñi and K. are the two eyes of Śiva and K. is a famous Vaiṣṇavaśetra 712; one of the seven holy cities of India and one of the most ancient towns in south India 678, 711;

regions around K. were frequented by Buddha, acc. to Hiouen Tsang and K. had a stūpa 100 feet high built by Aśoka 711

Kane Festschrift, 648n

Kāntipurī, one of the seven holy cities acc. to some 678, 762; divergent views about its location 678

Kaṇva, 26n, 544

Kapadia, Dr. on 'Hindu Kinship' 368

Kapardin, 392n, 482

Karkabhāṣya, 447n, 482, 507n, 508n

Karma, see under 'birth,' 'soul'; basis of, 39; doctrine of, is inextricably mixed up with that of *punarjanana* 38-39; doctrine of, appears to be in conflict with that of *śrāddha* 335; doctrine of, is opposed to the theory of the transference of merit (*punya*) from one man to another 66n; doctrine that there is no final release from the cycle of births and deaths by performance of meritorious deeds alone 167; doctrine of, illustrated in the Jain Uttarādhyayanāsūtra by the story of brothers 445n; knowledge (true) destroys all k. 68, 611; main propositions of the doctrine of 38-39 and 612-613; modified by the theory of expiations for sins 40; three kinds of viz. *sañcita*, *prārabdha* and *kriyamāṇa* and their explanation 612-613; whether good or evil does not perish without bringing forth its consequences 39

Karmāṅgaśrāddha, 382

Karmavipāka, (fruit of evil deeds), see under 'sins', 'disease', 'actions'; Āpastamba-dharmasūtra says that a *dvija* who murders a *brāhmaṇa* is born after undergoing torments of hell as *cāṇḍāla*, *pauḥkasa* and other sinners are born as animals 175; doctrine of, was well-known to Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna 176; doctrine of, is not, acc. to some writers, to be taken literally but is an *arthavāda* 177; diseases arising

from sinful acts subside by recitation of vedic texts, *homa*, gifts 173; physical marks indicative of sins committed in previous lives disappear on repentance and on undergoing expiation 173; residual consequences of sinful deeds in the form of deformed bodies or bodies with condemned signs or diseases 173; human beings alone are subject to doctrine of 176-177; *smṛtis* and *purāṇas* state into what animals, trees and creepers sinners are born after undergoing hell torments 173-174; some *smṛtis* say that the murderer of a *brāhmaṇa* in a later life suffers from leprosy, while others say that he suffers from phthisis 175; *Yogasūtra* says K. is of three kinds viz. birth (as a worm or animal), life (short), and experiencing torments of hell 176; treatment of K. is the longest in *Prāyaścittasāra* 176; teaching of works on, comes to this that no man however sinful need despair 177; women guilty of theft and other sins become the wives of men guilty of same offences 177

Kāraṇājini, 484

Kāśī (Vārāṇasī, Banaras) 618-642; see under 'Sārāṇṭh', 'sins', 'oṅkāra' 'lūgas', 'ascetics'; *Ādikṣava-gṛhā* 636; after repatriating to K. one should smash one's feet with a stone so that one may not be tempted to go to another place 566-567; Alberuni expressly states that Mahmud Gaznavi had not reached Banaras 623n; almost all Hindu temples at Kāśī were demolished by Moslem rulers from 1194 to 1670 A.D. 631; ancient history of Banaras from the Śat. Br., the Gopatha Br., the Upaniṣads, epics and *purāṇas* and Buddhist works 618-623; Avimukta is said by some to be that part of the holy place which is represented by a radius of 200 *dhanus* (i. e. 800 "

*kasias*) in all directions from the shrine of Viśveśvara 628; āyatanas, fourteen named 640; belief that dying in Banaras freed one from saṁsāra, led the old and decrepit to crowd in K. and persons about to die were removed to the banks of the Ganges 626; called Jitvarī by traders 621; construction and endowment of *mathas* at K. highly eulogised 639; conclusions drawn from the stories in the Epic and Purāṇas that Banaras was once a centre of non-Aryan worship criticized 622-623; Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭ; famed for centuries 634-635; derivation and significance of the name Kāśī 625; eulogies of greatness and uniqueness of K. cover thousands of verses 629; famed for the qualities of its cloth in the second century B. C. 619; first called Ānandakānana and then Avimukta 624; five questions about K. asked by sages to Bhṛgu in the Padmapurāṇa 623; for devotees of Śiva there is no other remedy even in great calamities or incurable diseases than touching the water of the feet of the image of God 641; Gaṇeśas are 56 at K. 638; ghāṭs in Banaras for at least a thousand years 634-637; hardly any other city in the world can claim greater antiquity, greater continuity and greater popular veneration than Banaras 618; hyperbolic descriptions of the results of bathing and dying in Kāśī in the Purāṇas 629-630; in the times of Buddha, Banaras was a great and famous city like Rājagṛha, Śāketa, Śrāvastī 621; individual tīrthas in K. described 632-640; it is said that mere residence in K. till death not only frees a man from such sins as brāhmaṇa-murder, but also frees him from the cycle of births and deaths 566; is called Ānandakānana because it gives joy to Śiva 626; jābālopa-

nīśad gives an esoteric meaning to Avimukta, Varāṇā and Nūśī 625-626; Jain works like the Kalpasūtra say that Arhat Pārśva was born in Banaras 621; Jñānavāpi, origin and importance of 638; Kapālamocana-ghāṭ at K. is ancient 639; Kāśīkhaṇḍa, a part of Skandapurāṇa, devotes 15000 verses to Banaras and sub-tīrthas 623; known under five names from ancient times viz. Vārāṇasī, Kāśī, Avimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna 624; lauded and described at great length in several Purāṇas 623; liṅgas and tīrthas at K. mentioned in some purāṇas are numerous 639-40; Lolārka is one of the twelve shrines of the Sun in K. 633n, 634; Manikarnikā pool is the most holy among tīrthas at K. 635; mantras recited when contemplating Manikarnikā 633; Mlecchas, insects, birds, beasts, worms after death in K. find happiness 630; by identifying Asi and Varāṇā with Idā and other nādis mystic flavour is imparted to those names 631; name Avimukta, derived and explained in two ways 626; name Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna due to various causes 626-627; name Vārāṇasī is derived from the two rivers Varāṇā (modern Bārṇā) and Asi, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city 625; name was spelt as Benares up to recent times, but now it is spelt as Banaras 618; Nārāyaṇapurāṇa says that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Śaiva-kṣetra 622n; Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa says that in the case of Viśveśvara-linga there is no blemish due to the touch of the untouchable 633; one should not commit the slightest sin in K. as punishment is relatively far heavier 638; Pañcagāṅgā-ghāṭ, so called because five rivers, Kiraṇā,

Dhūtāpā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī are supposed to meet there 636; Pāñcakrośī pilgrimage by road is held the most meritorious of all and is described in detail 637; Pāñcatīrthī (five essential tīrthas) named and described 633-634; present temple of Viśvanātha was built by Abalyabai Holkar 633; questions about Banaras asked in the Skandapurāṇa 624; residents of K. must repair to the river every day, take a bath in Mañikarnikā and visit Viśveśvara 640; rules of conduct (particularly moral) for those who dwell in K. 638-639; results of sins committed outside K. but sinner dying in K. and of sins committed in K. by one who dies outside K. 640-41; several images of Keśava existed at K. 636n; śrāddha should be performed at K. 639; stotra of Durgā called Vajrapañjara 638; sub-tīrthas at K. are numerous 638; temple of Bhairavanātha, supposed to be *koṭwal* of K., who wields a thick stone cudgel 638; temple of Durgā at K. very popular and much frequented 638; temple of Śākya-Vināyaka 637; temple of Tārakeśvara near Mañikarnikā 635; temple of Viśvanātha re-established by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa about 1585 A. D. was desecrated by Aurangzeb 631-32; there are about 1500 temples in K. built during the last 225 years, 632; there is in Kāśī a holy place at every step and there is not even as much space as a sesame grain which has not a *linga* 631; there were one hundred temples in K. in Hiouen T'sang's time and in one of them there was a copper image of Mahādeva about 100 feet high 631; though cremation of corpses is continually going on, yet Banaras, owing to the Ganges, is held purest 626; though Kāśī, Vārāṇasī and Avimukta are generally

used as synonyms, sometimes a distinction is made in their extent 627-629; traditions of great learning associated with K. as vouched for by Kāśikhāṇḍa, Alberuni and Ain-i-Akbari 641-642; Vācaspaṭi held that Avimukteśvara-linga is the same as Viśvanātha, but the Skandapurāṇa treats them as distinct 633; Vana-parva states that by visiting Avimukta and by a bath there pilgrim becomes free from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder and by dying there secures mokṣa 629; Vārāṇasī was burnt by Nikumbha, a gaṇa of Śiva and was re-established by Divodāsa 620; Viṣṇu is said by Kāśikhāṇḍa to have assigned a place called Dharmakṣetra to the north of Kāśī and stayed there in the form of Buddha 641; Viśveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal temple in it and every resident is required every day to take a bath in the Gaṅgā and visit Viśveśvara 602; was burnt by Kṛṣṇa with his *cakra* in pursuit of a *kṛtyā* 622; was the capital of Brahmadatta kings according to the Jātakas and Purāṇas 621; was the capital of the Kāśīs 619; was the name of a country long before the Śat. Br. was composed 619; yātras of great lingas should be celebrated every month from the first *tīthī* onwards 640

Kāśīkā, com. on Pāṇini 162

Kāśikhāṇḍa, part of Skandapurāṇa, which see

Kāśimṛtimokṣasaviṇaya of Sureśvarācārya 583, 612, 613n

Kāśinātha Upādhyāya 721

Kāśyapa 75, 94

Kāṭhaka-grhya-sūtra 53, 354, 355, 358, 461n, 463, 479n, 523n, 539.

Kāṭhakasamhitā, 10, 11n, 20, 63, 160n, 343, 419n, 461n, 479n, 522n, 523n, 546

Kāṭhakaśruti 225, 371n.

- Kaṭhupanisad 39, 155, 158, 162n, 165, 180, 350, 384n,  
 Kātyāyana 104, 149, 259n, 263, 513n, 514, 517, 530n, 569; divided sins into five classes 15; on prices of cows, calves etc. 129; prescribes half fine for women 80; smṛti of, on steva 22; smṛti of, on govadha 109  
 Kātyāyana, author of Chandogapariśiṣṭa or Gobhilaśmṛti 297-298, 454; author of śrāddhasūtra (which see), 426  
 Kātyāyanasūtra-sūtra 37n, 63n, 203-204, 206n, 207n, 208n, 209n, 223, 224, 226, 246, 248, 249n, 250n, 255, 346n, 432, 433n, 511, 558, 681  
 Kauśika, smṛti of 67, 241  
 Kauśika—sūtra 53, 54, 58, 182, 19b, 204, 206n, 207n, 208n, 238, 240, 242, 247n, 252n, 253n, 345, 346n, 355, 474, 479n  
 Kauśitaki—brāhmaṇa 57, 155-156  
 Kauśitaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad 8, 9n, 158, 165, 619  
 Kauśitaki-gṛhya 354, 402, 516, 520, 521, 525, 539  
 Kauṣilya, 74, 75  
 Kautsa, 354  
 Kautsa hymn 48n  
 Kavaḥ, story of 558-559  
 Kavindrācandrodāya, edited by Dr. Sharma and Dr. Patkar 572  
 Kavindrācārya, pleaded with Shah Jehan for remission of taxes on Hindu pilgrims at Prayāga and Kāśī and was given the title of 'Sarvavidyānidhāna' and was felicitated by people throughout India 571-572  
 Kavya verse is Rg. X. 14.3, 503n  
 Kāyasthas, of Bengal, still observe āśauca for a month owing to social tyranny 271  
 Kielhorn, Dr. 643, 645, 650  
 Keith, Prof. A. B., a. of 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda' 2n, 38, 154n  
 Kenopaniṣad, 756  
 Khādīragṛhyasūtra, 53, 54, 112n, 346n, 354, 355, 358, 476, 487n, 574n  
 Khare, Mr. G. H., on 'Śrīvītthala and Pandharpur' in Marathi 716n, 717, 719n, 720  
 Khoh, copperplate 16n  
 Kikāṇa, same as Magadha, supposed to be beyond pale of Aryanism 187n  
 King, vide 'fine', 'prāyaścitta'; had not to observe periods of impurity 297; had jurisdiction to punish sinners, if they refused to undergo prāyaścitta prescribed by pariśad 70-71; had to make good from his treasury or from officers stolen property if it could not be recovered from thief 74; had to be informed in carrying out expiations for govadha or sins higher than it 70-71; helped in carrying out prāyaścittas prescribed by pariśad 70; not to appropriate to himself fine recovered from one guilty of heavy guilt 71; neglect of penances was included among prakṛpaka matters by Nārada which were solely dependent on the king 70; was to inflict branding and fine on those guilty of one of the first four mahā-pātakas and that did not undergo expiation for same 71; was the ultimate heir and also performer of śrāddha for a person who has no relatives left 369  
 Kirste, Dr. 361  
 Kṛatu, smṛti of 226, 291n  
 Kṛcchra, means Prājāpatya 132; expiation for theft 101; method of performing described 120; general term for several expiations 132; word for several kinds of expiations 132-133  
 Kṛcchra—samvatsara 133  
 Kṛcchrāṭikṛcchra, 133-134  
 Kṛśa, measure of distance 590n  
 Kṛśna, meditation on, is the highest means for removing sins 50-51  
 Kṛśna, Dr. of Mysore Archaeological Survey 717  
 Kṛtyaratnākara, 149n, 321n, 352n, 371n, 374n, 375n, 419

- Kṣatriya**, alone could perform *Aśva-medha* 131; killing of, when amounted to *brāhmaṇa* murder 18
- Kṣetrajña** son, defined 536n; to whom and in what order he offers *piṇḍas* in a *śrāddha* 536, 537
- Kṣetras**, eight, each of *Viṣṇu*, *Siva* and *Sakti* 679n
- Kṣīrasvāmin**, commentator of *Amara-kośa* 112n
- Kullūka**, commentator on *Manu-smṛti* 88, 90, 91, 93, 104n, 106, 131, 163, 271n, 276n, 305n, 330n, 461n, 464n, 481n, 537n, 606n
- Kundapāyinaṁ ayana**, rule of 136
- Kumāra**, a. of *smṛti* 79, 98n
- Kumārāgupta**, king of *Magadha*, entered the fire of cowdung cakes at *Prayāga* 605
- Kumārasambhava**, of *Kālidāsa* 560
- Kurmapurāṇa** 55, 186, 210n, 216, 220, 222n, 224n, 241, 274n, 276, 277, 283, 288, 290, 291n, 292, 293n, 298, 300, 301, 351, 370, 372, 374, 375, 377, 380, 381, 385, 387, 392, 395, 398, 402, 403, 404n, 409, 410, 411n, 419, 423, 448, 455, 466n, 468, 469n, 480, 483, 560, 566, 567n, 568, 570, 576, 586, 588, 594n, 597, 598n, 599n, 600n, 601, 605n, 606n, 607, 614, 615, 617, 623, 625n, 639n, 640, 653n, 654, 659, 683, 685n, 691, 695, 703, 704n, 705, 708
- Kurujāṅgala**, 682
- Kurukṣetra**, (25 miles east of *Ambala*) 680-686; see under '*Vinaśāna*', '*Samantapañcaka*', '*Prthūdaka*'; all beings in *K.* are freed from all sins and also those that say 'I shall go to *K.*' 684; *Asthipura* is a sub-tirtha 685; boundaries of, in *Tai. Ā.* 681; called *Brahmāvarta* 682; country south of *Sarasvatī* and north of *Dṛśadvatī* was included in *K.* 682; eulogy of the greatness and sanctity of *Kurukṣetra* in the *Epic* and *purāṇas* 684; exhaustive list of tirthas in *K.* 686n; explanation of the word *K.* occurring in the *Jābālopaniṣad* 610n; extent of, was five *yojanas* in radius 583; fanciful derivation of *K.* 684n; history of, from *Rgveda* onwards 680-681; in the times of the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Sarasvatī* flowed through *Kurukṣetra* 682; is so called after king *Kuru* who ploughed the land with a golden plough for seven *krośas* all round 682n; lake *Brahma-saras* or *Pavanahrada* in *K.* 684-685; is referred to under several names 683; limits of, described in a somewhat corrupt verse 683; said to have been the *vedi* of *Brahmā* 682; seven holy forests of 561n, 686; sub-tirthas of 684-686; those dying in *K.* do not come to the earth again 566, 682n, 683, 684; *Vyāsasthali* (modern *Basthali*, 17 miles south west of *Thanesar*) is a sub-tirtha where *Vyāsa* resolved to die on the loss of his son 685; was called *Samantapañcaka* and then *Kurukṣetra* 682; was called *Sannibhātī* or *Sannibhātā* 686; was centre of *Vedic* culture in *Brāhmaṇa* period and was called *Dharmakṣetra* 610, 683-684
- Kūṣmāṇḍa**—boma, as a remover of sins 43; procedure of 43-44
- Kūṣmāṇḍa mantras** 43, 46n; as purifiers from sins 45; employed in *Vṛtsarga* 540
- Kutapa**, meanings of 376-377; derivation of 376
- Laghu-Āśvalāyana** 221n, 225, 284, 285n, 287, 303, 421n, 480, 487n
- Laghu-Attri** 292n
- Laghu-Hārīta** 19n, 44, 45n, 79n, 98, 214, 288, 293n, 294n, 306, 313n, 316n, 411
- Laghu-kṛcchra**, as *prāyaścitta* 150; same as *Sīśukṛcchra* 150
- Laghu-Śaṅkha** 19n, 401n, 411n, 518n, 539n
- Laghu-Śāitāpata** 104, 146n, 326n, 376n, 386, 464n

- Laghu-Viṣṇu 79n, 148n, 291n  
 Lakṣmaṇasena, king of Bengal, mentions in a grant a Gayā brāhmaṇa 580  
 Lakṣmaṇasāstri, Pandit, of Wai 717n  
 Lalitavistara 650  
 Lāṭyāyana-srauta-sūtra 62n, 681  
 Laugākṣi-grhya 121, 130, 132, 140n, 147, 228, 518  
 Laukāyatikas, touch of 115  
 Lauriya Nandangarh, excavations at are supposed to show Vedic burial mounds 254  
 Law, Dr. B. C. 164, 688n, 726, 736, 749  
 Lefever, Dr. Henry, author of 'Vedic idea of sin' 2n  
 Legge's translation of Fa Hien's work 619, 650  
 Lepabhājah or lepabhujah-see under śrāddha  
 Leviticus 309, 327n  
 Likhitasṃpti 266n, 411, 518, 654  
 Līlāvātī 129  
 Līṅga-purāṇa 51, 124, 181, 261, 298, 310, 325, 542, 544, 566n, 608, 623, 626, 628, 629n, 630n, 631, 639, 640  
 Līṅgas, numerous in Kāśī 640; two lists of 14 great 1 in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 640; 36 principal 1. referred to in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 640  
 Lodge, Sir Oliver, in 'Christian Doctrine' 1n, 8n  
 Lourdes (in France), miraculous cure of diseases at 561, 641  
 Luke, Gospel of 38n, 41n, 171, 233  
 Ma-A'sir-i-Alamgiri 632, 692n  
 MacDonell, Prof. A. A. 154n, 157  
 MacDonell and Keith, authors of 'Vedic Index' 726  
 Mādālā-pañjī, Oriya chronicle 698  
 Madana-parijāta 10, 23, 24, 27n, 30n, 45n, 60n, 64n, 70n, 73, 76n, 78, 79n, 91, 97, 98n, 101, 103, 106n, 108, 119n, 121, 122, 126n, 127n, 133n, 134, 136, 137n, 139, 140, 142n, 143n, 145n, 147, 149n, 150, 151, 152, 162, 163n, 164, 175, 216n, 217n, 218, 221n, 258n, 259n, 261n, 262n, 270, 275, 280n, 288, 291n, 293n, 294n, 295n, 314n, 374n, 375, 381n, 408n, 425n, 441n, 443n, 445, 457n, 463n, 471, 514, 519, 520, 528n, 532, 536, 547n  
 Madanaratna, a work 52n, 82  
 Madhubrāhmaṇa is same as Madhu vidya, which see, 449n  
 Madhumatī verses 46n, 437, 496, 497, 507, 524  
 Madhūni, texts called, as purifiers from sins 45  
 Madhuvidyā, stated in Br. Up. and Chān Up 449n  
 Madhva, conflict about the dates of the birth and death of, 644n; wrote Mahābhārata-tātparyasūtraya in gatakali 4300, 644n  
 Madhyadeśa, boundaries of 557-558n  
 Madhyamāṅgiras 88n  
 Madya (intoxicant), see under 'sura', and 'brahmaṇa'; forbidden to brāhmaṇas at all stages of life 21; ten kinds of 21  
 Magas buried their dead underground 234  
 Maghyavarṇa rite 360-361; doubt about the real name 360; two views about the time of its performance 360; probably the precursor of the later Mahālayaśrāddha 361  
 Mahābhārata 164, 180, 181, 187, 188, 223, 237, 363, 371n, 450 (should be recited in Pārvaṇaśrāddha as it is dear to pitṛs), 561, 562, 585, 607, 608, 649, 682, 703, 709  
 Mahābhārati śrāddha performed in Bhādrapada dark half when the moon is in Bharani nakṣatra and is equal to Gayāśrāddha 533  
 Mahābhāgya, of Patañjali 16n, 22n, 58, 295n, 400n, 408, 449n, 619, 621, 687, 706, 709, 711, 746, 756, 758, 763, 768  
 Mahādivakīrtiya, sūman 46n  
 Mahākassapa, disciple of Buddha 235

- Mahālayasrāddha**, see 'ascetics'; follows procedure of *pārvaṇasrāddha* 532; is so called because it is the abode (*ālāya*) of the *maha* (festival for pitrs) 531; is the most eminent among all *śrāddhas* 532; latter half of *Bhādrapada* when the sun is in *Kanyā* is called *Mahālaya* and (*Gajacchēyā* 532; to be performed in the dark half of *Bhādrapada* when the sun is in the zodiacal sign *Kanyā* or *Tulā* 530-531; is performed not only for benefit of paternal and maternal ancestors, but also for several deceased relatives together with their wives (such as son, uncles, aunts, sisters, father-in-law, friend, pupil) 533; various views as to the exact date on which *M.* should be performed 532; when the sun enters the sign of scorpion and no *śrāddha* is performed the pitrs lose hope, pronounce a curse on their descendant and return to their abode 531
- Mahānāmni**, verses, as purifiers from sins 45, 46n
- Mahāparinibbāna-sutta** 234, 235n, 552, 621
- Mahāpātakas**, see 'brāhmaṇa murder'; first among them is *brāhmaṇa* murder 88; *Saṅkha* prescribes *prāyaścitta* of twelve years for one guilty of one of the *m.* 87-88
- Mahāpitrayajña**, performed in the *Cāturmāsya* called *Sākamedha* 350, 426-27
- Mahāraurava**, *Pāṇini* teaches accent of 162
- Mahārudra** 178
- Mahāprāsthānika-parva** of the *Mahābhārata* 607
- Mahārṇava**, 133n, 134n
- Mahārṇava-karmavipāka**, a work, 43, 121, 146n, 172n, 175, 178 (brief analysis of contents of)
- Mahārṇavaprakāśa**, 460, 479
- Mahāsāntapana**, an expiation 147
- Mahāsudassana-sutta** 721
- Mahā-taptakrechra**, 147
- Mahāvagga**, 668n, 677
- Mahāvairāja**, *sāman* 46n
- Mahāyajñas**, five daily, prescribed for each householder of which sacrifice to the pitrs was one 369
- Maheśvara-krechra**, 148
- Mahidhara**, commentator of *Vājasaneyasamhitā* 433n
- Māhiṣmatī**, capital of *Anūpa* on the bank of the *Keṭā* 703; about the exact location of which scholars differ 706-707
- Maitrakrechra** 148
- Maitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā**, 230, 426n, 427n, 428n, 433, 680
- Maitrayaṇī Upaniṣad** 695
- Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra**, 468, 478
- Majjhima**, 687
- Malāvaha** sins 15-16, 35; expiation for 118-119
- Man**, see under 'death'; entertains a belief even in the *Upaniṣads* that the thoughts that dying man has at time of death determine what will happen to his soul 185-186; dying man taking *sannyāsa* was supposed to be free from the cycle of births and deaths 185; dying man should be made to give one or more of ten gifts 182; dying man, after one or more out of ten gifts, should donate a cow with calf and another cow called *Valtarāṇī* 183; dying *m.* should repeat such mantras as 'Om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya' or listen to Vedic texts or *sāmans* or the *Gītā* and other works 185; dying near *Śālagrāma* reaches highest abode of *Viṣṇu* or *Vaiṣṇava* even though he be a *mleccha* 187; dying in a garden of *Tulasī* (*basil*) plants or with a *basil* leaf in his mouth attains *mokṣa* even if guilty of crores of sins 187; enemies of, according to *Śānti-parva* 9; how *m.* incurs sin 10; *m.* on whose death no *piṇḍa* was offered



or the sixteen śrāddhas were not performed remained for long in the condition of a piśāca 265-266; if man dying is a knower of *brahma*, in his ear should be uttered Tai. Up. II. 1 and III. 1, 185; practice of taking down from the bedstead a dying m. and placing on a bed of kuśa grass or of sand on the earth 182; polluted by certain actions 51; sarvaprāyascitta for dying man 184; son or other relative of dying m. should perform or make him perform vrata-dyāpana, sarva prāyascitta and gift of ten dānas 183; should, when dying, be taken near a holy place (like the Ganges) 186; various views about the fate of the departed m. in Upaniṣad times 155; Manasvatī verses are Ṛg. X. 57.3-5, 499

Mānava-gṛhya-sūtra 46n, 53, 354

Maṇḍalabrāhmaṇa is an Upaniṣad 449n

Māndhātṛ, author of Mahāṛṇava-karma-vipākā 172n, 178

Māndhātṛ, legendary king who was instructed by Indra 364

Man Mohan Chakravarti 698

Maṇimekhalai 712

Mantra, mūla m. of Śiva 699; of five letters (namah Śivāya) 51; of eight letters (om namo Nārāyaṇāya) 51, 700; of twelve letters (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) 51, 700; to be recited at the commencement and completion of expiations 124-125; Mantras, see under Japa; from the several Vedas, how repeated 45; from several Vedas become powerful purifiers when accompanied by *tāpas* 49; meaning of, need not be understood in smārta rites 51; of two kinds, Vaidika and Āgamokta 51; same mantras often occur in different Vedic sahitās 433; to be repeated at the time of making gifts for a dying man 183; to be repeated on entering a house and touching śami

leaves, fire and stone (śāmā) 238

Manu, as the promulgator of śrāddha rites and styled śrāddhadeva 349

Manu, as father of mankind in the Ṛgveda 349

Manu, (smṛti of) 10, 11n, 14n, 15, 16, 18-25, 30-32, 34, 35, 40-44, 46, 47, 50, 52-54, 60n, 61-66, 71, 72, 74-78, 82-84, 88, 90-107, 110, 111, 113-116, 118-120, 123 (not in printed text), 124-125, 129, 130, 132, 134, 135-138, 141, 142, 145, 147, 149, 150, 153, 161, 163, 173, 176, 190, 214-216, 222, 225, 227, 228, 238, 240, 258, 261, 267-269, 271, 275, 276n, 277, 278n, 281, 282n, 283, 286-288, 290, 292, 296-298, 300, 301, 305, 307, 309, 311, 312, 314, 316, 317, 321, 322, 325, 326, 327n, 328-331, 334, 339, 340, 343, 344, 348, 352, 358, 360, 361, 365, 366, 369, 370, 371, 375, 377, 379, 381, 383, 385, 387, 389, 390, 391n, 392, 394, 398n, 401, 403, 406, 407n, 408-410, 412, 413, 422n, 423, 424, 425, 434n, 435n, 437n, 439, 443-445, 447, 449n, 450n, 453, 454, 456, 461, 463, 464, 466, 468-470, 473n, 477n, 479-481, 483, 484, 487n, 497n, 509n, 510, 511n, 512, 517, 524, 525, 536n, 537, 538, 540n, 542, 557n, 587, 604, 606, 682.

Manvādī tithis 375

Manvantara 164

Marici, smṛti of 275n, 292, 306, 322, 351, 478, 514n.

Mārjana, (splashing water on head and other limbs with kuśas dipped in water) 120, 133

Mark, Gospel of 41n. 233

Marks branded on the forehead of one guilty of first four mahāpātakas 72

Markaṇḍeyapurāṇa, 39, 127n, 134, 143, 146, 148, 151, 163, 164, 177, 181, 256, 261, 265n, 266, 312, 322, 335, 336, 337n, 338, 340n, 342, 350n, 352, 371-372, 374, 379, 380, 388, 392, 396, 409, 411, 415, 420, 448, 462, 463n, 470n, 483, 517, 518n, 521, 523n, 524, 528, 532, 524, 535n, 708n

- Marshall, Sir John, on Mohenjo-daro** 234
- Maskarin, a. of bhāṣya on Gautama-dharmasūtra** 45n, 46n, 59n, 273 (n. in com. on Āśaucāśṭaka)
- Mātāmbaraśrāddha or Daubitra-pratipat-śrāddha** 533
- Matthew, Gospel of,** 38n, 41n, 171, 233
- Mathurā, (or Madhurā)** 686-692; antiquity of, discussed 687-689; esoteric interpretation on Kṛṣṇa, Gopis, Kālidāsi 691n; established by Śatrughna 688; eulogy of M. in the purāṇas 690; Govardhana hill 691; Gokula or Vraja or Mahāvana 691; inscription of Khāravala refers to 688; inscriptions of Kuṣāṇa rulers that refer to it 689; Kṛṣṇa left M. owing to the constant attacks of Jarā-sandha and established the Yādavas in Dvārakā 688; Megasthenes knew its connection with Heracles (Hari-Kṛṣṇa) 687; nine Nāga kings that ruled over M. 689; old temples of Mathurā were destroyed at Aurangzeb's order 692; Pāṇini includes it in Varanādi-gaṇa 687; Ptolemy calls it 'Modoura of the gods' 687n; spoken of, as Sauryapura in Jaina works 687; twelve *vanas* (forests) of M. 690-691; Vallabhācārya founded new Gokula 692; Vṛndāvana, highly eulogised in Purāṇas and by Kālidāsa, 691-92; centre of Caitanya's movement 692; Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas left M. through the fear of Kālayavana, acc. to Brāhmapurāṇa 688
- Matsyapurāṇa,** 19, 23, 55, 72, 102, 129, 166, 176, 221, 271, 310, 335, 336, 338, 340, 344, 374, 375, 381, 385, 387, 389, 390, 392, 396, 403, 407, 410, 413, 414, 418, 420, 421, 422n, 423, 445n, 446n, 447, 448, 450n, 464n, 468, 470, 478, 480, 482, 484, 497n, 519, 533, 535, 539n, 540n, 560n, 561n, 564, 565n, 566, 567, 568n, 574n, 576, 582, 585, 587, 589, 594n, 597, 601, 602n, 605, 606n, 611, 613, 614, 615, 617n, 621, 623, 624n, 625n, 626n, 627, 629, 630n, 638, 639n, 641n, 653n, 654, 691, 703, 706, 708n
- Mausalaparva,** 223
- Max Muller** 8
- Maxims, see under 'nyāyas':** 'caturdbā-karaṇa' 670; 'Daṇḍavat prāyaścittāni bhavanti' 75-76, 81; of the power of an authoritative śruti or smṛti text 66n, 67; of Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana 136, 137n; of niṣāda-sthapati 24; of 'phalavat-sannidhau aphalam tadaṅgam' 481; of 'Rātrisattira' 62-63, 602n; of sarvaśākhā-pratyaya 89-90, 453-455; of viśaya-vyavasthā 87
- McCrinkle, Mr. J. W., on 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great'** 612; on 'Megasthenes and Arrian' 687n, and 'Ancient India as described by Ptolemy' 187n
- Measures of capacity, such as ādhaka and dṛoṇa** 330
- Measures of length or distance** 590n
- Medhātithi, commentator of Manu,** 10, 16n, 52, 63, 75, 93, 102, 103, 124, 286, 316, 325, 326n, 327n, 362n, 365, 377, 386, 391, 394n, 401n, 416n, 444, 453, 464, 477, 483, 604, 606n, 611n
- Meghadūta** 619
- Men; in case of m., guilty of suicide by fire, poison or the like, or who are patita, no cremation, no offering of water and no āśauca are prescribed by Manu, Yāj, 301; water and pinḍa offered to men who die in angry fights with cāṇḍālas or with a brāhmaṇa or a snake, from animals or lightning do not reach them and perish in mid air, but this does not apply to those who die from inadvertence in this manner** 301
- Meru mountain** 169
- Mettasutta** 550n

- Mīmāṃsā**, see 'Jaimini', 'maxim', 'Pūrvamīmāṃsā', 136, 481
- Mitākṣarā** discards the dicta of smṛtis and of Parāśara on periods of āśauca as contradictory and as opposed to popular usage 272; rules of M. as to āśauca became unacceptable in 500 years to Nirṇayasindhu 272, theory of, about sapinda relationship 510
- Mitākṣarā**, (com. on Yājñavalkya-smṛti) 10, 11n, 16-19, 21-24, 25n, 26, 28n, 30n, 32, 35, 42, 43n, 44, 49, 50, 60, 61n, 63n, 65, 66, 68n, 72-74, 77n, 78n, 79-81, 83, 86n, 89, 90, 93n, 94-98, 101, 102n, 103, 104, 105n, 106n, 108n, 109n, 111, 114n, 117, 119, 122n, 125-127n, 128, 130, 131, 134, 136-138, 141-143, 146, 148, 149, 151, 152, 174, 175, 177, 210n, 215, 216, 217n, 218, 219, 220n, 221n, 223n, 227n, 228, 231, 237, 238n, 239, 240, 262n, 268, 270, 271, 275n, 276n, 280, 282n, 283, 284, 285n, 288, 289n, 291n, 292-294, 295n, 298, 299n, 301-303, 305n, 316, 317, 322n, 324n, 326, 334, 336n, 366-368, 371n, 375, 381, 387, 394n, 402n, 407n, 408, 411, 414n, 422n, 423n, 424, 440n, 441n, 442n, 443n, 444, 446n, 448n, 449n, 453, 457, 461, 510, 512, 516n, 518n, 519, 520, 521n, 523n, 524, 525, 528, 537n, 574, 575, 604
- Mitra**, Dr. Rajendralal on 'Buddha-gayā' 643, 644, 646n, 650, 659; on 'Antiquities of Orissa' 693, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 750, 751,
- Mleccha**, divergence of views about meaning of 117; how Sagara dealt with Śakas, Yavanas Kāmbojas and other Mlecchas, as to dress and hair 117; M. country is one in which the system of four varṇas is not established 378
- Mohenjo-daro**, date of ruins of, not certain 234; funeral customs at 247n
- Mokṣa**, results from correct knowledge of the supreme Reality 613; results in four ways viz. by knowledge of *brahma*, by śrāddha at Gayā, on death in a fight for preventing seizure of cows and by residence in Kurukṣetra 566, 654
- Monasteries**, founding of, in Europe, for atonement of the sins of the founder and his progenitors 52n
- Moral order** in the world is upheld by the king and the profoundly learned brāhmaṇa 70
- Mortmain**, statute of, in England, to prevent accumulation of large estates with the Church 52n
- Mother Goddesses**, worship of, is oldest and most widely spread form of religion 529n
- Mountains**, see under 'Parvata'; are included among holy localities and as destroyers of sin 560; Bhāgavata-purāṇa names 27 holy m. and Brahmāṇḍa thirty 560; held by most ancient people to be the abodes of gods 559; R̥gveda holds valleys of m. and confluences of rivers holy 559; seven great m. called 'kula-parvatas' of India (Bhāratavarṣa) 560n
- Mūlakṛcchra** 148
- Mundaka-Upaniṣad** 42, 613n
- Mundāna** (shaving the hair on the head as well as the moustache and beard) 575; no m. on the Ganges except at Prayāga 575n
- Munshi**, Diamond Jubilee Volume 181
- Murder of brāhmaṇa** regarded as gravest of sins in early Vedic times 10; of *bhrūṇa*, worse than even murder of brāhmaṇa 11; of *ksātriya* amounted to brāhmaṇa murder in certain cases 18; one may be guilty of, in five ways 17; of women placed on same footing as murder of *ksātriya*, *vaiśya* or *śūdra* males, except in the cases of an Ātreya or a pregnant woman etc. 96; terrible secret expiation prescribed by Gautama for brāhmaṇa m. 126
- Musical instruments**, four classes of 217n

**Nāciketa** fire 384n

**Naciketas**, dialogue of, with Yama, in the *Kāthopanishad* 180

*Nālapit*, 585

**Nadistuti** hymn is *Īg.* X. 75

**Nāgarjuna**, a Buddhist philosopher who well knew the doctrine of *karmavipāka* 176

**Nagna**; people defined as n. should not be allowed to see a *śrāddha* 395

**Nagnapracchādana-śrāddha** 220

**Naimiṣa**, the best tīrtha on the earth acc. to *Vanaparva* 565

**Nairāṇjana**, river on the banks of which the future Buddha dwelt for some time 646

**Namaskaravati** verse is *Īg.* X. 15 2, 502

**Nandana**, park of Indra 166

**Nanda-pāṇḍita**, commentator of *Śaṅkṣīti* 268

**Nandipurāṇa** 343

**Nandiśrāddha**, same as *Vṛddhiśrāddha* 527; procedure of 528

**Nanda tithis** are 1st, 6th and 11th, 373

**Nārada**, smṛti of 19, 31, 66n, 67, 70, 72, 74, 76, 162, 540n

**Naradapurāṇa**, 95n, 123n, 163, 392, 407, 411, 419, 424, 425, 449n, 456, 459n, 463, 555n, 560n, 564n, 570n, 573n, 574n, 575n, 576n, 585, 586, 588, 589, 592n, 594n, 595, 601n, 604, 605n, 606n, 607, 615n, 616n, 617, 623, 626n, 628, 629n, 635n, 636, 647, 649, 651, 653, 655n, 660, 661n, 665, 666, 667n, 668n, 670n, 677, 678n, 682n, 683n, 684, 685, 686, 690, 691, 695n, 696n, 699n, 700n, 701n, 703, 704n, 708, 710

**Naraka**, see under 'hell'; meaning of 161; *narakaloka* is mentioned in *Atharvaveda* 155; supposed to be a place below the earth 168

**Narasimbapurāṇa**, 600

**Nārāyaṇa**, commentator of *Āśv.* gr 58, 205n, 245n, 402n, 412n, 435n, 436n, 437n; commentator of *Āśv. śr.* 58

**Nārāyaṇa**, author of *Antyaṣṭipaddhati* 185n, 212, 296n; author of *Tristhalisetu* 633, 638

**Nārāyaṇabali**, described in *Sholapur District Gazetteer* 303n; procedure of, from different works 302-305; procedure of, when performed on 12th day after death for ascetics 304; should be offered one year after the death of those who commit suicide in any way not sanctioned by śāstra and thereafter *śrāddhas* may be performed for such persons 302, 525

**Narmadā**, (Namados of Ptolemy) 703-707; *Amarakaṇṭaka* dispels all sins 706; *Bhṛgutīrtha* on N. 10 miles to the east of Broach a bath in which leads to heaven and death at which to mokṣa 706; earliest inscriptional reference is of 484-85 A.D. 705; is said to be holy everywhere and to purify the sinner by its very sight 704; is said to be 100 *yojanas* in length and two *yojanas* in breadth 705; *Jamādagnya-tīrtha* where N. joins the sea and where *Janārdana* secured perfection 706; *Kalpalaru* quotes only about 70 verses from *Matsyapurāṇa* (and from no other work) on N. 703; *Maheśvara* (i. e. *Onkāra*) is a famous tīrtha on N. whence *Rudra* burnt the cities of *Bānasura* 706; mantra addressed to N. frees one from danger of snakes 705; most sacred rivers after the *Ganges* are *Narmadā* and *Godāvari* 703; most important place on N. is *Māhismati* 706-7; one who commits suicide by fire or water or fast at soma tīrtha on N. or on *Amarakaṇṭaka* does not return to *samsāra* 705; *Purāṇas*, such as *Matsya*, *Kūrma* and *Padma* deal at length with the greatness of N. and say that there are crores of tīrthas on it 703; *Revā* is a synonym of N. but the *Bhāgavata* and *Vāmana-purāṇa* seem to hold that they are distinct

- 703-704; rises from Amarakantaka which is the abode of Śiva and is said to have started from Śiva's body 704-705; several rivers such as Kapilā, Eraṇḍī, Kāverī join N. 705; Suklatīrtha, where Rājarsi Cānakya attained perfection 706; Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra includes all places on banks of N. as eminently fit for śrāddha 704
- Nasik, Antiquity and temples of 709-710; cave Inscriptions 710; twenty five temples were destroyed by the Viceroy of Aurangzeb in 1680, 709
- Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata 690n; prefers dialect of Śūrasena for dramas 690n
- Navagraha-yajña 178
- Navagvas, a sub-division of pitrs called Āngirases 192n; sometimes identified with seven sages 341
- Navamīśra-śrāddhas 262, 517
- Navasrāddhas 262-263, 517; characteristics of 519-520; one should not partake of food at n. but if one does one must undergo prāyaścitta 263
- Navya-Vardhamāna, 296n
- Nayapaladeva, Pāla king of Bengal who died in 1045 A. D. 643
- New Indian Antiquary 610n
- Nighaṇṭu 352
- Nīlakaṇṭha, contradiction between his Vyavahāramayūkha and his Prāyaścitta-mayūkha 75n
- Nīlakaṇṭha, commentator of Mahābhārata 565n, 570n, 608, 649n, 684n
- Nīlmatapurāṇa 560n, 724
- Nīlāmarādāsa, author of 'Deul-tola' 701
- Nīmi, dead body of, being covered with oil and fragrant substances was not decomposed for long 234
- Nirgranthas, called heretics by Hiouen T'sang dwelt in Kāñci in the time of the Chinese pilgrim 711
- Nirṇayasindhu 29, 190, 230, 231, 238n, 243, 256n, 258, 259, 261n, 262n, 263, 272, 282, 293, 294, 298, 301, 302n, 304, 318, 319n, 338n, 381n, 382n, 388, 398n, 405, 408, 425n, 473n, 482n, 493n, 512, 514n, 519, 521, 524, 534, 536, 538n, 541, 546n, 547n, 548n
- Nirukta, 2n, 7n, 10, 46n, 161, 187n, 191n, 192n, 193n, 194n, 198, 200n, 342, 344n, 345, 351, 551, 557n, 561, 645, 681
- Niṣka as a substitute for prāyaścittas 127-128; is gold weighing 32 raktikās 129; value of, 128n, 129
- Nitya (obligatory) acts (such as Agnihotra, Darsapūrṇamāsa) must be performed even though one may be unable to perform a subsidiary part thereof 373
- Nityācārapaddhati 51, 149n, 240
- Nityopavāsa-kṛcchra 141
- Nirāsapura (modern Newasa on the Pravara) 709; Jñāneśvara wrote his great commentary on the Gīta here 709n
- Niyamas; meaning of 124; to be observed while undergoing expiation 121, 124; sāuca as one of the, in Yoga 311
- Non-Aryas peoples like Sakas 117
- Nṛsinhapurāṇa, 45n, 51, 391, 565, Numbers 309
- Nyāyas, 75n; 'sarvāṅgopasaṁhāranaya' 373n, 'yathā kanyā tatbā hraviḥ' 397, yathāśaktinyāya 373n
- Oldenberg, 193n, 245, 260
- O'Malley, L. S. S. in 'District Gazetteer of Gayā,' 643, 644, 659, 664n,
- Om, employed before reciting a Vedic verse 50; expresses the idea of God 50; mystic syllable, said to be the door to heaven 50; repetition of, leads to concentration of mind 50, 69
- Omkāra, and other līngas at Kāśī 639n

Ordeal of fire, mentioned in Tāndya  
Brahmana

Osiris, Egyptian legend of, resembles  
Yama 342n

Ownership, private, none in forests,  
holy mountains, holy places, temples  
377

Padakrecchra, 143

Padārthādarsa 319n

Padmapurāṇa, 163, 221n, 263, 266,  
310, 338n, 344, 348, 361n, 372, 374,  
375, 376n, 401, 403, 404, 407, 410n,  
413n, 414, 418, 420, 423, 445n,  
447n, 448, 449n, 468n, 480, 483n,  
484n, 497n, 518, 521, 528, 530, 535,  
536, 539n, 545, 549, 555n, 560,  
561n, 562n, 563, 564, 565n, 566n,  
568, 573, 576, 578n, 582, 585, 588,  
591n, 594n, 597, 598n, 599, 600,  
601, 603n, 605, 606n, 608, 614,  
615, 616n, 617, 623, 625n, 626, 627,  
628, 630n, 639 (dozens of verses are  
the same as those in Kūrma), 640,  
648n (borrows from Vanaparva),  
649, 651, 653, 659, 661n, 664n,  
682n, 683n, 685, 690, 691, 703, 707,  
713

Padonakrecchra, 143 : is 1/10ths of Prājā-  
patya 143

Pañḍya 272n

Pañthinasi 17, 71, 110, 218, 239, 240,  
276, 284, 291, 484, 519, 577n, 578

Pañṭika mantras are Rg. X. 15. 1-13

Pākayajñas or Mahayajñas, live in  
number 47n

Pākayajñas are seven acc. to grhya-  
sūtras and dharma-sūtras 112n

Pakṣadhara-misra 59

Pakṣiṇī, meaning of 278

Paṭa, quantity of 139n

Paśā leaves, number of, used in  
making an effigy of a person for  
cremation 224-225

Pana, is copper weighing 80 *raktikās*  
129

Pañcagavya, could be taken by a śūdra  
without mantras in medieval times  
though forbidden in early works 143;  
to be taken at the end of each

prāyaścitta 121; ingredients of 141;  
materials of, taken with separate  
mantras 146; same as Brahmakūrca  
acc. to some smṛtis 147; to be offer-  
ed into fire with mantras and drunk  
for the removal of several sins of a  
petty nature 141

Pañcāgnividya 188

Pañcajanāh, meaning of 344-345

Pañcāla, country of, was divided into  
north and south 682

Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa 602

Pandharpur 712-722; all attendants  
in Viṭhobā's temple, except *Badves*,  
are called *sevādhāris*, who have  
hereditary duties to perform and  
are of seven sorts viz. Puṇjari,  
Benāri, Paricāraka, Haridas,  
Dingre, Divte and Dange 714;  
chief temple in 1. is that of Viṭhobā  
and behind it is the temple of  
Rakhumāi 713; derivation of name  
Viṭṭhala 721; description of Viṭho-  
bā's image in Skandapurāṇa agrees  
with the present image and in the  
description by Tukārām are mixed  
up actual, legendary and ideal ele-  
ments 720; description of the image  
of Viṭhobā at P. 714-715, 720;  
had risen in sanctity and importance  
in the 15th century follows from the  
fact that both Caitanya and Vallabbā-  
cārya visited it 718; image of  
Viṭhobā was the same before Hemā-  
dri as it is now 718; image of  
Viṭhobā is neither Buddhist nor Jain  
722; is called Paṇḍarikakṣetra on  
Bhimarathī in an inscription of  
1249 A. D., Paṇḍuraṅgapura in  
another of 1270 A. D., Paṇḍarage in  
an inscription in the Viṭhobā temple  
itself of 1237 A. D., where god  
Viṭṭhaladeva and Puṇḍarika are both  
referred to and Paṇḍaraṅgapalli  
716-717; large staff of priests  
and attendants in temple of  
Viṭhobā, the chief of whom are the  
*Badves* who are held to be trustees  
and guardians of the temple by the

Bombay High Court 713; modern P. lies along the right bank of the Bhīmā river 713; one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in the the Bombay State 712; ordinary and special services in the Viṭhobā temple treat the image as if it were some high personage requiring bath, dress, food, songs, sleep &c. 714; P. cannot claim great antiquity 713; P'admapurāṇa mentions the image of Viṭṭhala Viṣṇu on the Bhīmarathi 713; pilgrims to P. may be divided into two classes, regular visitors and occasional visitors and the first class comprises those called Vārkaris 722; pilgrims formerly used to embrace the image of Viṭhoba and also touched the feet, but since about 1873 the feet alone are allowed to be touched 715, 721; priests of the goddess Rakkumāi are known as *utpāts* 714; river Bhīmā is called Candrabhāgā within Pandharpur limits and its water is believed to possess sin-purifying powers 716; scheme of management for Viṭhobā temple at P. 713n; several controversial questions arise as to Viṭhobā's temple viz. date of the installation of the image, whether it is an old one, the ancient name of P. and derivation of the word Viṭṭhala 716; story of Puṇḍlik 715; temple of Puṇḍlik, who is not a god but a devotee of Viṭhobā, is in the bed of the Bhīmā river about 500 yards east of Viṭhobā's temple 715; temples at P. are numerous and are described in Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 20 pp. 434-468, 716; tradition that the image of Viṭhobā was removed several times by the Badves and brought back 719; Vārkarī cult, characteristics of 722; Viṭhobā's image is variously called viz. Pāṇḍuraṅga, Paṇḍhari, Viṭṭhal, Viṭṭhala-nātha 721

Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmya. 717n

Pāṇini, 10, 16n, 22n, 58, 86n, 134, 360n, 384n, 391n, 400n, 408, 410n, 460n, 555, 561n, 619, 681, 703, 706, 707, 709n, 711, 731, 736, 743, 746, 756, 757, 765, 768

Pāṇḍulēnā caves at Nasik 710n

Pāṇḍtipāvana, (those who sanctify by their presence a company of diners) 384-386, 389; long lists of pāṇḍtipāvana brāhmaṇas in Anusāsana-parva and some purāṇas and in Sāṅkhalikṛita and other works 385-386; qualifications of, acc. to Hārīta, are that he must be born in a good family, must be endowed with vedic learning, good character and decent conduct 385-386, 389; yogins are specially p. at śrāddha 388

Pārādārya (adultery with another's wife), expiation for 110; is a minor sin 110; excludes Gurutalpagamana 110

Pārāka is called Kṛcchra by some 132; removes all sins 142

Parāśara, smṛti of 22n, 24, 26, 40, 55, 70, 71, 74, 78, 84-86, 95, 97, 107, 109, 110, 112, 114n, 115n, 117, 121, 123, 127, 130, 136-139, 142, 143, 147, 208n, 214, 215, 227, 267, 270, 271, 275, 287, 289, 292, 295, 298, 299, 306, 307, 313, 323, 324, 326n, 327-329, 331, 332, 575

Parāśara, an ancient astronomer that preceded Varāhamihira 168

Parāśara-mādhaviya 26, 28, 39n, 53, 55n, 59, 60, 61n, 64, 66, 67, 70, 75, 76n, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86n, 87n, 88n, 90n, 94, 95n, 98, 99n, 109n, 111n, 113, 114, 121, 123, 124n, 125n, 126n, 127n, 128n, 131n, 132, 134, 139, 140, 141n, 142, 143, 144n, 147n, 149, 152, 153n, 173, 175, 177, 210n, 214, 215, 217n, 218n, 227, 237, 238n, 256n, 257n, 258n, 261n, 274n, 280n, 284n, 290, 291n, 292n, 293n, 294n, 298n, 299n, 302n, 306, 326, 334n, 573, 375, 377n, 380n, 383n, 519n, 548, 575

**Pāraskara 287n**

**Pāraskara-gr̥hyasūtra** 46n, 57n, 113, 210, 211, 220, 221, 227, 238, 239, 277, 282n, 283, 300, 313, 354, 355, 358, 361, 539, 574n

**Parāvartana**, see under *suddhi* 118

**Parekh, Mr., Manilal C.**, author of 'Vallabhācārya' 692

**Pargiter**, translator of *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* 726, 745

**Paridhikarma** 244-246

**Pārijāta** 296n

**Parīṇah**, in *Kurukṣetra* 558, 681

**Parisaraka** 558-559, 680

**Parīṣad**, vide under *prāyascitta*; details of constitution of 85; even a learned man, when guilty of a sin should approach a p. of learned brāhmaṇas and after declaring his guilt ask them to prescribe penance 84; had jurisdiction to decide what expiation should be prescribed and the king did not probably interfere 69-70; duty of p. to take compassion on the weak, boys and old men 86; incurred sin if through affection, greed or ignorance expiation was reduced 86; not to prescribe expiation that would end in death 76, 126-127; of a number of brāhmaṇas proficient in *Dharmaśāstra* alone entitled to reduce expiation through compassion and not one man alone 86; of learned brāhmaṇas knowing proper expiation and not declaring it incurred sin, 86; procedure before p. 84-85; unanimous decision to be given by p. as far as possible 86

**Parṇakūrca**, an expiation 142

**Parśi** scriptures on *Yima* (i. e. *Yama*) 192n

**Pārvaṇa-śrāddha**, see under 'piṇḍas'; *ścamana* required in six items at, 459; *agnaukarāṇa* in *Āp.* gr. 436, 438; *agnīhotrin* cannot perform p., except on *amāvāsyā*, acc. to *Manu* 462; *apūtraka-pārvaṇaśrāddha* in *Mithilā* explained 486-486; *Āśv.* gr.

omits several details of p. found in some smṛtis 438n; brāhmaṇa is the āhavanīya fire in, 444n; conflict of views about the ancestors to whom piṇḍas are to be offered at śrāddha on *amāvāsyā* 472-476; *dakṣiṇā* was to be given to brāhmaṇas in p. according to the ability of the performer, 446, 451, 501; darbhas are double-folded in p. 434, 441, 505; details of p. vary in modern times according to the country, the veda or śākhā of the performer or acc. to the eminent writer the performer follows or according as he is a Saiva or Vaiṣṇava 485; difference of views as to the stage at which piṇḍas were to be offered in p., 470-472; different manuals on śrāddha have been followed in medieval and modern times 486; divergence of views from very early times as to the number of āhutis in p., as to the deities, as to the order of naming the deities and the form of words to be used 462-463; eleven brāhmaṇas are invited in *Mithilā* villages even by poor men, but it is often difficult to secure a very learned man (called *pātra* or *mahāpātra*) to officiate 483; epigraphic evidence about gifts of land made at p. and other śrāddhas 451n; feeding of *deva* or *vaiśvadeva* brāhmaṇas at p. not mentioned in *Āśv.* gr though mentioned by *Manu*, *Vas.* and *Yāj.* 435n; food offered on the hand of brāhmaṇas was to be mixed with the food served in the plates placed before them and then eaten by them 443n; food served to the brāhmaṇas in p. should be rich and steaming hot and should be silently eaten by them and its good qualities should not be declared by them while they are eating 465; formula of presentation if the performer does not know



the names of his ancestors 477; gradual addition of details to p. from ancient vedic times to modern times illustrated 485; great divergence of views from the sūtras onwards as regards *mantras*, details and order of items in p. 426; holy texts should be repeated while brāhmaṇas are engaged in dining at p. 439, 449-50; holy texts to be repeated varied from writer to writer 444-446; if gotra of ancestors be not known, the performer should employ the gotra name Kāśyapa 477; if holy texts to be repeated not known to performer, he should recite Gāyatrī mantra 450n; if one is unable to perform p every month, Śrāddha-tattva recommends that one should perform it thrice a year or at least once a year when the sun is in the sign of Kanyā 510; if performer has no smārta fire he is to offer *homa* food on the hand of the brāhmaṇas invited at p. 436-437, 443n, 461; important differences of other sūtras from Āśv. gr on p. 438; in all cases where a question is to be put or permission taken, the performer addresses the most eminent among the brāhmaṇas invited or all of them together, 442n, 505; in southern and western India brāhmaṇas invited at śrāddha are worshipped, while in Bengal effigies made of darbhas are worshipped 458; is the pattern or norm of other śrāddhas 426; Kātyāyana and some others say that everyone has to follow his own sūtra as to the words 'svāhā' and 'svadhā namah', as to the mode of wearing the sacred thread, as to the number of ābūtis and as to the stage at which piṇḍas are to be offered 426, 462, 471; larger the number of brāhmaṇas invited for p. the greater the fruit or reward acc. to Āśv. gr. 434; Mahābhārata was among the

texts to be recited when brāhmaṇas were engaged in dinner at p. 450; *mantras* for invoking Viśve-devas in p. 458; *mantras* at moistening of piṇḍas given by Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha differ from those in Baud. gr. and Vaikhāṇasa gr. 438; *mantras* to be recited at the time of offering each of the piṇḍas in p. differed from ancient times 476-477; method of *padārthanusamaya* is the rule, but sometimes that of *kāṇḍānusamaya* has to be followed 442n; most of the fundamental conceptions and items of p. as performed in modern times are clearly brought out even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 431-432; names and gotras of the ancestors should be mentioned in offering *pādya*, *arghya*, *gandha*, *piṇḍa* etc., 443n, 449, 451; number of ābūtis in *agnaukarana* differs in different works 462; order in which the brāhmaṇas invited at p. are to be dismissed at the end 447; performer of p. and brāhmaṇas invited at it should abstain from sexual intercourse on the night of the śrāddha day 448; performer collects portions from all kinds of food cooked for śrāddha, puts water over them and spreads them on darbhas for the benefit of various deceased persons 450-51; performer has to refer to ancestors in a certain order about his relationship to them, their names and gotras and the case relation in which the words are to be used 459; piṇḍa is offered to each ancestor after mentioning his gotra, his relationship to performer and name (all in vocative) 476; piṇḍas should be offered to male ancestors near the remains of the food eaten by the brāhmaṇas and the procedure mentioned in piṇḍapīṭrayajña is to be followed 446, 451; piṇḍas were to be separately offered to mother's paternal ancestors 479; procedure

of p. acc. to *Āśv.* gr. 434-438; procedure of p. acc. to *Śrāddhasūtra* of *Kātyāyana* 439; procedure of p. acc. to *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 440-448; procedure of p. acc. to *Padmapurāṇa* 448-452; procedure of p. in modern Bengal for *Sāmavedins*, *Yajurvedins* and *R̥gvedins* is respectively that laid down in the *paddhatis* of *Bhavadēva*, *Paśupati* and *Kālesi* 486; procedure of *pratisāmvatsarika-śrāddha* (which differs very little from p.) for *R̥gvedins* in Western India 487-503; procedure for maternal ancestors is the same as that for paternal ancestors 446; procedure of p. for *Yajurvedins* of the *Mādhyandina Sākhā* in Bengal set out in *Yajurvediśrāddhatattva* is based on *Śrāddhasūtra* of *Kātyāyana* 504; *ṛtus* (seasons) are identified with six ancestors and offered salutation 450n, 479; rules about making *maṇḍalas* in front of performer's house for receiving *daiva* and *pitṛya* *brāhmaṇas* 456-457; rules of etiquette about serving food and eating *śrāddha* dinner and related matters 463-464; rules of *piṇḍapitṛ-yajña* are extended to p. acc. to *Āśv.* gr. and *Śrāddhasūtra* of *Kātyāyana* 434, 505; *samsthājapa* 494; *saṅkalpa* in *pratisāmvatsarikaśrāddha* in Western India in modern times 387n; several options about the number of *brāhmaṇas* to be invited if three paternal and three maternal ancestors are to be invoked in p. 440n; several *purāṇas* add details not included in *sūtras*, *Manu* and *Yāj.* 456; several *purāṇas* contain detailed description of p. 448; some hold that *śrāddha* for maternal ancestors is to be performed separately while others say that *śrāddha* is to be offered at the same time for paternal and maternal ancestors 473; some *smṛtis* emphasize the participa-

tion of the wives of paternal ancestors in p. 475; some verses from the *purāṇas* are to be recited, while *brāhmaṇas* are engaged in dinner at p. 445; some writers proposed that nine *piṇḍas* should be offered, three to *pitṛvarga*, three to *mātṛvarga* and three to *mātāmahavarga* 506n; three *āhūtis* are to be offered according to some and two according to others in *Dakṣiṇāgni* or *smārta* fire or on *brāhmaṇas'* hand 443n; three *piṇḍas* are prescribed for paternal ancestors and three for mothers' paternal ancestors by *Kātyāyana* and *Gobhila* 472-473; thumbs of *brāhmaṇas* invited for *śrāddha* in p. should be moved in the food served in the plates 444, 467; *tila* water offered in the midst of mango trees serves two purposes 449n; *vaiśvadeva* *brāhmaṇas* are to be seated facing east and *pitṛya* ones facing north 458; *vaiśvadeva* *brāhmaṇas* have precedence in all items except two viz. In washing the hand smeared with remnants of food and the final send-off at the end of *śrāddha* 458; Vedic works refer generally to the three paternal ancestors as the *devatas* of p. and not to any other relatives, male or female, 380, 472; verses called *saptavyādha* are to be recited at p. while *brāhmaṇas* are dining 445; *Viśvedevas* *Purūrava* or *Purūravas* and *Ārdrava* are the two to be invoked in p. 457; water is offered to *pitṛs* in p. with the *Pitṛtīrtha* 435n; when the wives of ancestors came to be associated with them in p. cannot be satisfactorily solved, but they had certainly become associated in the *sūtra* period 474-476; where paternal ancestors are honoured there maternal ancestors must be honoured acc. to *Dharmya* and others 473; where *yavas* are employed in the *daiva* part of the p.

rite, sesame are to be employed for all purposes in the pitṛya part 442n; whether daily *vaśiṣṭadeva* and *balihoma* should be performed before or after p. 452; wives of paternal ancestors i. e. the mother, paternal grand-mother and paternal great-grandmother were not associated with their husbands in the times of the Vedas (except probably in one passage of Vāj. S.) and Brāhmaṇas and in almost all sūtras 472

Parvata, is a dual duty with Indra in the R̥gveda 559; rivers Vipās (Beas) and Sūtudrī are described in the R̥gveda as issuing from the lap of mountains 559

Pāsupatas, touch of, required bath with clothes on and they were not to be invited for śrāddha dinner 395

Paśus, (animals) of two kinds, grāmya and āraṇya 110

Pātaka, derivation of 10

Pataniya meaning of 10; sins called 12-13

Patanjali, author of Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī 16n

Patilak, Prof. K. B. 716

Patil, Dr. D. R. on 'Cultural History of Vāyuyurāṇa' 558n

Patita, son of, was Condemned, but not daughter 106

Pativratā, miraculous power of, extolled 237

Patrakṛcchra—same as Patṇakūrca, but a title less severe 142

Paundarika-māhātmya 717n

Pavamānasūkta 330

Pāvamāni verses (R̥g. IX. 1. 1-10) as purifiers 45, 244; verses to be repeated in śrāddha 444

Pavitravati verses 120, 133 (beginning with 'pavamānaḥ suvarjanah')

Pavitrestī, prescribed for one desirous of śuddhi 312

Penal Code, Indian 17

Penances, in Europe 129n

Persons, cremating *patitas* through affection or offering water or śrāddha to them had to undergo prāyaścitta 301; declared by express texts as not liable to observe āśauca 305; that should be abandoned for certain actions of theirs 32n; that do not cause impurity to others while performing certain services to the community (such as physicians, barbers, craftsmen), although they may themselves be in āśauca 299-300; (persons) to whom some taint attaches (such as those who kill themselves by starting on the great journey to the Himālaya or by fast) do not cause periods of āśauca 300

Phalākṛcchra 146

Pilgrimage, vide under Tīrtbayātrā; as purification for anupātakas 106; merit of, may be collected vicariously such as by some one dipping an effigy made with kuśas in holy water or by engaging a man to go to a tīrtha for money 577-578; p. to a place supposed to be holy for the curing of diseases is not rare even in these days 561; to Benares as the only superior expiation for all sins 55; was prescribed in some cases as expiation by the Peshwas for brāhmaṇa murder 55

Pinḍas, middle one of three was to be eaten by the performer's wife, if she desired a son 480, 500n; materials from which they were to be made 478, 498n, paurāṇic mantra to be repeated when p. are placed on line drawn on the ground or altar 479; rules about size of 478; were to be placed on *darbhās* spread on the ground or on an altar 478

Pindar 180

Pindapitṛyajña (performed on amāvāsyā of each month by an āhitaṅt) was known to early Vedic Literature 349, 358; is a śrāddha 349n; not performed by *agnihotṛins* in the Deccan or performed only once

- a year, 362; description of, in Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa 427-28; description of, from Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 429-431; rules about, are set out in Āśv. Śr. S. 435n
- Pipilikā-madhya**, variety of Cāndrāyana 133
- Piprahava vase**, Inscription, the oldest found up to date (375 B. C.) 235n; seven hundred articles found in the vase were not relics of Buddha, acc. to Fleet, but of his kinsmen 236n
- Pitryākarma**, described 203n
- Pitrbbakti** of Śrīdatta, 334n, 335n, 412, 447n, 486.
- Pitrdayitā**, 182, 210, 261, 526, 527, 541
- Pitr-gāthas**, 388n, 405, 539
- Pitṛmedha** in Satyāsādha-śrautasūtra 254
- Pitrs**, see under 'soul', 'yama'; afternoon is the proper time for 345; ancient Vedic texts and practice sharply distinguish between gods and p. 345; are sometimes identified in the Rg. with seven sages 341; are identified with Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas 334, 335, 337, 339; belief that p. move about as birds 339; belief that p. assume an aerial form and enter the brāhmaṇas invited for dinner at śrāddha 340; called Agniṣvāta and Barhiṣad in Rgveda 193, 201; called asrūmukha and nāndimukha 528; created by Brahmā along with gods, asuras and human beings 342; derive sustenance and water when a bull let loose digs up earth or drinks at a pool 541; differences in the procedure of the rites for gods and p. (such as wearing the sacred thread, the direction to be faced, circumambulation, use of svāhā for gods and svadhā for pitrs) 345-6; different classes of, are Kāvyas, Aṅgirasas, Rkvas, Valṛipas, Atharvasas, Bhṛgus, Navagvas and Daśagvas 192, 341, 593; division of pitrs into Somavantaḥ, Barhiṣadaḥ and Agniṣvātaḥ 343; earlier and later p. 341; element of the fear of pitrs is not wanting even in the Rgveda 347; enjoy delight in the company of Yama 193; fire is supposed to take the spirit of a cremated person to the pitrs 342; Fravashis of Parsi scriptures correspond to pitrs of ancient Indian works 341n; idea of, is Indo-Iranian 341n; identified with Rtus (seasons) in Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa and Manu 428, 430, 450n; interpretation of the word p. by the Āryasamāja 339; in many passages of the vedic literature pitrs mean three deceased male ancestors 347; invocation of, in Rgveda X. 15, 194-195; invocation of, after mentioning their gotra and names 348; invoked for conferring various boons such as happiness, wealth and heroic sons even in the Rgveda, 346; in Vrddhi-śrāddha are called Nāndimukha 359n; love soma drink 194, 342; man becomes free from debt due to p. by offering water mixed with sesame, by letting loose a bull and by lighting lamps in the rainy season 541; Manu says gods sprang from p. 344; meanings of the word p. are two, viz. a man's three immediate male ancestors and the ancient ancestors of the human race supposed to reside in a separate world 340-41; names of the pitrs of brāhmaṇas and the other varṇas 343-44; number of classes of, changed in later times 348; of him who does not offer śrāddha on amāvāsya even with water or vegetables go away after cursing him 351; of three grades in the Rgveda, lower, middle and higher 341; presentation formula in Sat. Br. differs from that of Tai. S. 347-348; regale themselves in the company of gods, particularly of Yama 341-42; several classes of.

- named by Manu who connects them with varṇas 344; seven classes of acc. to some Purāṇas 344, 348; Skandapurāṇa speaks of nine classes of, 344; spoken of as mortal by Śat. Br. while gods are spoken of as immortal 346; sometimes sages are said to be distinct from pitṛs 347; supposed power of p. to benefit or harm the living led to the cult of the dead in ancient societies 339; three classes of p. 348; three male ancestors of a man are called p. and identified with the deities Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas 335; took the south 345; twelve groups of pitṛs mentioned by Śālitapa 344; water is offered to pitṛs like Āṅgiras, Īratu, and Kāśyapa while pindaś are offered to three male immediate ancestors 347; Vāyu and other purāṇas distinguish between p. who are above and p. who are *laukika* viz. father, grand-father and great-grand-father 348; were in a class apart from the gods 344-345; were supposed to have some divine characteristics though they are placed in a class apart from gods 346; when gratified by śrāddha bestow on their descendants long life, progeny, wealth, learning, all happiness, heaven, and mokṣa 335, 337
- 1'Urtirtha, part of the band between the thumb and forefinger 435n
- Pitṛyajña, the word occurs even in the R̥gveda X. 16. 10 and in Śat. Br. 201, 369; means *tarpaṇa*, acc. to Manu 369
- Pitṛyā verses are R̥g. X. 15, 1-3, 503n
- Planets, Navagrabaśānti, in which each planet is assigned a country and a gotra 178
- Plato 180
- Pollution, see *purity, purification, suddhi*; excreta, urine, semen, blood, fat, marrow, intoxicants were held to be causes of great p. while dogs, village swine, cats, wax from ear, nails, phlegm, discharge from eyes and perspiration were the causes of insignificant p. 316; three kinds of soil when polluted, viz. amedhyā (impure), duṣṭā (soiled), malinā (dirty) with illustrations and means of purification 317-18
- Prābhākara, mīmāṃsā school 170
- Prabandhacintāmaṇi 571n
- Pracetas, smṛti of, 216n, 218, 219, 276, 409, 413, 521
- Prācināvitin, meaning of 487n
- Prahlāda, a devout asura, fought with Nṛsiṃha 639
- Prajāpati 95n, 295, 374, 376, 386, 407, 409, 411, 413, 417, 419, 420, 465, 531n, 532, 533n, 669
- Prajāpati, a God 345, 352; is the devatā of all rites where none is specified 357n
- Prajāpatya kṛcchra 103, 132, 145-146; expiation for sin of gurvāṅganāgama by mistake 103; for jātibhramśakara acts if done unintentionally 118; substitutes for several varieties of p. 127-128, 145; kṛcchra if used without qualification means p. 145
- Prakaraṇapāñcikā, of Śālikanātha, a Mīmāṃsā work 170
- Prakṛmaka, sins called 36; expiation for 119
- Prāṇabuti mantras 138
- Prāṇavānanda, Swāmi 760
- Prāṇāyāma, as a means of removing the consequences of sins 42; as substitute for other severe expiations 127
- Pranīta water 209, 501
- Prasna-upaniṣad 186
- Prasṛti-yāvaka (or Prasṛta-yāvaka) 143-145; results of drinking the gruel in pr. for 6, 7, 11, or 21 days, 145
- Pratiloma castes, are for purposes of āśauca like śūdras acc. to some, while the Mit. says that there are no periods of āśauca for them 288-289; samśkāras like *upanayana* were not to be performed for, 50; to be treated as śūdras 50n

**Pratisāmvatsarika** or **Pratyābdika** *brāddha* 487-503, 529-530; no pr. in intercalary month 530; partakes of the character of *pārvaṇa* in the case of one's parents but of *ekoddiṣṭa* in the case of other relatives 530; to be performed every year on the day of death 529

**Pratyamṇāyas**, meaning of 127; various p. for *prāyaścittas* 127-128

**Pratyavasita**, meaning of 113; nine kinds of 95, 113

**Pravarādhya**, 537

**Pravaramaṇjari** 538n

**Prayāga**, see 'suicide at P.', 'tīrtha,' 'brāddha'; 596-617; *Agnitīrtha*, a sub-tīrtha 615; *Akṣaya-vaṭa* is the most famous sub-tīrtha at P. death at the foot of which or suicide from which was believed to lead to highest worlds 614; at the very sight of P. or by taking its name or by applying its clay to the body a man becomes free from sins 597; bath in month of *Māgha* at P. highly praised 617; *Bhogavati*, *vedi* of *Prajāpati*, sub-tīrtha of P. 614; boundaries of P. 599; confluence of three rivers at P. came to be associated with *om* and with *Pradyumna*, *Sankarṣaṇa*, *Hari* 601; *Dasasvamedhaka*, a sub-tīrtha of P. 614; derivation of the word *Prayāga* in various ways 598; distinction between *Prayāga-maṇḍala*, *Prayāga* and *Veṇī* or *Trivenī*, each subsequent one being smaller in extent but holier than each preceding one 598-599; gift of *kapilā* cow and the marriage of a daughter in *aṛṣa* form at P. highly eulogised 600; gifts made according to one's ability at P., in *Kurukṣetra*, on *Gaṅgā*, at *Pushkara*, *Setubandha*, *Gaṅgādvāra*, *Naimiṣa* produce inexhaustible results 600-601; greatest holiness in, 586; greatness of the confluence of *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* occurs in a *khila* verse 596-597; greatness of, described in the *Mahā-*

*bhārata* and some *Purāṇas* 597; is called *Tirtharāja* in some *Purāṇas* 597; is said to be the middle *vedi* for *Brahmā* and is called *Prajāpati-kṣetra* 597; is known as *Trivenī*; is not destroyed at the end of a *kalpa* and *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* (as *Veṇī-mādhava*) and *Rudra* as the sacred *Viṭa* stay there at the end of *kalpa* 600; *Kalpataṛu* quotes on P. only *Vanaparva* and *Matsya* and no other *Purāṇa* 601; mantra to be recited when women offer their cut hair at P. 603; meaning of the statement 'those who die at P. are not born again' discussed 611-614; officers were appointed in *Kashmir* for supervising suicide by fast 605; one dying at P. becomes immortal 547; one dying on the way to P. reaps great benefit even without reaching it 615; practice of suicide at P. has great antiquity 612; procedure prescribed by *Tristhalisetu* for a man committing religious suicide at P. 610, 611; *Pratiṣṭhāna* or *Sāmudrakūpa*, a sub-tīrtha of P. 614; reference to a bath at P. in the *purāṇas* generally means a bath at the confluence of the two rivers 599; removal of sin is the only result of tonsure at P. 602; sub-tīrthas under *Prayāga* 614-615; *brāddha* has to be performed at most famous tīrthas 616; theory of medieval writers was that at the time of death in *Prayāga* or *Vārāṇasī* the Lord Himself whispers in the ears of the dying man higher knowledge or the *Tāraka* mantra and that *mokṣa* does not result directly by dying at a tīrtha. 612-613; three rivers, *Gaṅgā*, *Yamunā* and *Sarasvatī* (between the other two) are believed to meet at 597; tonsure at P. discussed and great importance attached to it by digests 601-602; *Urvaśīpālina*, a sub-tīrtha of P. 614-615; *Veṇīkṣetra* is within the limits of P. and is twenty bows in length 599; waters of the

Ganges are white, while those of the Yamunā are dark at P. 596n; whether suicide at P. and other tīrthas would involve no sin 603-611; widows have to tonsure their head at P. but women whose husbands are living are to cut off only two finger-breadths of tresses according to most writers and all boys whose cūḍā ceremony has been performed are subjected to tonsure 602; word P. generally means the Venī or confluence of the rivers in all passages except where there are express words to the contrary 603n

Prāyaścitta (expiation): see under brāhmaṇa, caste, cāndrāyana, incest, mahāpātakas, pātaka, penance, punishment, sinners, theft, tonsure, touch; adbhikārin for 77 ff; all persons including even cāṇḍālas are liable to 77-78; amusing examples of mishaps for which p. is provided in Brāhmaṇa texts 58; p. and punishment were same for some misdeeds, such as incest 72; baths with ashes, clay, cowdung, pañcagavya in 124; boy over five and less than eleven years had not to undergo p. personally but through father, brother or the like 78-79; branding on forehead, if p. for the first four mahāpātakas not undergone 72; called Sāntapana 118; cases in which both p. and punishment were given 72; caste of sinner and of the person sinned against made a difference in p. and punishment 80-81; child less than five years is not liable for any crime or liable to p. according to some 79; conventional meaning of, acc. to the Mitākṣarā 60; consequences of not performing p. for sins 153-154; derivation of the word p. 59-60; destroys sins unintentionally committed 61; discriminatory treatment about p. depending on caste gradually became obsolete 82; does not destroy sin

intentionally committed but makes the sinner fit for association with others 63; easier p. came to be prescribed in course of time 127; ending in death destroys sin 64; ending in death is forbidden in Kali age acc. to digests 65; for adultery 43, 111; for brāhmaṇa murder by ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra 91, 95; for eating the flesh of certain birds and certain fish was fast for one day or three days 101; for grave sins there was difficult p. and easy p. for trivial lapses 84; for guru-tulpa-gamana 103-105; for intentionally committed sin is double of that for unintentional sin 64, 80, 83; for killing any animal other than a cow or bull 110; for particular sins 87-116; for persons kidnapped by mlecchas or raiders, sold or treated as slaves, made to kill cows or eat forbidden food and returning to their own country depended on the caste of the person so treated 117-118; for prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous) lapses 119; for pratyavṛtta (ascetic reverting to the life of an householder) 113; for surāpana 96-98; for theft of brāhmaṇa's gold of a certain weight or of non-brāhmaṇa's gold 101-102; for unintentional brāhmaṇa murder 92; for thefts of various articles were different 102; for touching certain men, certain unclean objects like bones, women in monthly illness or recently delivered, animals like dogs or crows 114; for upapātakas 84, 107; for woman guilty of adultery 104-105; gift of one, two, three or four cows to be made at the end of each p. acc. to the varṇa of the sinner 121; homo to be performed in all p. 120; if not performed for one year, then double p. to be prescribed 75; in cases of sins described as equal to brāhmaṇahatyā or surāpana p. is half of what is

prescribed for latter 95; in medieval times came to be gifts and dinner to brāhmaṇas 128; in either *kratvartha* or *puruṣārtha* 58; is hardly ever performed now except in the form of gifts of cows or money to brāhmaṇas, pilgrimages, recitation of vedic texts or *japa* of the names of a deity 87; Krocra, Atikrocra and Cāndrāyaṇa are p. prescribed for all sins 84; king's position as to punishment and p. in ancient times 71-72; liability to p. depended on usages of countries 82; lesser p. for abettor or inciter of brāhmaṇa murder than the actual murderer 90; Literature on 77; many p. prescribed for grave sins were terrible and were to be self-inflicted 76; mantras to be recited in p. and in beginning and at the completion 124-125; matters to be considered in prescribing p. or punishments were the same, viz. intention or its absence, first lapse or repeated lapse, time, place, age, caste, learning, wealth, āśrama 75-83; may be administered to śūdra but without *japa* and *homa* 78; meaning of 57; means also doing something to get rid of the fault arising from some accidental happening or mishap 57; p. mentioned in śrauta works are passed over in this volume 58-59; Mitākṣarā solution of conflict about efficacy of p. 65; sinner not to ignore pariṣad and not to prescribe p. himself 71; numerous prāyaścittas prescribed for same sin in smṛtis 87; pañcagavya to be taken in each p. 121; p. partakes of the character of naimittika and kāmya actions, 60-61; Pātimokkha meetings of Buddhists 165; pariṣad may prescribe p. for lapses for which no particular expiation is prescribed 84; person drinking through ignorance intoxicants, human urine and the like had

to undergo p. of Tapta-kṛcc bra and also punarupanayana if he was dvija 97; persons of different āśramas were prescribed different p. 83; persons over 80 years old and boys less than 16, women and diseased men are liable to only half of ordinary p. 79-80; persons who were to resort to secret p. 125; prescribing the giving of cows by Āp. Baud, Manu and Yāj. on killing ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra explained 71; procedure as prescribed for taking p. after consulting pariṣad has varied in details from time to time 119-121; proper times for performing p. 119; purposes of, as conceived by the smṛtis are purging of sin, satisfaction of sinner's mind, admission to intercourse with others 63-64; rahasya (secret) p., rules about 125-126; reason why it should be conceded that sins are destroyed by p. 68; recitation of the Gāyatrī verse ten thousand times is p. for all sins, acc. to Parāśara 84; relation of p. to punishment. 69, 71; role of king, king's officers, learned men and sinner in relation to 70-71; same vrata for striking a brāhmaṇa with intention to kill as for brahmahatyā though victim recovers 95; rules as to food and other matters to be observed in p. 124; severity of, depended on whether the lapse was the first one or was repeated 82-83; should be sought from pariṣad at once after a sinful act 119; slight p. could be carried out without informing king 70; smṛtis provide that if a sinner died in the midst of the period for which p. was prescribed he became free from sin here and in next world 83; smṛtis prescribed some terrible p. 126; stages (four) in the matter of expiation 85; śūdras had to take p. without mantras and homa 146; to be moulded on the lines of punishment 75; thirteen p. for brāhmaṇa murder



- 88-93; p. for twelve years had a sliding scale of substitutes in medieval times 128; two forms of the word p. 57; two kinds of, acc. to Śābara, in śruti texts 58; two meanings of the word in old Vedic texts 57; varied according to rules for śauca laid down for the several āśramas 83; various kinds of p. prescribed by smṛtis for eating and drinking what ought not be eaten or drunk or for drinking from a cāṇḍāla's pot 99; Vedic indications in support of view that even sins intentionally committed are destroyed by p. 62-64; were of two kinds, viz. those undergone openly and those that were undergone secretly 125; when a man attempts suicide by fire, water, poison or the like and is saved or recovers p. is for three years 95; when no specific p. prescribed for a lapse, then recitation of vedic texts, *śapās*, fast and gifts may be resorted to 84; when one is bitten by a harlot, a dog, monkey, ass, jackal or the like p. is *prāṇāyāma* 110; whether rules on p. were made earlier than the rules about punishments, where the same act is liable to both 69-70; while undergoing p. the sinner has to observe certain rules such as *ahimsā*, truthfulness 120-121, 124; women had to take p. without vedic mantras 146
- Prāyaścittamayūkha*, 24, 23, 30n, 59n, 67n, 78n, 83n, 84n, 86n, 121, 122, 123n, 128n, 129, 130, 137n, 142, 146n, 150n
- Prāyaścitta-muktāvāli* (ms.) 15, 65, 112, 113, 117n, 128n, 150
- Prāyaścitta prakaraṇa*, 21n, 23, 24, 25n, 26, 28, 59n, 74n, 75n, 79n, 80n, 81n, 82, 94, 95, 96n, 97, 98, 106, 109, 114, 132, 134, 142n, 149
- Prāyaścittaprakāśa*, (part of *Vīramitrodaya*, ms.) 16n, 21, 22, 25n, 26, 27n, 28n, 41n, 45n, 47n, 51n, 55n, 56, 60n, 61, 64n, 65n, 67n, 70n, 76n, 78n, 84n, 85, 87n, 88n, 90, 91, 95n, 98, 104n, 107, 108n, 116n, 121, 122, 124, 128n, 131, 132, 134n, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 146, 148, 149, 150n, 151, 152
- Prāyaścitta-sūtra*, 65n, 70n, 76n, 78n, 84, 86n, 94n, 101, 106, 113n, 121, 123n, 125n, 127n, 128n, 129, 130, 131n, 132n, 134, 139, 140, 143n, 147, 148, 149n, 150, 152, 176, 177
- Prāyaścitta-tattva*, 17n, 28, 40, 50n, 51, 60, 67, 75, 79n, 84n, 86n, 90, 108, 109, 117, 119, 121, 122, 123n, 127n, 129, 131, 132n, 217n, 576n, 577n, 578, 589n, 590, 594, 602n, 603
- Prāyaścittaviveka*, 10, 17, 18n, 19n, 21, 22n, 23-26, 28, 32, 40, 41, 50, 55n, 59n, 60, 61n, 63n, 73n, 77n, 79n, 80n, 81n, 83n, 86, 87n, 88, 90n, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99n, 101, 103, 104n, 105n, 106, 108, 111n, 114, 115n, 121, 123n, 125n, 129, 131, 132n, 134n, 142n, 146n, 148n, 150n, 153n, 162, 163n, 265n, 313n
- Prāyaścittendusekharas* of Nāgojibhatta 77, 119, 121, 129, 152
- Predestination, doctrine of 9
- Pretasāradhhas*, 262n; eighteen details omitted in 262n
- Priyolkar, Mr. A. K. 715n, 721
- Pringle-Pattison, author of 'Idea of immortality' 171n
- Pythūdaka* (modern Pehova) is called *Brahmayonitīrtha* 685; is the holiest of tīrthas, acc. to *Vanaparva* 566, 685; religious suicide at, mentioned by *Vanaparva* 608, 685
- Ptolemy 765
- Pythvicandrodaya* 351n, 406n, 424n, 425n, 459n, 464n, 503n, 513n, 515n, 520n, 529n, 535, 547, 555n, 574n, 578n, 580n, 616n, 652n
- Puckle, Bertram S., author of 'Funeral customs,' describing funeral customs of England, France, Jews and peoples of Europe 191n, 232n
- Pūjārātnākara*, 187
- Ṭulastya*, 351n, 424, 481

**Punaḥstoma**, a *kranta* sacrifice which removes sine 62

**Punarjanma**, doctrine of, apparently conflicts with the theory of *śrāddha* 335; doctrine of, very succinctly put forth in Br. Up. and Bhagavadgītā 335

**Punarupanayana**; details that are done or omitted from those of upanayana 98

**Punishment, and expiation for certain acts** are the same 31, 72; based on considerations of the castes of the offender and the person aggrieved had ceased to be operative by about 12th century A.D. 82; by king with a fine of the first or second kind can offenders allow to associate with other members of the society, but not those awarded the highest fine 67, 76; by king was deemed in some cases to have purged a man of sin 73; depended on the caste of offender and person aggrieved acc. to smṛtis 81; for incest viz excision of testicles and death was for non-brāhmaṇa offenders 72; for many acts was light in India as compared with western countries probably owing to the liability of the perpetrator to undergo expiation 68; of brāhmaṇas guilty of one of the first four mahāpātakas 72; of persons other than brāhmaṇas guilty of the first four mahāpātakas 72; some acts not liable to be punished by the king or State made the authors liable to prāyaścitta 68; some acts punishable by the king entailed no prāyaścitta 69

**Punpun**, sacred river where orthodox pilgrims get shaved before proceeding to Gayā and perform *śrāddha* also 580-581

**Purāṇa**, a coin equal to sixteen paṇas in value 129

**Purāṇas** 243, 272, 302; abound in stories that appear to modern minds absurd and puerile 659; contain thousands of verses on *śrāddha* 262;

contain stories that may be divided into several classes and many of them were meant to satisfy the cravings of the human mind for the marvellous, the unusual and the horrible 622-623; closely follow grhyasūtras, Manu and Yāj., and contain numerous verses that are identical with those of Yāj. and often employ the same mantras and formulae 448, 452; often describe the quarrels and bickerings among high gods and sages 623; procedure for *śrāddha* is the same in all purāṇas 448; proposed an easy way for all to remove consequences of sins, viz. remembering the name of Nārāyaṇa 50; several p. devote considerable space to āsauca 272; state that gods like Indra and Kṛṣṇa fought, that Ganeśa's tooth was shattered by Paraśurāma who wanted to fight with Rāma and that sages cursed Viṣṇu, Indra and Dharma 623; state that even gods like Viṣṇu, sages like Vasiṣṭha and great kings attained their positions by pilgrimages 56

**Purāṇa, śrāddhas** 262

**Purification**, see under 'food'; of things, (*dravyas*) 312-333; divergence of views about p. of various objects 316; five to seven means of p. of land, acc. to Vasiṣṭha, Yāj., and others 317; general rule for p. of large quantities of corn, clothes and many other articles is that sprinkling with water suffices but if quantity small then washing with water necessary 329; of house when polluted, by sweeping or cowdunging, but far more p. necessary if a dog, a śūdra, mleccha, cāṇḍāla or patita dies in it or cāṇḍāla stays in it 321-322; of gold and silver by water or fire (if pollution slight) 325; of cloth and yarn 330; means of purification of metallic things, earthenware, wooden things, of cloth, bones, iron 315; none for infants up to the time of *anna-*

*prāsana* (taking cooked food for the first time), or up to one year or up to upanayana 312; matters to be considered in prescribing p. of polluted things are time, place, the body, the thing to be purified, the purpose for which the thing is to be used, origin of defilement, condition (of the thing) 316; of metals and precious stones 325-326; of idols or images made of iron or other metal or of stone 318-319; of temples when polluted 318-319; of water 322-323; of body by ācamana, bath etc. 331-332; of small quantities of liquids (oil, ghee etc.) by two kuṁḍas dipped in water and of large quantities by sprinkling water 330; of substances depended on many circumstances such as being metallic or not, solid or liquid, being large or small in quantity 331; of polluted corn and cooked food 328; procedure of p. of images polluted in various ways 319-320; procedure of p. of a well in which the dead body of an animal with five nails (man or beast) is found or it is extremely polluted 323; some birds or animals were always pure or deemed to be pure as to certain parts of the body such as a cow except as to its mouth, goats and horses as to their mouths 312-313; sprinkling with water is the mode of p. when large quantities of corn or clothes are polluted 314; substances that bring about p. of all polluted things are water, clay, paste of soap berries, bilva fruit, rice, mustard cake, salts, cow's urine and dung 314; of vessels and pots when slightly or extremely polluted 326-327; of vessels and implements used in Vedic sacrifices 327-328; water deemed even in the R̥gveda to be a means of p. 321; water and earth are to be employed for p. of things or bodies smeared with foul matter till the foul

odour is removed 314; ways of p. of ground 316-317; what things do not need p. and are always pure 312-14. Purity, see under 'bath,' 'śauca,' 'śuddhi'; causes of, are time, fire, religious rites, clay, wind, mind, spiritual knowledge, expiations, water, repentance and fast 315; extremely exaggerated importance attached by medieval brāhmaṇas to ceremonial p. on births and death and led to such prescriptions as the one that if a śūdra, paṭila or mleccha died in a brāhmaṇa's house, the latter became impure for months 273, 282; great care taken for the purity or cleanliness of vessels used in sacrifices and of offerings in early vedic times 310; great emphasis laid by ancient and medieval Indians on p. of mind, body, place where they resided or performed religious rites, of food 332; ground in a brāhmaṇa's house, in a temple and in cowpens is held to be endowed with p., unless it has been polluted 322; inner p. and the food that one eats 100, 332-333; Manu declares that mental purity is the highest of all kinds of p. 311; of the body effected by various means such as rinsing the mouth, bath 311; of sacrificer's body in śrānta rites was effected by the *adhvaryu* priest rubbing the sacrificer's body twice with three bunches of seven *darbhās* each 311

*Paronuvākya* (invitatory prayer) 543 (in *Jīvat-śrāddha*), is recited by the hotṛ priest while seated 543n

*Puruṣagati*, a *sāman* 46n

*Puruṣasūkta* (R̥g. X. 90), is deemed to be a hymn that purifies one of sins 45, 48, 304, 320; is of 18 verses in Vāj. S and Tal. Ā. 543; to be repeated at *pārvaṇa-śrāddha* 439, 444, 449n, 488, 507; to be repeated in *Vṛṣot-sarga* 540

*Puruṣottama-tīrtha* (Jagannātha Puri) 692-703; see 'Caitanya'; army of

attendants at temple of Jagannātha divided into 36 orders and 97 classes 699; Brahma and Nārāyaṇa purāṇas deal exhaustively with P. 693; Caitanya settled at Puri in 1515 and died there in 1533 A. D., 702; conflict of views about the builder of the great temple at, 698; description of the car festival of Jagannātha which is the most important of the 24 high festivals at Puri 697-698; five important tīrthas at 699; Guṇḍica-yātrā for seven days 700-701; indications showing that P. was a place of Buddhist sanctuary 695-696; legend of Indradyumna who established wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā 694-695; Mitra surmises three periods in history of P. viz. early Hindu period, Buddhist period and Vaiṣṇava period 695; not described by Kālpataru on tīrthas 693; no truth in the stories about suicide by falling before the car of Jagannātha 698; one of the four most important tīrthas in Orissa, the other three being Bhuvaneśvara, Konārka and Jajpur (Yayati-pura) 693; peculiar features of P. are that no distinction of caste is observed, holy cooked rice, car festival 697; pool called after Indradyumna 694-695, 700; pool of Mārkaṇḍeya, story of 699; P. was probably called Nīlacala in ancient times, Kṛṣṇa worship was introduced from northern India and three images of wood were established early 695; religious suicide at, recommended to *dvijas* by Brahmapurāṇa 608; regrettable feature of Jagannātha temple is the existence of obscene sculptures on the walls 702; R̥gveda X. 155.3 is supposed by Sāyaṇa to refer to P. 693; sacred enclosure of Jagannātha with 120 temples and the pagoda of Jagannātha in four chambers described 696-697; sacred *vapa* at P. 699-700; story of Jagannātha in the

Brahmapurāṇa 694-695; three images described by Hunter and Mitra which are supposed to correspond to Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha 695n, 696; *veśyās* (dancing girls) at temple of, referred to in Brahmapurāṇa 702-703; works on 692-693  
 Purnottamakṣetratattva of Raghunandana 583, 693,  
 Pūrvanīmāṃsā, see under 'Mīmāṃsā'  
 Pūṣan, protects cattle and hands over the departed to pitṛs 198; worshipped in Vṛṣotsarga rite 540  
 Puṣkara, all ten thousand crores of tīrthas are present in, 565  
 Puṣpakṛcchra, 143  
 Puṣṭiśrāddha 282  
 Putra (son); all three descendants of a man were deemed to confer equally great spiritual benefit upon him 366; Manu says that by the birth of a son man wins the worlds, secures immortality by a grandson and reaches the abode of the sun by a great-grandson 366; Mitākṣara included the great-grandson also in the extended meaning of the word 367-368; who deserves to be called p. 365  
 Putrikāputra, 473, 474, 536n; to whom does he offer piṇḍas in a śrāddha and in what order 537  
 Quack, liable to be punished, if person treated by him died as a result 19  
 Raghavan, Dr. V. 701n  
 Raghavānanda, commentator of Manu 93  
 Raghunandana, author of Śrāddhatattva, Gayāśrāddhapaddhati and other works 594; closely follows Tīrthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati in his Tīrthayātrātattva 671  
 Raghunātha, commentator of Trimsat-śloki 255n, 276n,  
 Raghuvamśa 158, 396n, 688, 691, 703, 706,  
 Rājata, a *sāman* 46n  
 Rājatarāṅginī 52, 571, 605, 724

Rājvāde, Khaṇḍa 56n

Rākṣoghna hymns (Rg. IV. 4. 1-5 etc.), 439, 449n, 450n, 497, 507

Raktikā, weight of 129

Rāma, performed sacrifices accompanied by a golden image of Sītā 226; when an exile in Dandakā forest gratified his pitrs by offering *inguda*, *badara* and *bilva* fruit 416

Rāmāyaṇa, 214, 223, 233, 237, 416, 534, 597, 647n, 653n, 688, 707, 710

Rāmatāpaniya-upaniṣad 614

Ramprasād Chanda 247n

Rathanāra, a sāman 46n, 450

Ratnāvali, of Nāgārjuna 176

Rātrisattra, see under 'maxim'; meaning of 62-63

Rauhiṇa, a sāman 46n

Raurava, a sāman 133

Raurava, a hell supposed to be below the earth 168

Rāyamukuṣa, 117n

Raychaudhuri, Dr. Hemcandra 726

Repentance, as a means of removing the consequences of sins 41-42; by itself not sufficient to destroy effects of sins, acc. to some digests 42

Report on the 'Doctrine of the Church of England' 171

Reynolds, Reginald, author of 'Cleanliness and godliness' 311

Rgveda, 2, 6, 10, 11n, 20, 34, 36, 37, 42, 43n, 45, 46n, 48, 49, 98, 100n, 112n, 120, 126, 127, 133, 140, 141, 144n, 145, 146, 154, 156, 159, 162n, 165, 182n, 185n, 187n, 189n, 191-201 (translation of Rg. X 14-18 with notes), 192n, 193n, 194n, 196n, 198n, 203, 205n, 206, 214, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 241-246, 249n, 250, 254, 266, 267, 269n, 304, 307, 320, 321, 341-344, 346, 347, 349, 351, 376, 384, 429n, 434, 435n, 437, 439, 441, 442, 444, 446n, 447n, 448, 449, 450n, 452, 457, 458, 460, 468, 487n, 488-496, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 507, 523, 524, 527, 540, 543, 544, 554, 555, 556, 558, 559,

561, 578, 585, 603n, 607n, 619, 643, 645, 680, 681, 693n; occult powers came to be attributed to the words of 49

Rgvidhāna, prescribes numerous hymns and verses of the Rgveda for the removal of sins and diseases and the destruction of enemies 49; provides that one should repeat at the time of death the *sūkta* 'nānanam' (Rg. IX. 112), 185

Rhys Davids, Mr. 235, 236n, 628

Rivers, invoked and named in the Rgveda and other Vedas 555-558; said to be ninety-nine in some passages of the Rgveda 556; falling into the sea are holy 560; some great rivers are said to be specially holy at certain times 560n; some great rivers are seen by most Indians in two aspects, physical and spiritual or divine 585; three principal r. of three groups of seven each are Sarasvatī, Sarayū and Sindhu 556; what are the seven r. of the Rgveda 557

Rikvans, a class of pitrs associated with Bṛhaspati, Viṣṇu, Soma and other gods 192n

Rūcāndrāyaṇa 132

Rṣyaśrīṅga 221, 547n

Rta, different from sacrifice 3; distinguished from *satya* 4; had a three-fold aspect 2; meaning of, in the Rgveda 2; moral imperative is 4

Rudradāman 255

Rudradhara, author of *Suddhiviveka* 269

Rudraikādasīni 178

Rudras, *anuvākas* of Tai. S. called r. as purifiers 45, 46n; are eleven 490; are employed in *Vṛtsaarga* rite 540

Rudraskanda, commentator of Khādīra gr. 359n

Sabara, author of *bhāṣya* on Jaimini's *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra*, 9n, 24n, 27n, 40n, 45n, 53n, 58, 62n, 66n, 89n, 112n, 137n, 168n, 169, 170, 208n,

- 310n, 353, 419n, 440n, 453n, 454n, 481n, 687n
- Śabdakalpādruma** 87
- Sabbāparva**, 622, 688, 692
- Sacrifices**, Vedic, are supposed by some European writers to be magic 38; implements used in, were burnt with the body of the sacrificer on his death except those of copper, iron and clay 197n, 207-208; in *smārta* s animals are not killed now but only *māsa* grains are used 362; some *āhātāgnis* also do not offer meat but only *piṣṭapaśu* (flour effigy of animal) 362; were originally propitiatory 44
- Sacred Books of the East Series** 8, 37, 43; vol. IV, 192n, 231n, 341n; vol. VI, 171n, 552n; vol. VII, 540n; vol. IX, 171n; vol. X, 176, 707; vol. XI, 204, 235, 552, 621, 742; vol. XII, 321, 574n; vol. XIII, 165, 621, 64n5, 646, 665n, 677, 753; vol. XIV, 170, 403n; vol. XVII, 621; vol. XXI, 176; vol. XXIII, 241n; vol. XXVI, 559n, 680, 744; vol. XXIX, 245n, 277, 360, 574n; vol. XXX, 540n, 559, 619, vol. XXXIII, 69; vol. XLIV, 680, 703; vol. XLV, 165, 646, 687, 744, vol. XLIX, 621, 646
- Saddharmapundarikā** 176
- Śaṅkṣipti**, a work on *āśauca* in 86 Anu-  
stubh verses by Kauśikāditya 268, 270n, 274n, 285, 293, 294, 295; com-  
mentary on, called *Suddhicandrikā*  
by Nandapāṇḍita 273
- Sādhana**, by Tagore 852n
- Sadyaśāśauca**, see under 'ascetic',  
'brahmācārin', 'king', meaning of  
295-296; occasions of (where one  
becomes pure by a mere bath on  
a relative's death) 297-299
- Sages**, of the *R̥gveda* had some faint  
glimmerings of a dark pit for wicked  
persons 154-155; prayed to Varuṇa,  
Ādītyas and Agni to free them from  
sin 36; say that they violated the  
*dharma*s and *vratas* of gods and  
implore forgiveness 36-37
- Sāhana**, divided into three kinds  
(when meaning fine for offences) 76;  
divided into four kinds (when  
meaning offences) 81n
- Sakas** 117
- Sākalabomas** 48
- Sākamedha**, one of the *Caturmāsya*s;  
*piṇḍapitṛyajña* performed in 201
- Sākāpūṇi** 645
- Sakuntalā**, an *Apsaras*, is said in a  
*gāthā* in *Sat. Br.* to have con-  
ceived Bharata at Nāḍapī 595
- Saleore**, Prof. B. A. 716n
- Sālikanātha**, author of *Prakarana-  
pañcīkā* 170
- Salt**, manufactured, condemned for  
use in *śrāddha* but natural salt from  
a lake allowed 416; was not to be  
directly served to dining *brāhmaṇas*  
in a *śrāddha* 466
- Sālyaparva**, 237, 582, 683n, 684n,  
685, 686, 710
- Sāmans**, as purifiers of sin 45; should  
be repeated from 10 to 100 times  
for removal of sins as expiation 49
- Samantapañcaka**, represents the five  
pools of *kṣatriya* blood that *Paraśu-  
rāma* collected in revenge for his  
father's murder, subsequently turned  
into holy pools 682
- Sāmaveda**, 46n, 110, 116, 133n, 203n,  
307
- Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa** 18, 23, 49,  
60, 95, 96, 100, 107, 110, 116, 130,  
132, 133.
- Samsarga**, a *mahāpātaka*, when 25-29,  
105-106; expiation for association  
with one guilty of *mahāpātaka* was  
not death but an observance extend-  
ing over years 106; extension of, in  
medieval works 27; half expiation  
if s. was due to ignorance 106; nine  
kinds of 25-26; results of, in the  
four *yugas* 26; three kinds of 26
- Samākāraśatnamālā** of Gopinātha, 482,  
509

Saṃskāras, all were once performed for women also but without Vedic mantras except at marriage 190; are performed for śūdras but without Vedic mantras 190; two saṃskāras, viz. at birth and at death are absolutely necessary for all 190  
Samudrakara, author of bhṛ̥ṣya on Śrāddhasūtra 106n

Samivarta, smṛti of, 19n, 23, 24, 40, 48, 51, 74, 88, 99, 103, 107, 109-111, 115, 123, 127, 222n, 238, 240, 276n, 322

Sanatkumārasambhitā, 633

Saṅcayana (collection of the charred bones of a person cremated) 240-244; bones of a male are collected in an urn without protuberances and of a woman in an urn with protuberances 241; collected charred bones should be cast into the Ganges or some holy river or into the sea, since the deceased would remain in heaven as long as even a particle of the bones remains in the Ganges 234; of the dead are cast at Prayāga 243; even in modern times, particularly in towns and cities, the collection of charred bones is done immediately after cremation 242; four modes of the disposal of charred bones, acc. to Sat. śr. 246n; great divergence of views about the day on which this is to be done, but many works lay down 4th day after cremation 240-241; Kauśika-sūtra and Satyāśādhya-śrautasūtra differ in details, the most important being that the urn is deposited at the root of a tree 242; men and women (but not mixed up together) may collect 241; no S. for one whose upanayana has not been performed 244; procedure of, in Āśv. grhya-sūtra 241; procedure of, acc to Antyeṣṭi-paddhati 242-243; rattling noise should not be made in collecting 241; relatives return to house without looking back, bathe and offer śrāddha to deceased alone 241;

rite of casting ashes into the Ganges described 243-244; some smṛtis made the day of S depend on the *varṇa* of the person deceased 241; some prescribed certain *tithis* and *nakṣatras* for S. 241; some sūtras prescribe a śānti rite called paridhikarma after S. while others do so after āśauca ends 240; urn (in which bones are collected) to be put in a pit 241

Sandhyā; though Gobhila prohibits performance of S. during days of impurity, Mit. says that a man in days of impurity may offer water to the Sun in worship and that mantras (except those of prāṇāyāma) may be revolved in the mind 240

Sāṅdilya, smṛti of 243n

Sāṅdilyavidyā 186

Saṅghātasrāddha 547; meaning of 547; when several people die at the same time on the same day, the order in which the śrāddhas are to be performed is determined by the nearness of relationship to the performer 547

Saṅgraha, a work on Dharmaśāstra 217n, 268, 455n, 541n

Saṅkalpa for taking expiation should be made on 14th tithi and actual expiation may be done on amāvasyā, 119

Saṅkarācārya, 20n, 53n, 66n, 67n, 68, 100n, 158, 162n, 165, 186n, 188, 189, 344n, 384n, 481

Saṅkarīkarana sins 15, 35; expiation for 118-119

Saṅkha, smṛti of 10, 11n, 24, 32, 42, 47n, 48, 74, 78, 79n, 83, 84, 87, 93, 94, 99, 108, 121, 123, 126, 127n, 130, 132, 138-140, 142, 145-149, 151, 175, 220, 237, 238, 256, 271, 277, 281, 282n, 283, 286, 287, 292, 293, 294n, 312, 313n, 314, 322, 325, 326, 328, 330, 350n, 377, 378, 381, 403, 414n, 415, 416, 441n, 466, 470, 514, 519, 560n, 562n, 633

Saṅkha-Likhita 99, 116n, 142, 150, 162, 163n, 221, 243n, 297, 300, 314, 368, 386, 463, 467, 578n

Sāṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa 45, 345, 354, 559n

Sāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra 54, 354, 355, 357n, 358, 359n, 360, 362, 384, 402, 463, 470, 474, 516, 521, 525, 539, 574n

Sāṅkhāyanasrautasūtra 57, 127, 200n, 203, 204, 205n, 207n, 208n, 209n, 224, 225n, 238, 240, 244, 267, 271, 463, 511n, 537

Sāṅkhya philosophy, tenets of 9

Sannavatiśrāddha of Raghunātha 381n, 382; of Sivabhaṭṭa, son of Govinda 382

Sannyāsin, reverting to the life of a householder is to be treated as a *cāṇḍāla* even after undergoing penance and his children born after his lapse are to dwell among *cāṇḍālas* 113

Sāntapana, is expiation for acts called *Jātibhramśakara* 118; is same as *Brahmakūrca*, according to some digests 147

Sāntika chapter is Vāj. S. 36. 10 ff. 151

Sāntiparva 9, 10, 25, 54, 74, 100n, 104, 164, 166, 170, 181, 185n, 187, 237, 349, 350, 364, 387n, 534, 540n, 570, 685n

Sānti rite, after *śaṅcayana* 244-246; at the end of *āśauca* 306-307; mantras in, for followers of different Vedas 307

Sapinda, two meanings of 510

Sapinda relationship extends to seven generations 483

Sapindas, had to observe no *āśauca*, but only *sadyah-śauca* for those who met death in defence of cows or brāhmaṇas, or met death through king's wrath, or for those that were killed in battle 305

Sapindikarāṇa or Sapindana śrāddha 520-525; conflict of views about

mother's s. 524; could be performed at the end of a year after death or at the end of four, six or eleven months or three fortnights or on 12th day after death or on the happening of a lucky event (birth of a son or marriage) 520; different times after death prescribed for this śrāddha in ancient works 520ff; even if s. be performed within one year, still for one year food and a jar of water should be given to a brāhmaṇa 521; four piṇḍas are to be prepared, one for the *preta* and three for his deceased paternal ancestors and then the performer divides the preta-piṇḍa into three parts and puts each third into each of the three piṇḍas with the two mantras 'ye samānā' 522; mantras differ in different works 523-524; means the reception of a deceased person into the community of *pitṛs* to whom piṇḍas are offered 520; *navasrāddhas*, 16 śrāddhas and s. must be performed by one heir alone, though there be many heirs, but after a year śrāddha may be performed by each heir separately 526; no auspicious rite like marriage can be performed until sapindana of a deceased family member has been performed 525; no sapindana for a person unless he had upanayana performed 524-525; no sapindana for those who left off their faith or committed suicide or became ascetics or were born of mixed unions, or for patila women 525; number of brāhmaṇas to be invited 522; on completion of s. the *preta* ceases to be so and becomes one of the *pitṛs* 523; of woman who became a *sati* or was made a putrikā or was married in the *āsura* form 524; partakes of both *ekoddiṣṭa* (applying to *preta*) and *pārvana* (applying to three ancestors) 523; procedure of, described 522 ff; *saṅkalpa* in s. 521n; this śrāddha



- and ekoddiṣṭa-śrāddha are performed for women also 524; to be performed in the afternoon 523; twelfth day is generally commended for several reasons 520-521; twelfth day after death is the only day for s. for śūdras, acc. to some 521; two meanings of the word *preta* 523; was to be performed after the sixteen śrāddhas 520, 521; widow dying sonless has no s. performed for her, but only ekoddiṣṭa 524
- Saptārcis mantra 450n, 458n, 459
- Saraka, a tirtha on Sarasvatī 559
- Sārasvatasattras, described 558-559, 681; the country between Vinakana and Plakṣa Prasravaṇa was the proper locality for 558; three S. 557-558
- Sārasvata-tirthas 559, 681
- Sarasvatī, see under 'Sindhu'; described in some purāṇas as springing from Plakṣa tree, as flowing through Kurukṣetra and Dvaitavana 556n, 686; Alberuni's account of another S. that falls into the sea near Somanātha 686; description of in the Rgveda 556-557; disappeared in the desert sands in the times of the Brāhmaṇa texts 557; following the course of, from the sea to its source was an expiation 93; has a two-fold character as a river and as a divinity 198n; is now identified with Sarasutī which is lost in the desert sands near Bhatnair 557; question whether S. is the same as Sindhu discussed 556n; seven Sarasvatis that encompass the world 686; seven very holy rivers connected with S. 686; the *dikṣā* of the Sārasvata sattras was to be performed on the south bank of the dry bed of S. 557; three hymns are addressed to S. as a deity in the Rgveda 556; Vāj. S. says that five rivers fall into the S. 557
- Sarasvatīvilāsa, a work 82
- Sarayū, river 556
- Sārṇāth, about five miles north of Banaras where Buddha delivered his first sermon 641
- Sarvādhāna, method of Agnihotra 461
- Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa, commentator of Manu 93, 362n,
- Sarvānukrama 619
- Sarvapṛāyaścitta, for dying man 184
- Sārvarājñyah (ṛcah) 203n
- Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 8, 10, 20, 37, 39, 44, 54, 57, 58, 62n, 70, 117, 155, 157, 169, 189n, 194n, 196n, 203n, 204n, 205n, 206n, 207n, 208, 209n, 210, 223, 225n, 246, 248, 249n, 266, 321, 339, 343, 345-348, 353, 369, 376, 383n, 402n, 417, 418, 429, 462, 472, 476, 477n, 559n, 574n, 585, 606, 618, 680, 703
- Śātātapa, smṛti of 40, 108, 115, 172, 174, 178, 220, 280n, 295n, 305, 311, 324n, 325, 332n, 344, 348, 399, 475, 515n, 519n, 528; on Karmavipākā 172n
- Sati, see under 'wife'; wife burning herself on her husband's funeral pyre or burning herself some time after her husband's death 237, 604ff; brāhmaṇa woman was to burn herself along with her husband's body, but not after its cremation, but women of other classes could do so 237; Nārada-purāṇa does not allow a woman to burn herself if she has a young child or if she is pregnant or if she has not attained puberty or she is in her monthly illness 237, 604-605; practice of, was common to all women including cāṇḍāla women 237; Rgveda X. 18. 7 slightly changed was recited at the burning of, 199n
- Sat-trimśan-mata, 18n, 102n, 114, 128n, 293, 332n, 364, 414, 541n, 548n
- Satya, vide under ṛta
- Satyamādhya-śrauta-mūtra, 191n, 204, 206n, 207n, 208n, 211, 212, 218,

- 224, 225, 226n, 233, 240, 242, 244, 245n, 246, 248, 251-254, 361
- Satyavrata, 419n
- Sātyāyani 383n
- Sauca, see under 'purity', 'śuddhi'; consists in avoiding *abhakṣya* (what ought not to be eaten), by association with those only who are uncondemned, and firmly abiding by one's prescribed duties 310; four kinds of, acc. to a *smṛti* viz. monetary, mental, bodily and of speech 310; is one of the five *niyamas* of Yoga 311; means removal by means of clay, water, coudung and the like of the besmearing, the oiliness and odour of a thing that causes impurity 314; mental attitude is the highest thing in, acc. to *Padmapurāṇa* 310; of two kinds, *bāhya* (of the body) and *ābhyantara*, the latter being superior to the former 310; *Vanaparva* speaks of three kinds of, viz. in speech, actions and that brought about by water 310
- Saumyakṛcchra 152
- Saunaka, 243, 540n, 544; condemned the begetting of a son by a *dvija* from a *śūdra* woman 14n; procedure of *Nārāyaṇabali* from, 304
- Saunakātharvanasāradha-kalpa 479
- Saurapurāṇa, 51, 371n, 375, 388, 392, 396, 443n, 456n, 471n, 514
- Sāvitrī, (*Cāyatrī* verse), as purifier of sins 45
- Savyam, meaning of 487n
- Sāyana, 193n, 194n, 197n, 228n; *bhāṣya* of, on *Rgveda* 556, 559n, 693n; *bhāṣya* of, on *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* 59n; *bhāṣya* of, on *Tai. Br.* 427n, 462n; *bhāṣya* of, on *Tai. Ā.* 39n; *bhāṣya* of, on *Tai. S.* 426n
- Sea, every, is holy 560
- Sea voyage; a *brāhmaṇa*, who undertakes sea voyages, is unfit to be invited at *śrāddha* 393
- Setu, 53, 94; pilgrimage to, as an expiation for the murder of a *brāhmaṇa* who has studied four *Vedas* 94
- Sewel, on image of *Jagannātha* 696
- Sheol, was the name the Hebrews gave to the gloomy abode of the dead 170
- Sherring, M.A., author of 'The sacred city of the Hindus' 618n, 631, 632
- Siddhāntasekbara, 319n
- Siddharāja, king of *Anahilavād-Vide* under *Somanātha*
- Silappadikāram 767
- Silver, said to be produced from the eye of *Śiva* and therefore dear to *pitṛs* 420
- Sin, *apātrikaraṇa* 15, 35; *Asvamedha* deemed to free from all 37; confession of, supposed to remove effects of 37; how s. arises has been a difficult problem 8-9; idea of, bound up with conception of *ṛta* in the *Rgveda* 2; idea of original s. not accepted by many people 8n; idea of, varies at different ages, in different countries and different religions 1; is difficult to define 1; is transferred from man to man by sitting or sleeping together, by dining in same row or by using same conveyance 26; means of removing consequences of 37, 40, 41-56; most frequent words in the *Rgveda* for sin are *āgas* and *enas* 5; murder of *brāhmaṇa*, gravests 10; potentialities and consequences of, are two-fold 65; *Rgvedic* sages acutely conscious of 5; seven kinds of, named in the *Nirukta* 10; source of, is the Devil, acc. to Christianity 8n; water was supposed to remove 37; what is s. 1; words for s. in *Rgveda*, discussed 5-8
- Sindhu, question whether *Sarasvatī* is really *Sindhu* 556n; seven *Sindhus* spoken of in some passages of *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda*, 556
- Sinners, see under 'karmavipāka'; enumerated in *Tai. Br.* 11; had to undergo three burdens 76; guilty of

mahāpātakas may become pure by *Āsvamedha* or by visiting all *tīrthas* 91-92; three classes of, acc. to *Vasiṣṭha* 13; who feel no repentance and do not perform *prāyaścitta* fall into terrible Hells and after undergoing tortures in hells are born again as men suffering from deformities or diseases or as animals, insects, trees and shrubs 153, 154, 172

Sins, are removed not by *prāyaścitta* alone but also by confession to others, gifts, meditation on God 50; bodily sins 173; difference in punishments or expiation based on intention or absence of it or on repetition 17; divergence among *sūtras* as to classification of 12; five classes of, acc. to *Kātyāyana* 14; five enumerated in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 12, 16; homas and mantras may purify a man from sins that have not become public 125; many s. are punishable by the king as crimes, though penances are provided for them 68; mental sins 173; nine classes of, acc. to *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 15; redemption of, by monetary payments or bequests of property to churches in Christian belief 52n; supposed to be centred in the hair 122, 574; three classes of, acc. to *Baud. Dh. S.* 13; three classes of, acc. to *Manu* 173; three kinds of viz. bodily, in words and mental 173; classes of, acc. to *Āp. Dh. S.* 12; two kinds of, viz. intentionally committed and unintentionally committed 61; unintentionally committed s. are destroyed by repeating Vedic texts 63; views differed as to whether all sins committed in past lives are destroyed by entering *Kāśī* or whether only those of the present life 638; vocal sins 173; which diseases arise as the results of which sins 173

Sirkar, Dr. D. C. 698

*Śiśucāndrāyana* 150

*Śiśukṛcchra*, same as *Bālakṛcchra*, 150

*Śīta-kṛcchra* 150

*Śivadharmottara* 396

*Śivapurāṇa* 445n, 519, 678n, 679

*Śivasāṅkalpa*, sacred Vedic texts from *Vāj. S.* 48

*Skandapurāṇa* 164, 187, 337n, 351, 352n, 363n, 369n, 370n, 371n, 372, 374, 375, 376n, 380, 381n, 382n, 385, 389, 391, 392, 394n, 399, 405, 407, 409n, 413, 416n, 418, 440n, 442n, 448, 450n, 452 (closely follows *Āśv. gr.* and *Vāj.*), 458n, 466, 468, 469, 478, 484, 512, 514, 517, 530, 531, 539n, 547n, 555, 562, 563, 564n, 566n, 573n, 577n, 578n, 579n, 589, 595, 596n, 597, 598, 603n, 607, 612, 613n, 616-625, 627, 630n, 631, 633-639, 640, 641n, 678n, 695, 725; is said to have 81000 verses acc. to *Matsya-purāṇa* 624n

*Śloka-Gautama* 531n

Smith, Vincent, author of 'History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon' 720n  
*Smṛtis*, conflict of, on the periods of impurity, resolved in various ways by *Madanapārijāta* 270n; contain varying details of the same rite 89; one view is that details of all *smṛtis* should be combined, if not in conflict 89-90; prescribe *prāyaścittas* for *brāhmanas* partaking of *śrāddha* food 387; put uncleanness on birth and that on death on the same level 309; 'sarva-śakha-pratyaya-nyāya' applied to 89-90; some authors like *Viśvarūpa* held the view that details about a *prāyaścitta* in each *smṛti* should be kept separate and not combined 90

*Smṛticandrikā* 45n, 48n, 53n, 54, 82, 114n, 115n, 149n, 220, 227n, 231, 243n, 256n, 257n, 261n, 262n, 268, 270n, 273 (on *śauca*), 275n, 276n, 282n, 285, 287n, 291, 292n, 305n, 311, 332n, 338n, 350, 369n, 370n, 372n, 374n, 375, 376, 377n, 381n, 382n, 383n, 394n, 395n, 404n, 405n,

- 405n, 407n, 409n, 412, 415n, 416, 417n, 419n, 420, 421n, 422n, 423n, 443n, 444n, 446n, 455n, 457, 458, 459n, 460, 462n, 463, 464, 468n, 469n, 473n, 475n, 477n, 478, 481, 484n, 514n, 520, 523n, 524, 531n, 532n, 546n, 547n, 569n, 578n, 591n, 651, 652n
- Smṛtimuktāphala** of Valdyanātha 18a, 22n, 29, 60n, 67, 90n, 94, 95n, 101, 107, 148, 164n, 220, 240, 268n, 269, 273, 282, 288, 290, 296, 302n, 383n, 399n, 486 (followed by Madras *smṛta brāhmaṇas* on *śrāddha*), 532, 546n
- Smṛtiśāgara** 119n
- Smṛtiratnāvalī** 670n
- Smṛtisamuccaya** 374
- Smṛtisāra** 296n,
- Smṛtyarthaśāra** 27, 56, 91, 92, 95n, 101, 129, 175, 177, 229, 230, 257, 272n, 286, 289, 291n, 304, 316, 318, 325, 365, 374n, 375, 416, 459n, 473n, 508n, 521, 526, 532n, 668n, 669
- Snakes**, supposed to subsist on wind 335
- Soma**, *camasas* filled with s., can be drunk by priests one after another without incurring any blemish 328; distinguished from *surā* 20; extent of period of s. sacrifice 96; is food only of *brāhmaṇas* 196n; is king of *brāhmaṇas* 196n; throws in a pit those who do not observe Soma's ordinances 154
- Somanātha**, tax on pilgrims going to, was levied by Siddharāja, king of Anābīlavāṇī, but was later remitted at the intercession of his mother 571
- Somāyana**, an expiation 151-152
- Son**, of patita was condemned and excluded from inheritance 106; saved father from hell called *put* 161; what makes a son a real son 654n
- Sons**, one should desire to have many sons, so that at least one may visit Gayā 652-653; twelve kinds of, recognized in ancient times, of whom the *kṣetrajā*, the *putrikāputra* and *dattaka* most important 536
- Soul**, at time of death of one body enters into another new one 335; eight qualities of, mentioned in Gautama and others 310; *kauca*, one of the eight qualities of the soul 310; was supposed to become, after death of body, associated with Yama and *pitṛs* 342
- Souls**, see under 'funeral rites', 'piṇḍas'; after the death of the body are supposed to assume a body called *ātivāhika*, that such a body is secured by human beings alone and not by other beings 265; bodies that s. secure after death are called *ātivāhika* by some and *yātāṇīya* by others 266; of departed persons who offered sacrifices when living become shining stars in the firmament 157, 166; supposed to take on a new bright body on cremation in *R̥gveda* 193, 342; survival of, after death of body, is emphatically asserted in Tai. Br. 157
- South Indian Inscriptions** 712n
- Śrāddhā**, is addressed as a deity in the R̥g. 351, 496-497; various definitions of 352
- Śrāddha**, see *āmaśrāddha*, *aparāhṇa*, *Āryasamāja*, *brāhmaṇas*, *corn*, *eclopse*, *food*, *hemaśrāddha*, *jīvatiśrāddha*, *kutapa*, *Māghyāvarṣa*, *pauktipāvana*, *pūrvanaśrāddha*, *piṇḍa-pitṛyajña*, *piṇḍas*, *pitṛs*, *putra*, *salt*, *soul*, *śrāddhā*; afternoon preferred for ś., except for Vṛddhi-śrāddha and *Āmaśrāddha* 370; *agnaukarāṇa*, discussion about 461-462; *āhitāgni* should not perform ś. on any day except *darsā*, acc. to Manu 371n; among the *brāhmaṇas* invited at ś., two are meant for gods (and are called *daiva* or *vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas*) and three for *pitṛs* 403,

407; an *atithi* must be fed at a *ś.* 404; ancestors upwards from 4th viz. father, grandfather, great-grandfather of the performer's great-grandfather, are entitled only to the *lepa* (wipings of the particles of food sticking to the hand of the performer) 482-483; brāhmaṇas alone are to be invited for dinner at *ś.* 383; brāhmaṇas should pronounce blessings at *ś.* after they dine and sip water, 468; brāhmaṇas who are *pañkṣipāvana* should be invited at *ś.* 385-386; called *anvāhārya* performed formerly on the same day after *pinḍapitryajña*, but not now 362; child whose *upanayana* has not been performed is not eligible to repeat Vedic mantras and cannot perform *ś.* but an exception is made in the case of a son as to funeral rites for a parent 365; classification of *śrāddhas*, 380-381; confers long life, happiness, fame, prosperity, sons, and heaven on the performer, 350; consequences that follow from disposal of the pinḍas in *śrāddha* in each of the several modes of disposal 481; daily *ś.* prescribed by Manu for all householders to be performed with food or water or milk or fruits and roots 369; *dakṣiṇā* has to be given profusely towards the end of each *ś.* and it is supposed that whatever may be wanting in mantras or the proper time or procedure is cured and made perfect by it 534-535; dark half of a month preferred for, 370; definitions of *ś.* by Brahmapurāṇa, Mitākṣarā and others emphasize its connection with *śrāddhā* 334, 351; denotes, according to some, three things viz. *homa*, offering of pinḍa and gratification of brāhmaṇas invited to dinner, 335; derivation of word *ś.* from *śrāddhā* 351-52; description of pitrs as Vasu, Rudras and Ādityas is only for purposes of contemplation, 348;

Devala recommends that an elaborate *ś.* should be performed only once a year, 383; differences in many details of *ś.* had arisen in the days of the Purāṇas, 363; differences among sūtras whether young or old learned brāhmaṇas were to be invited 388; digests on *ś.* utilized in this volume, 363; discussion of the question what Hindus of the 20th century should do about *śrāddhas* 549-551; discussion whether a performer of *ś.* should perform the rite strictly in accordance with the gṛhyasūtra of his own Veda or Śākhā or may include details found in other works, 452-455; discussion whether performer of *ś.* studying one recension of the Veda must invite brāhmaṇas studying the same recension or could invite one who had studied any of the three Vedas, 397-398; discussion whether the daily Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before the starting of *ś.* rites or after they are finished 483-484; divergent views as to the stage when *āvāhana* of *pitrs* is to be made and about the mantras to be employed at *ś.* 460-461; doctrine of, carried to excess 383, 513; doctrine of offering balls of cooked rice to ancestors at *ś.* presupposes or requires that the ancestors are even after 50 or 100 years from their deaths capable of enjoying in an ethereal body the flavour or essence of the balls wafted by the wind 335; doctrine underlying the conception of *ś.* is apparently opposed to the dogma of *karma* and *punarjanna*, 335; eight matters to be avoided by brāhmaṇas invited at *ś.* 411; emphasis on inviting very learned brāhmaṇas became practically nugatory by the rules of some smṛtis that one should not partake of *śrāddha* for three years after *sapīḍana* and that laid down various *prāyaścittas* for dining at *śrāddha* in the first, second or third

year after Sapiṇḍana 548; enumeration of 96 śrāddhas to be performed in a year 382-383; even in modern times learned brāhmaṇas are unwilling to dine at a ś., particularly within a few years of death 387, 548; examination of the explanation of the doctrine of ś. offered by Purāṇas and medieval digests 338-339; exclusiveness and pride of sub-castes even among brāhmaṇas go so far that Bālabhaṭṭi recommends that Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇas should not invite for ś. brāhmaṇas of other castes even if very learned and particularly Kōṅkanas and that men of one's own sub-caste should be preferred even if they are of blemished character 398; explanation how *masīśrāddha* came to be called the *prakṛti* (the norm) of all śrāddhas 258; explanation given by Purāṇas and digests how food offered into fire or eaten by brāhmaṇa invitees at ś. is enjoyed by the departed whatever form they might have attained after death (such as a god or *daitya*, beast, or snake or grass) 335-337; five classes of, acc. to Bṛhaspati and others 381; flowers allowed and condemned for employment in ś. 416; food offered in ś. is believed to be enjoyed by departed spirits in the world of *pitṛa* 340; frugal or poor dinner not to be offered in certain śrāddhas and on certain occasions 406; gift of bedstead used by the deceased to a brāhmaṇa and his wife with appropriate mantra and other details recommended by some purāṇas but severely condemned by the Padmapurāṇa 535-536; gifts of wealth, lands and houses on death of kings and great warriors and eulogies of such gifts and particularly of cooked food 534; guests coming by chance, while ś. rites are in progress, should be honoured, since *yogins* wander over

the earth for the good of people in various forms 396; if a brāhmaṇa, who is *pañktipāvana* and fulfills the conditions laid down in Manu III. 132-146 be not available, one may invite as the next best course even a bandhu, father-in-law, son-in-law, one's teacher of the Veda or pupil, daughter's son, wife's brother, a *sagotra* or even a brother 387; if a performer can afford to invite at ś. only one brāhmaṇa, then he should prefer a chanter of the whole of Sāmaveda 399; if it is not possible to perform all śrāddhas (except Sapiṇḍikarāṇa) according to detailed procedure, they may be performed by the procedure called 'sāṅkalpavidhi' 532; if no brāhmaṇa be available on śrāddha day, effigies with *darbhā*s should be made, śrāddha offered and fees and materials may be given later to other brāhmaṇas 406, 514; if primary procedure for a rite as laid down in śruti or smṛti cannot be carried out, then one may resort to some substituted procedure 513-514; in eclipses the appropriate time for ś. is *sparsakāla* 372; inquiry into the learning and qualities of brāhmaṇas to be invited at ś. was allowed but not as to those who came by chance uninvited 391; in ś. on the birth of a son or in ś. offered by even a good śūdra there is no feeding of brāhmaṇas 482; institution of, had a hoary antiquity even at the time of the Āp. Dharmasūtra 349; inviting Bauddhas, Nirgranthas or those who espouse the Pāñcarātra or Pāsupata or Kāpālika doctrines forbidden 395; *kāmya* ś., examples of, 373; kuśas to be used in ś., rules about 417-418; leavings of food in the plates of the invited brāhmaṇas and the *vikīra* on darbhāas were the share or lot of persons of the family dying young and the leavings fallen on the ground were the lot of deces-

ed slaves of the family 470n, 500; leavings of food in the plates of brāhmanas should not be removed or swept away till sunset, as the spirits of those that were offered no water regale themselves with them 468; leavings of food cooked for śrāddha dinner should not be given to a person inferior in qualities or to a śūdra 468; literature on ś. is enormous in extent 362-363; long lists of persons not to be allowed near a ś. 380; Mahālayaśrāddha 530-533; main underlying conception of śrāddha viz. a tender and affectionate regard for one's relatives, is admirable 550; *mantra* to be repeated at the beginning and end of all śrāddhas 458; *mantras* at āvāhana in ś. 460; *mantras* repeated in ś. are deemed to carry food to the pītṛs that are invoked by their names and *gotras* and as accompanied by Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas 338; many works disapprove of extravagance in inviting a large number of brāhmanas at ś., since a large company affects five *desiderata*, viz. respectful treatment of brāhmanas, securing a proper place, proper time, purity and meritorious brāhmanas 403-404, 550; *māsa* preparations highly recommended in ś. 421-422; may be performed on any day, if particularly appropriate materials or holy brāhmanas are available or the performer is near a sacred place 370; meant originally a sacrifice for the pītṛs on *amāvāsya* 369; method of giving invitations to brāhmanas for a ś. 406-409; milk, which was allowed and which was condemned for use in ś. 315; mokṣa results from performance of ś. 350; monthly ś. on *amāvāsya* was the *prakṛti* (norm or model) of which *Aṣṭakā* and other śrāddhas were modifications 361-362; *natimittika* ś. 373, 381; non-Aryans (called *dasyus* in the Mahābhārata)

like Yavanas, Mlecchas, Kīrātās, Sakas, Cīnas may perform śrāddhas 364; no legal machinery exists to enforce the liability to perform śrāddha of the deceased whose wealth was inherited by an heir 510; no piṇḍadāna on certain śrāddhas, such as āmaśrāddha and on *yugādi* days 481; no scrutiny should be made about a brāhmana of whom nothing is known, since *siddhas* roam on the earth as brāhmanas 389; no ś. to be offered to father or mother if he or she became a mleccha (by forcible or voluntary conversion) and the piṇḍa to be offered to him or her should be offered to Viṣṇu 483; no ś. for deceased ascetics except pārvana on the 11th day after death and every year afterwards 519; not to be performed on 14th of the dark half of a month for anyone except for those killed by poison or snakes or beasts or in battle or by brāhmana's wrath 370n; number of brāhmanas to be invited did not depend on the means of the inviter, but on whether he could honour them all well 403; number of brāhmanas to be invited differed acc. to the views of different authors and works 402-404; observances for inviter and invitee 410-412; offerings at ś., acc. to some Purāṇas, become transformed into that kind of food that the pītṛs require in the new bodies they might have assumed acc. to doctrine of *karma* and offerings due to wealth acquired by unjust means gratify pītṛs that are born as cāṇḍālas 352; on *amāvāsya* is *nitya* (obligatory) 426n; on 11th day after death, two views about 519; on thirteenth day of dark half of Bhādrapada highly eulogised 360; one can offer piṇḍas only to three ancestors beginning with one's father and not to 4th, 5th or 6th ancestor even if one or more of the first three ancestors

be alive, 365, 511; one knowing only the Gāyatri verse but leading a well-regulated life was to be preferred at ś, to one who knows the three Vedas but whose conduct is not well-regulated 389; order of preference among invitees at ś, viz. first ascetics, then a brāhmaṇa who has studied the four Vedas and *itihāsa* and so on 389; origin of the institution of ś, from Manu or from the Boar incarnation 349; pārvaṇa ś, 431-514; performance of ś, at night or twilight or when the sun has just risen is forbidden (except in eclipses) 375; performed at a holy place and on *yugādi* or *manvādi tithis* yields inexhaustible gratification to the pitṛs 374; performer of ś, calls the pitṛs to be present at the rite after taking permission of the invited brāhmaṇas for the invocation 348; performer of, should as a rule invite a brāhmaṇa who has studied some recession of the Veda and who is not of same gotra as the performer, who is not connected by marriage or who is not a teacher or a pupil or a friend, though some exceptions were recognized 385; performer of, should not observe a fast on śrāddha day, but should partake of the food left after being served to the invited brāhmaṇas or should at least smell it 469-470; performer of, should wash house floor, should cowdung it, should wash the clothes and cleanse vessels the previous day 409; persons (of over 50 kinds) to be shunned at a ś, according to Gautama, some of whom could be invited at a rite for gods according to others 400-401; persons and animals that should be ejected from the place of ś, or should not be allowed to look at it or disturb it 379-380; piṇḍas are made by the performer or by his wife with the food that remains after *agnaukarana* and mixed with

sesame, honey and ghee and are offered by the *pitṛ-sirṭha* 498n; piṇḍas offered to the great-grandfather, the grand-father and father are declared to be identical respectively with Vāsudeva, Saṅkaraṇa and Pradyumna and the offerer of piṇḍas with Aniruddha 350-351; piṇḍas of cooked rice or flour were not to be offered in śrāddha performed on equinoctial days, on saṅkrānti, on solstitial days, on ekādaśī or trayodaśī or on Maghā and Kṛttikā nakṣatras 481; pitṛs assuming aerial forms were supposed to hover round and enter the brāhmaṇas invited at ś, 390, 401, 407; pitṛyā verses are each repeated loudly with āhāva at the end of ś, rite 502; place that is full of insects or is arid or burnt by fire or terrific in aspect or gives out painful sounds or fetid smell is unfit for ś, 379; points in which modern Madras manuals differ from those used in Western India 504; polluted by *asuras* is purified by sesame and by tying a goat near the place 419; poor man may offer, instead of sumptuous food, uncooked corn, or some vegetables or some slight fee or a few grains of sesame to a brāhmaṇa with water or may offer grass to a cow or raise his arms and repeat loudly that he has nothing 425-426; practice of presenting the clothes, ornaments, bedstead, the horse and the like used by the deceased to the brāhmaṇa invited for śrāddha and also of donating an umbrella and sandals on the completion of śrāddha 535; praise of the importance and benefits of, 349-351; *pratisānvatsarika* or *pratyābdika* ś, 529-530; *prāyaścittas* prescribed by *smṛtis* for dining at a pārvaṇaśrāddha, or *vṛddhiśrāddha*, *sapīḍana* and other śrāddhas 387-388, 548; *prāyaścittas* prescribed for partaking of food at *Navāśrāddhas*, monthly śrāddhas



and yearly ones 548; principal act in ś. rites is the feeding of brāhmaṇas 349; procedure if only one brāhmaṇa could be invited or was available 403, 513; procedure applicable to śrāddha by one whose father was alive was extended by Viṣṇu to one's mother's paternal ancestors 513; procedure if the performance of a śrāddha on a particular day is rendered impossible by an obstacle such as āśauca 547-548; proper places for the performance of 377-379; qualifications of brāhmaṇas to be invited were few in the gṛhyasūtras, but smṛtis and purāṇas add many more and enlarge the lists of those that should not be invited 384-390; question how śrāddha was to be performed if one or more of the three paternal ancestors were alive was discussed from ancient times and opinions varied 511-513; rewards for performance of śrāddha in an eclipse 375; rewards for performing ś. on 28 nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī (including Abhijit) 374; rewards for performing ś. on the several week-days 373-374; rewards for performing ś. from the first to the 15th tithi of the dark half 372; rewards for performing ś. on even tithis and even nakṣatras and uneven tithis and nakṣatras 370; rewards of pinḍa-dāna 503; right to inherit is based under the Dāyabhāga on the capacity to offer pinḍas to the deceased owner and not on actually offering them 510; rules as to the day (tithi) on which sāmvaśarika śrāddha is to be performed if the day or month of death or both are not known 530; rules for testing the brāhmaṇas to be invited at a ś. 390-391; rules of conduct for the performer of ś. 401-402; rules on removal of particles of food left in plates from which brāhmaṇas dined 468-469; sapinḍī-karaṇa, 520-525; several

views about the final disposal (*pratipatti*) of pinḍas 480-481; should be begun on *Kutaṣa* (8th out of 15 *muhūrtas* of the day) and should not extend beyond *Rauhiṇa* (12th *muhūrta* of the day) 376; should be performed when one dreams an evil dream or when evil planets affect the nakṣatra on which a man was born 372; should not be performed in *mleccha* localities 378; should not be performed in the *Triśaṅku* country and in the countries of *Kāṇaskara*, *Kallāga* and others and in countries to the north of the *Sindhu* river 378-379; should not be performed on *Nandā* tithis, on Friday, on 13th of the dark half, on the nakṣatra of one's birth 373; sixteen śrāddhas are laid down by numerous works as necessary to free the spirit of a deceased person from the condition of being a *preta* and *piśāca* 518; sixteen śrāddhas, divergence of views about what they are and particularly whether *sapinḍī-karaṇa* is included therein or not 518-519; sixteen śrāddhas were and are now performed on the 11th day after death 520; some authorities allow anyone to perform śrāddhas (except *sapinḍī-karaṇa*) for any relative, particularly at *Gayā* 364-365; some *Purāṇas* condemn scrutiny into the character and learning of brāhmaṇas to be invited but digestis explain away such passages as referring to śrāddhas at *Uṛthas* 391; some *purāṇas* inculcate the performance of śrāddha on a profuse scale, particularly at *Gayā* 404-405; some *smṛtis* laid down very strict rules about the qualifications of brāhmaṇas for a ś. 399-400; some *smṛtis* recommend lavish expenditure on ś., *Bṛhaspati* requiring an heir to spend on ś. half the property inherited by him 404; some writers hold that in ś.

agnaukarana, piṇḍadāna and feeding of brāhmaṇas are all principal 482; some works lay great emphasis on inviting ascetics or yogins at ś. and say that a yogin is superior to a hundred brāhmaṇas 388; some works state that rites for pitṛs deserve pre-eminence over those for the gods 483-484; specific times most proper for performing ś. 371; spot chosen for ś. should be clean, should slope towards the south, should be cowdunged, covered on all sides and should be unfrequented and not owned by another person 377; śrāddhā is the mainspring or root of, 351; ś. may be separately offered to the mother in the Anvaṣṭakā rites, in Vṛddhiśrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of the day of death, but in other cases it is performed along with her husband 475, 662; śrāddhādhikārin, general rule about, was that husband should not offer piṇḍa to his wife, nor father to his son, nor elder brother to younger one, but exceptions to this were recognized 364-365; substances and utensils proper for being used at śrāddha and those not proper 412-413; śuddhi (purity) should be specially secured in seven matters in ś. viz. the body (of the performer), the materials, the wife, the place (of performance), the mind, the mantras and the brāhmaṇas 413; sugar is sacred and may be employed in sacrifices to gods and manes 414; texts support both views, viz. that food is offered direct to the deceased ancestors in ś. and also that Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are the pitṛs and devatās of ś. 339; three classes of, viz. *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya* 369-370; three sanctifying things in ś. are *dauhitra*, a Nepal blanket and sesame 413; three views as to what is the principal item in ś., whether feeding of brāhmaṇas, or offering of

piṇḍas or both 481-482; tilas (sesame), great importance of, in ś. 418-419; times for performing ś. 360, 369-377; times on which ś. was obligatory (*nitya*) according to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 372; times proper for *kāmya* ś. are eclipses, days of solstice, equinoctial days, Vyatipāta, *saṅkrānti* and *śrāddhas* performed on them give infinite pleasure to pitṛs 372; times for which pitṛs are gratified by the offering of the flesh of several animals 422-424; tirtha-śrāddha, see under Tīrtha; treated under five heads viz. how, where, when, by whom and with what materials 340; to whom should the sons of two fathers, such as *kṣetraja*, *putrikāputra* and *dattaka* offer piṇḍas 536-538; twelve kinds of, according to Viśvāmitra 381-382; two classes of, viz. *ekoddiṣṭa* and *pārvaṇa* 380; use of flesh in ś., great divergence of views on 422-425; use of plantain leaves as plates was allowed by some and forbidden by others 421; use of wealth obtained by bribery or from *patita* persons, or arising from bride-price or declared unlawful is condemned 412; Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before piṇḍadāna in such śrāddhas as *Navaśrāddha* and after piṇḍadāna in yearly śrāddha, in *ma-hālaya* acc to some, while *Hemādri* gives more elaborate rules depending upon whether the performer was an *āhitiāgni* or one who had no *śrauta* fires 471-72, 484; variation in the names of *Viśve devas* 457n; vedic benediction finely worded and comprehensive to be uttered by brāhmaṇas on accepting an invitation for ś. 409; vegetables, fruits and roots recommended and condemned for use in ś. 415-416; vessels of iron condemned for use in ś. 421; vessels of metals, particularly of silver, should be used in śrāddha, 420; vessels to be used in offering

*arghya* water, for cooking śrāddha food, for dining and for serving 419-421; vessels to be used in ś. may be made from sacrificial wood or from palāśa or from a sea product (conch-shell) 420; views differed as to whether mother included step-mother in Pārvaṇa 475; Viṣṇu is to be regarded as dwelling in the three piṇḍas for the father, grand-father and the great-grand-father 349, 351; Viśve-devas are generally mentioned in Manu and Yāj., but later smṛtis enumerated ten of them, two of them being assigned to each of five classes of śrāddhas 457; Vṛddhiśrāddha, meaning of, 359n, and it is same as Nāndīśrāddha 527; was offered to three immediate ancestors, father, grandfather, great-grandfather 365; water, quality of, to be employed in ś. 415; what food is of the nature of *havis* and fit for ś. 412; what men and women should engage in cooking ś food 462-466; when ś. is performed at a tīrtha the piṇḍas should be cast into the sacred water, otherwise they may be cast into fire or water or handed over to a brāhmaṇa or may be allowed to be eaten by a cow or goat 480-481; who are entitled to offer śrāddha ( *śrāddhādāhikārin* ) 364-365; who are *lepabhūjah* or *lepabhūginah* 483; who are the deities of ś., the three male ancestors or Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas 348; whoever took the wealth of the deceased had to offer śrāddha and piṇḍas to the deceased even under the Mitākṣarā system 364, 510; who should be invited for śrāddha dinner according to the gṛhya and dharmasūtras 384-385; who was the real recipient of the offerings made in śrāddha viz. the brāhmaṇas or pitṛs 460; women and śūdras should get ś. performed through a priest or they may them-

selves perform ś. without mantras but only mention the name and gotra of the deceased 365; word śrāddha does not occur in any authentic and ancient vedic work, but only in the Kathopanishad 349-50; worship of ṛtus (seasons) in ś. provided for in some digesta 433n.

Śrāddhacandrikā of Divākara-bhaṭṭa 363

Śrāddhakalikā, 381n, 412, 459n

Śrāddhakalpa of Śrīdatta for sāma-vedins 486

Śrāddhakalpalatā of Nandapaṇḍita, 334n, 336, 337, 371n, 381n, 382n, 387n, 398n, 403n, 409, 481, 483, 531n, 533, 535n, 540n, 541n

Śrāddhakārikā, 548n

Śrāddhakriyākaumudī, 266n, 334n, 376n, 380n, 407n, 408, 409n, 410n, 417n, 418n, 455n, 457n, 473n, 476n, 512, 514n, 518n, 519n, 520n, 523n, 524n, 531n, 532n, 546n, 547n, 548n

Śrāddhamayūkha, 544

Śrāddhaprakāśa, 261, 269n, 334, 343n, 349n, 350, 351n, 377n, 378, 379n, 386n, 388n, 389n, 391n, 398n, 399n, 401n, 403, 409, 410n, 411, 414n, 421, 457n, 458n, 460, 463, 467n, 471, 473n, 475n, 476n, 477n, 478n, 479, 529, 542, 544, 569n

Śrāddharatna of Lakṣmīpati 486, 535n

Śrāddhasaṅgraha, 459n

Śrāddhasāra 335n, 338n, 350, 471, 532, 533

Śrāddhasaukhyā (part of Todarānanda) 455n, 457n, 475, 476n

Śrāddhasūtra of Katyāyana 352, 408, 409, 411, 419, 423, 424, 435n, 439, 442n, 466, 470, 472, 478, 486, 504, 516, 521, 525

Śrāddhatattva of Raghunandana 263, 336n, 351n, 352n, 370n, 380n, 406, 407n, 408, 409n, 445, 446n, 450n, 457n, 458, 464n, 475n, 476n, 479n, 486, 510, 516n, 520n, 527, 530n, 546n

**Śrāddhāviveka** of Rudradhara 334, 380n, 381, 396 (one of the longest lists of persons unfit to be invited at śrāddha), 406, 416, 486 (description of *apātraka* pārvaṇaśrāddha), 524n, 526n, 540n, 541, 545n, 548n  
**Sridatta**, author of *Pitṛbhakti* 335n, 447n, 460, 486  
**Sṛisūkta**, 444  
**Srottriya**, meaning of 384n  
**Srugbna**, modern Sugh on the old Jumna about 40 miles from Thanesar 641n  
**St John**, Gospel of, 174n  
**Stein**, Sir Aurel, translator of the *Kājataranginī*, 725, 755, 759  
**Steya** (theft), becomes *mahāpātaka* only when *brāhmaṇa*'s gold of a certain quantity is stolen 22-23, 101; meaning of, acc. to Āp. 22; none in certain cases, even if one appropriates without owner's consent 23; of two kinds, viz. accompanied with force (such as robbery or dacoity) and effected clandestinely 101; *prāyaścitta* for theft of *brāhmaṇa*'s gold weighing 80 *raktikā*s or more was death for all offenders except *brāhmaṇa*s 101; *prāyaścitta* for 'rāhmaṇa guilty of the *mahāpātaka* *steya* same as for *surā* of flour 101; *prāyaścitta* for, depended on various circumstances 101  
**Story**, of *Ajigarta*, who agreed to slay his own son when famished 100; of *Iharadvāja*, who, when famished, accepted many cows from *Bṛbu*, a carpenter 100; of *Ekata*, *Dvita* and *Trita*, 11, 11n; of the birth of *Yama* and *Yami* from *Vivasvat* 198; of *Indradyumna*, 694-695; of *Kaṣa* and *Sarasvatī* 558-559, 680; of *Naciketas* 384n; of *Nimi* who performed śrāddha for his predeceased son 364; of *Paundraka Vāsudeva*, who challenged *Kṛṣṇa* with the help of king of *Kāśī* 622; of *Sagara*'s sons reduced to ashes by the wrath of *Ṛṣi* 595;

of 'saptavyādhas' 445n; of *Sunahśepa* 274; of ten *Viśve-devas* to be invoked in five classes of śrāddhas 457n; of *Tulādhāra* and *Jājali* 570; of *Usasti Cākṛāyaṇa* and his partaking of forbidden food 100, 681; of *Vāmadeva*, who desired to eat dog-flesh when famished 100; of *Viśvāmitra*, who proceeded to take the haunch of a dog from the hands of a *Cāṇḍālā*, 100; of *Vyāsa*, who, when on the point of cursing *Kāśī*, was ordered by *Śiva* who had assumed the form of an householder not to enter *Kāśī* except on the 8th and 14th tithis, 638-639

**Śrīparva** 223

**Sudarsana**, commentator of Āp. gr. 472

**Suddhi** (re-conversion) modern movement of, for taking back those converted by force, fraud or otherwise, 118

**Suddhi**, see under 'āśauca', 'purity', 'śauca'; āśauca most important subject under 267; comprehensive term including purification after āśauca, purification of a person after contact with an impure object or person or certain evil occurrences and purification of food, pots, wells, temples &c. after they are deemed to be polluted 267; emphasis on, laid as early as *Rgveda* 310; is an attribute, acc. to *Suddhiviveka*, that confers a capacity or privilege for the performance of all dharmas 269; literature on, is very extensive 270; *Manu* divides it into two, viz. *suddhi* after death (*pretasuddhi*) and āś. of things (*dravyasuddhi*) 267, 309; means of purification 315-316; of *dravya*, is of two kinds, viz. purification of the body and of an external object 309; one desirous of, should perform *Pavitrreṣṭi* 312; *smṛtis* contain extremely contradictory dicta, particularly on periods of impurity, with the result that the

Mit. remarks that the usages in its day were altogether different from those in the smṛtis 270

Suddhicandrikā, com. on Śaṣaṣiti 270; by Vināyaka alias Nandapaṇḍita 273, 276n, 295n

Suddhikaumudī of Govindānanda 212n, 264n, 267, 269n, 270n, 273, 277, 296, 306, 313n, 317n, 318n, 322n, 323n, 324n, 326n, 328n, 332n

Suddhimayūkha of Nilakaṇṭha 273

Suddhipāñji, 296n

Suddhiprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) 182, 183, 185n, 187n, 212n, 217, 218, 219n, 222n, 224, 225, 226n, 227, 229, 237, 262n, 263, 267n, 273, 275n, 278n, 282n, 284, 285n, 290n, 291n, 292n, 293n, 294n, 296, 299, 300n, 301, 304n, 311, 313n, 317n, 322n, 323n, 324n, 326, 327n, 330, 332n, 348, 540n, 541

Suddhīśrāddha 382

Suddhitattva of Raghunandana, 186n, 187n, 238, 256n, 265n, 273, 282, 290n, 295, 296n, 299, 306

Suddbiviveka of Rudradhara 269, 285, 306n, 319n

Śūdra, see under 'saṁskāras'; could drink any kind of intoxicant without incurring sin 21; could not drink pañcagavya in early times, though allowed to drink without mantras in medieval works 142; disability of a śūdra who does not wait upon or serve a dvija 50; how to perform *japa* for removal of sin 49; homo could be performed for, in ordinary fire through a brāhmaṇa, acc. to some digests 78; prāyaścitta for killing a crow, hamsa, dog or the like same as for killing a śūdra 110; prāyaścitta for, was only 1/4th of that for a brāhmaṇa sinner, except as to offences of violence against a dvija 81

Sūdrakamalākara 142, 364n, 477n

Sugatisopāna of Pratihastaka 486

Suicide, 604-613; see under 'satī'; Alberuni's remarks on religious s. 610; by starting on the Great Journey (mahāprasthānagamana) or by falling in fire or from a precipice forbidden in Kali age 302, 308; Dharmaśāstra writers generally condemn s. as a great sin 604; divergent views of Hārīta and Manu as to allowing s. as a prāyaścitta for grave sins like incest 604; every kind of s. was not condemned by the ancient smṛtis 525; exceptions to the condemnation of suicide are found in the epics, smṛtis and purāṇas 302, 525, 604-605; five meritorious kinds of suicide mentioned in Ain-i-Akbari 605n; gradually there was a revulsion of feeling against suicide at Prayāga or other tirthas and against starting on the Great Journey in the Hīma-laya 608; great poets like Kālidāsa believed that those who killed themselves at Prayāga or Vaṭa became free from the cycle of births and deaths even though they had not correct knowledge of the Supreme Reality 605; historical examples of kings committing religious suicide at holy places 605; householder was allowed to commit s. even if all right, by fall, or fire or drowning if his life's work was done, or if he does not desire the pleasures of life and is a Vedāntin 604; important verse found in Vanaparva and some purāṇas relied upon for the approval of religious suicide at Prayāga 606; Kūrma-purāṇa recommends four modes of religious s. and promises residence in heaven for thousands of years 607; an old man or a man unable to observe rules of bodily purification or a man so ill as to be beyond medical skill was allowed by some smṛtis to kill himself by jumping from a

- precipice or by fire or by drowning or fasting or jumping from *Vaṭa* tree at *Prayāga* 604; one who, knowingly or unknowingly, wilfully or unintentionally, dies in the Ganges, secures on death heaven and *mokṣa* (according to *Ādama*) 607; psychology behind religious s. 611; religious suicide at *Puruṣottama* is referred to in *Brāhmapurāṇa* 701; religious suicide was allowed at *Prayāga* or at the *Vaṭa* there or at some other *tīrthas* 604, 608; some medieval digests allowed religious s. to all *vargas* while *Tīrthaprakāśa* restricts it to members of castes other than the first 609; some *smṛtis*, the *Mahābhārata* and some *Purāṇas* do recommend religious s. at *Prayāga* and other holy places 607-608; some writers of medieval times combat the view that religious s. is permitted 608-609; *Tristhaḥisetu* refuses authority to commit s. at *Prayāga* to any person abandoning his old parents, young wife and children and to women who are pregnant or have young children or have no permission from husband 609; wife was allowed to die on her husband's death by *sahagamana* or *anumarana* 604
- Sūlapāni* 104n
- Sumantu* 18n, 80, 258, 350, 415, 616n
- Surā*, *ksatriyas* and *vaiśyas* incurred no sin by drinking any intoxicant other than *surā* prepared from flour 97; meaning of, 20-21; sharply distinguished from *Soma* 20; *śūdra* incurred no sin by drinking even *surā* prepared from flour 97-98; uninitiated boys and unmarried girls had to undergo 11th *prāyaścitta* (i.e. 3 years) for drinking *surā* and, if intentionally done, for six years 98; word, occurs in the *Rgveda* 20
- Suracāndrāyana* 151
- Surāpāna* (drinking of *surā*) 20-22; a *mahāpātaka*, when 20; alternative *prāyaścitta* for 96-97; forbidden to boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed and to unmarried girls 21; means taking *surā* down the gullet and not merely touching it with the lips 22; *prāyaścitta* for *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* guilty of 97; twelve years' *prāyaścitta* for, in meant for one who drinks *surā* (from flour) through ignorance or force 97
- Sūrasena*, country, the capital of which was *Mathurā* 682n
- Suresvara*, author of *Kāśīmṛtimokṣavivāra* 614
- Suśruta* 415n
- Sūtaka*, employed in the *Ait. Br.* 269; three meanings of, in *smṛtis*, viz. (1) impurity on birth, (2) impurity on death alone, (3) impurity on both birth and death 269
- Suttanipāta* 176, 550n, 707
- Suvarṇa*, meaning of 23, 129, 139n
- Suvarṇakrechhra* 151
- Suvāstu* (modern *Swat*), a river mentioned in the *Rgveda* 534
- Svarga*, actions that lead to, enumerated in *Anuśāsanaparva* 166; ancient astronomical works located *svarga* thousands of *yojanas* above earth 168; description of the pleasures of 165-166; definition of *svarga* in an oft-quoted verse 169-170; great drawback is that no new merit is accumulated there and that when the store of merit is exhausted one has to fall down from heaven and to be born again 166; is a place for those who die in battle 165; is not directly seen by any one, but one has to believe in its existence 170; means unsurpassed joy in another life, according to *Sabara*, *Kumārila* and a few others 169; varying views about what is meant by 168-170; *Vedas*, *smṛtis* and *purāṇas* hold view that s. is a place above the earth 168
- Svargārohaṇīya-parva* 164

- Sven Hedin 760  
 Svīṣṭakṛt 357n  
 Syrians, customs of, about impurity on death 309  
*Tabus* (or taboos), most important in all ancient and modern primitive societies are those concerning the dead, women in child-birth and women in monthly illness 309  
 Tagore 552n  
 Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 43, 45n, 112, 113, 146, 155, 184n, 191n, 200n, 211, 212, 227n, 230, 242, 245n, 246, 252, 304, 369, 384n, 441, 469n, 488, 496n, 540, 543, 681, 736, 768  
 Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 11, 37n, 38, 40, 62n, 69, 122, 133, 137, 157, 184n, 189n, 230, 254, 266, 275, 329, 342, 343, 345, 365, 384n, 394n, 409n, 426n, 427, 428, 433, 434n, 446n, 462n, 472, 543, 680  
 Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya 45  
 Taittirīya-saṃhitā 10, 20, 37, 43n, 44n, 45n, 46n, 48, 52, 57, 62n, 63, 69, 110n, 124n, 133, 145, 155n, 157, 159, 160, 168n, 197n, 201, 229, 230, 266, 309, 345, 347n, 348, 352, 353, 365, 384, 409n, 419, 426, 428n, 433, 435n, 439, 441, 442, 444, 447, 450n, 452, 460, 466n, 468, 472, 476, 477n, 497n, 499n, 539n, 540, 543, 546, 550n, 554, 555, 593n, 607n  
 Taittirīya-Upaniṣad 8, 158, 614  
 Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa, 62n, 69, 557, 768  
 Tantra, meaning of, 446n  
 Tantravārtika, 20n, 387n, 453n, 687n  
 Tapas, see *fast*; as a means of removing consequences of sins 42-43; means 'niyamas' (restraint or strict observances) 400n; periods for which it is to be practised 43; what constitutes 42, 54  
 Taptakrechra, expiation for brāhmaṇas for selling things and animals that should not be sold by them 117; great divergence of views about 138-139  
 Tāraka, mantra variously explained as *om* or the mantra 'Śrī-Rāma-Rāma-Rāmeti' 613n, 614, 635  
 Tarpaṇa (satiating with water) 120, 133; if one cannot perform an elaborate t., one may offer three handfuls of water with sesame and kuśas and the three mantras from Vāyupurāṇa 120, 592n; is either principal or subsidiary (āṅga), the first being performed every day by a dvija householder for gods, sages and pitṛs and the second as part of snāna or of brahmayajña 592n; saṃnyāsin has not to do it but a widow has to perform it for her husband and his relatives 592n; must be done, even if day be not auspicious, at a tīrtha, in Gayā, in the dark half of Bhādrapada with water mixed with sesame 592n; one whose father is living has not to perform tarpaṇa 592n; was called pitṛyajña by Manu 369; water is poured with both hands in t. 592n  
 Tattvārthakaumudī, com. on Prāyaścitta-viveka 266n  
 Tātparyadarśana, com. on Āp. gr 354n  
 Taulvalī, views of, on śrāddha 511  
 Teacher, a brāhmaṇa who is t. for hire or who is taught by a hired t. or whose teacher is a śūdra is unfit to be invited at a śrāddha 393  
 Temples, see under 'polluted', 'purification', 'purity'; are holy 560; throwing open of, to all people held to be untouchable, by Legislative action in Bombay and C. P. 320-321  
 Text, nothing too heavy for a text 66n  
 Theft, see 'steala'; punishment for, was death in some cases 69; misappropriation of deposit was like t. and misappropriator was punished as a thief and had to return deposit or its price 72; person guilty of, had to restore thing stolen or its

- price 74, 102; person guilty of, approached king with club 73, 101; *prāyaścitta* for, was to be double if the thief could not restore thing stolen or its price 102; *prāyaścitta* and punishment for, were same in some cases 73-74
- Thomas, Dr. F. W., editor of *Bārhaspatya-sūtra* 679; volume of Indian and Eastern studies presented to, 648n
- Tilas, four kinds of, 419; great importance of the use of, in *śrāddha* 418-419; supposed to have sprung from body of Viṣṇu 419
- Tilak, author of 'Arctic Home in the Vedas' 192n; far-fetched explanation of Navagvas and *Daśagvas* by, 192n
- Time, for any religious act is of two kinds, *mukhya* (principal or proper) and *gauna* (inferior) 377; in conflict between proper time for a religious act and the complete means or materials for it the former should be preferred 377
- Tīrthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati, 563n, 566n, 567n, 568, 570, 572n, 573n, 574, 576, 577n, 579, 582, 584, 586n, 587n, 588n, 589n, 590n, 595, 596n, 601n, 602, 609, 616n, 628n, 629, 631n, 633n, 648n, 652n, 662n, 667n, 668n, 672-673n, 674n, 675n, 699n, 700, 701n
- Tīrthakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, 561n, 562n, 563n, 565, 566n, 567n, 570n, 572n, 573, 575, 577n, 578n, 579, 582, 584, 587n, 589n, 599, 601, 607n, 608, 613n, 616n, 629n, 630n, 637 (takes no notice of *Pañcakrośi* pilgrimage at Kāśī), 639n, 641n, 651, 653n, 668n, 683n, 684n, 685n
- Tīrtha-prakāśa, 10, 560n, 561n, 562n, 565n, 567, 568, 569n, 570, 572n, 573n, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578n, 579, 582, 595, 596n, 601, 609n, 612, 627n, 628n, 633, 635n, 662n, 683, 684n
- Tīrtharatnākara of Anantabhaṭṭa, probably the largest work on tīrthas, is yet in Ms. at Bikaner, 582
- Tīrthas, forests, mountains, holy rivers and t. have no owner and cannot be possessed by a person as owner 590; do not occupy a prominent place in the sūtras, in *Maṇu* and *Yāj.*, but are highly lauded in *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* and declared superior to sacrifices in several respects 561-562; Literature on t., is far more extensive than on any other topic of *Dharmasāstra* 581-582
- Tīrthasāra (part of *Nṛsīṃhaprasāda*) deals mostly with tīrthas in the Deccan and Southern India, 565, 582, 707, 717n, 718
- Tīrthasaukhyā, part of *Toḍarānanda*, 582
- Tīrthatattva of Raghunandana 582
- Tīrthendusekhara of Nāgeśa, 575, 582
- Tīrthayātrā (pilgrimage to holy places) 552-722; see 'Gayā', 'tīrtha', 'woman', 'tonsure'; advantages of t. to the community and to the individual pilgrim 553; all religions lay great emphasis on the sanctity of certain places and enjoin pilgrimages to them 552; ancient *Dharmasāstra* works lay emphasis on visits to tīrtha because of the benefits derived therefrom 553; as a means of removing the consequences of sins, 55-56; brāhmaṇa born and bred at a tīrtha like Mathurā or Gayā should be preferred to a stranger, though the latter may have mastered all the Vedas 579; brāhmaṇa should wander about tīrthas acc. to *Brahmapurāṇa* after his capacity to perform *yajñas* has come to an end 570; classification of tīrthas into four, viz. *daiva*, (established by gods), *āśura* (associated with asuras like Gayā), *ārṣa* (established by sages such as *Prabhāsa*) and *Mānuṣa* (established by kings like *Manu*, *Kuru*) 567;



dharmas common to all men include truthfulness, restraint of mind, charity, *ahiṃsā* and t. 553-554; digests on tirthas follow a process of selection, i. e. each describes only a few tirthas known to it 563; digests have a tendency to make every religious act more elaborate and harder 573; fast at a tirtha is optional according to Kalpataru but if observed it confers special rewards 473, 584; five classes of people do not reap the rewards of pilgrimage 563; four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists 552; fourteen acts which a pilgrim had to give up after reaching the Ganges or other tirtha 578; held superior to Vedic sacrifices in several respects by the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas 561-562; honouring the pitṛs at the time of starting on t. is specially obligatory on rich men 574; house-holder whose wife is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her, otherwise he would not reap the fruit of t. 568; idea in the Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas was that t. may help those who have no high moral qualities in removing their sins while those that possess moral qualities gain a great store of merit by t. 562-563; *kārpāt-veśa* on t. 573; large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated in India as sacred and as the abodes of gods 552; literature on, is more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmasāstra 580-582; Mahābhārata lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of t. is to be reaped 562; Mahābhārata and some purāṇas emphasize that a pure mind is the real tirtha and that it is better to stay at home and perform one's duties including performance of vedic sacrifices than undertaking t.

570; Mahābhārata and Purāṇas contain at least 40000 verses on t. 582; meaning of *tirtha* in the Rgveda and other vedas is either 'road' or 'ford' and rarely a holy place 554; meaning of tirtha in this section 555; meaning of tirtha is sometimes extended to places where Agnihotra and śrāddha are performed, to temples, to house where Veda is being studied, to cowpens, parks, where an *aśvattha* tree exists, where a teacher stands or a chaste woman dwells 564; mode of travel, use of conveyances, horses, bullock carts, wearing of shoes, rules about these in Purāṇas and digests 576-577; *mundana* and *kṣaura* distinguished 575; not only men of all varṇas but also women and even cāṇḍālas have adhikāra for t. 567-568; number of tirthas declared by Vāyu, according to Matsya, Padma, Nāradiya and other Purāṇas, is 35 millions in the sky, the aerial regions and the earth 564; number of tirthas, acc. to Varāhapurāṇa, is 60 thousand crores 564n; one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmaṇas at a tirtha 578-579; one who wants to undertake t. should pay off his three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and consign his wife to their care 571; rewards promised for baths at tirthas 727; rites to be performed when a person undertakes t. 572-73, 583; rivers in general, certain named rivers and waters are referred to with great veneration as early as Rgveda 555; sacred places for Muslims 552; *sankalpa* to be made at starting on t. 577; Shah Jehan, emperor, remitted the tax levied on pilgrims at Prayāga and Kāśī owing to eloquent pleading of Kavindrācārya 571; six rivers having their sources in the Himālaya and six to the south of Vindhya are declared

to be most holy devatīrthas by *Brahmapurāṇa* 567; some digestis state that a pilgrim has to wear the *kārpāṣī* dress at all tīrthas when he is actually travelling, while others say that he has to do so only at Gayā 573; some purāṇas say that some virtues may be called mental tīrthas and purity of mind is the highest tīrtha 563; some say that tonsure and fast are necessary at all tīrthas except at Kuruksetra, Viśālā, Virajā and Gayā 574; śrāddha has to be performed at most famous tīrthas, but from the procedure of śrāddha are omitted arghya, āvāhana, entering the thumb of the invited brāhmana in the food served, the question about being satiated and vikīra 616; śrāddha may be performed at any time after a pilgrim reaches the tīrtha 616; śrāddha at tīrthas consists, if the whole procedure cannot be followed, in offering pinḍas of barley meal or rice cooked in milk, cake of sesame or jaggery and one should offer a single pinḍa to all relatives after parvapaśrāddha and another pinḍa for servants, slaves, cattle, trees etc. 616-617; tended to foster the idea of the fundamental unity of India and Indian culture 553; tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers and shrines 553; three grounds on which tīrthas are said to be holy 554-555; tonsure and fast are not obligatory but only kāmya according to Kalpataru but otherwise according to others 573-575; t, sacrifices and various gifts are the means of cleansing the mind 563; t. yields full fruit only if performed bare-footed 576; t. yields fruit to men of all varṇas and āśramas 563; use of bullock-cart condemned in Matsya-purāṇa as leading to hell and of other conveyances (not drawn by

bulls) as fruitless, but Kūrma recommends to those who are unable to walk conveyances drawn by mules, horses or men 576; use of a conveyance is according to Kalpataru condemned only in pilgrimage to Prayāga 576; use of a vessel allowed 577; view that the institution of t. was first started by Buddhists and Jains is wrong 558; was deemed very early to be a way of redemption of sins for men and women 569; was favoured by writers on Dharmasāstra by prescribing that no money was to be demanded by a ferryman or a toll officer from a pilgrim, from a pregnant woman, from a vedic student, forest hermit or ascetic, but this was not followed even by Hindu kings 571; whether tonsure at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is obligatory 573; who are eligible for or have adhikāra for t. 567-571; widows, ascetics and śūdras have to cut all hair on pilgrimage 575; women could not undertake t. without husband's permission 569; works on, repel by their over-statements and exaggerations, when they state that pilgrimage to a particular tīrtha will yield all one's desires in this world and the next, that even gods secured perfection at Puskara, that Pṛthūdaka is the holiest of tīrthas etc. 565-566

Tīrtbayātrātattva, of Raghunandana (published in Bengali characters) 669n, 670, 673n, 674n

Toṭarānanda, 59, 376n (on śrāddha), 382n, 398n, 408n, 417n, 457n, 461n, 462, 475, 476n, 484n, 582

Tolappar, followed by Madras Vaiṣṇavas on śrāddha, 486

Tonsure (vapana or muṇḍana), vide under Prayāga; Āp.Dh.S. provides that all sapinḍas younger than the deceased had to undergo tonsure 218; differ-

ence between *muṇḍana* and *kṣaura* 575; differed according to extent of expiation 123; forbidden in the case of one whose wife was pregnant 122-123; in *prāyaścitta*s, 122-124; in case of married women whose husbands were alive was restricted to cutting off two finger-breadths of hair 123, 574, 575; may take place on 2nd, 3rd or other day up till *śrāddha* on 11th day after death 217; mode of, in *daiva* form declared in Tai. Br. 122; mode of *daiva* t. prescribed for *ādhāna*, *iṣṭi* and *soma* sacrifices 122; necessary because sins were supposed to resort to the hair of those that became pilgrims 574; not insisted upon in expiations for king, prince or learned *brāhmaṇas*, but then they had to undergo double the usual penance 123; no tonsure in *cāndrāyaṇa* performed solely for accumulating merit 135; no tonsure if cremation took place at night 217; none at *Gayā* 669; occasions when t. should be undergone 122, 574; of performer of cremation rites 217; three kinds of, *āsura*, *daiva* and *mānuṣa*, of which only the last two are allowed 122; religious occasions for tonsure 573-575; restricted to hair on the head and lips generally (the top knot, hair on eyebrows and on the trunk being excepted) but in expiations the exception was not enforced 122-123; seven cases where t. is obligatory 217, 574; unnecessary acc. to some, in expiations other than *cāndrāyaṇa* 124; whether obligatory when starting on a pilgrimage 573-74; widows, *sūdras*, and ascetics had to submit to t. of all hair in *prāyaścitta* and *tīrtbayātrā* 123, 575

Touching, *prāyaścitta* for t. certain men, women in certain conditions, animals &c 114; included indirect touching also for purposes of *prāya-*

*ścitta* 114; t. *cāṇḍālas*, *mlecchas*, *bhīllas* and *Pārasīkas*, entails a bath with clothes on 114; t. *Bauddhas*, *Īśūpatas*, *Laukāyatikas* and *atheists* required expiation by bath with clothes on 115; t. shoemaker, washerman, fisherman, hunter, dog, *nāga* and several others requires sipping water as purification 115

*Toyakṛcchra* (also called *Varuṇakṛcchra*), a *prāyaścitta*, described 140.

*Traikakuda*, a peak of the *Himālaya*, from which an eye salve was brought 559

*Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana*, 226, 311, 377, 399n

*Trimadhu*, 384, 449n.

*Trīṃsat-śloki* 255n, 273, 276n, 281n, 286n, 290, 292, 300; com. on, by *Raghunātha* 273, 285n, 286n, 296n

*Trita*, see 'Ekata'

*Triṇācīketāḥ*, explanations of 334n

*Trisāṅku*, boundaries of the country of 378-379

*Tristhalī*, means the three holy places of *Prayāga*, *Kāśī* and *Gayā* 596

*Tristhalisetu* of *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* 365n, 405, 565, 577, 582, 596, 598, 599, 600n, 601n, 602, 603, 607n, 609, 613n, 614, 615n, 617, 624n, 625n, 626n, 627n, 628n, 631n, 632, 633, 635, 638, 639n, 640n, 648n, 652n, 654n, 655n, 657n, 661, 662n, 663n, 666, 667, 668n, 669, 670, 673n, 676n, 677n

*Tristhalisetusārasaṅgraha*, 568n, 582, 609n, 616n

*Trisūparṇa*, explanations of 384n, 449n

*Tulāpuruṣa*, an expiation 139

*Tulasi*, leaves should be avoided in *śrāddha* acc. to *Smṛtyarthasāra*, but others allow them 416-417

*Tup-tikā* of *Kumārila* on *Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* 169

*Turuṣka* (Turk), treated as low as *cāṇḍāla* 115

- Turuṣka-ḍaṇḍa**, means, in Gāhādvalā inscriptions, money levies imposed by Moslem rulers and raiders 572n
- Tylor**, author of 'Primitive culture' 585
- Uddālaka-vrata**, described 111; expiation for vrātyatā 111
- Udyogaparva**, 704n, 707
- Ūba**, substituting another word or words in place of a part of a mantra or the like 514-515, 517
- Untouchability**, no question of, arises when bathing in holy waters, in marriages, in religious festivals, in a battle, in case of invasion, when a town or village is on fire 569-570
- Untouchables**, no purification required even for dvijas for touch of, on certain occasions such as battle, fire, religious festivals and marriage processions 115, 332
- Unvala**, Dr. J. M. 118
- Upacāra**, meaning of, 489; 5 and 16 upacāras in worship 583n, 676
- Upabavya**, a sacrifice 63n
- Upaniṣad texts**, *japa* of, as purifier from sins 45; repeating or uttering into the ear of a dying man Up. texts 185; speak of the soul proceeding by the path of *arcis*, day, etc. 265
- Upapātakas**, derivation of word upapātaka 35; expiation for all u. is same as for *govadhā* or it is Cāndrāyana, Parāka, Gosava or subsisting on milk for a month 107; fifty-one u. enumerated by Yāj. set out 33-34; *govadhā* stands at the head of all u. 107; if a brāhmaṇa killed a kṣatriya, vaiśya or tūdra, it was an upapātaka, unless the kṣatriya or vaiśya was engaged in soma sacrifice 95; if repeatedly committed, make a man *patita* 35; number of, varies from smṛti to smṛti and from time to time and was very large 32, 106; purification for, by repeating Veda thrice while fasting 107; what are u. acc. to Band. Dh. S. 14
- Upavāsa** (fasting), as a means of removing sins 52-54; meaning of, 52
- Upavitin**, meaning of, 487n
- Usages**, of countries, marrying a maternal uncle's daughter prevalent in Deccan and Southern India but condemned by Manu and Baudhāyana 82; to be considered in giving decisions 82
- Uśanas**, smṛti of, see *Aśanasa smṛti*; 323n, 409, 470n, 519n, 521, 524n
- Usurer**, a brāhmaṇa who is u. is unfit to be invited at śrāddha 393
- Utpala**, commentator of the works of Varāhamihira 168
- Uttarādhyanaśūtra** 43, 165, 445n (story of seven brothers), 646, 687
- Uttarārāmacarita** 601
- Uttarāyana**, those who die in, proceed by the Devayāna and do not return 188; waiting for, on the part of Bhīṣma explained 188-189
- Uthāpīṇyaḥ**, verses 260n, 242
- Uvaṭa**, commentator of *Vājasaneyi saṃhitā* 433n
- Vācaspati**, on *dharmaśāstra* 282n, 575; author of *bhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* 22, 50n (different from preceding)
- Vācaspati**, author of *Candanadhenu-dāna* 542n
- Vaidhṛti-yogas**, 13 in a year, 383n
- Vaidya**, Mr. M. V. 648n
- Valḍya**, Dr. P. L. 176n
- Vaidikasīrvabhauma's** works on *pūrva* and *apara* kriyās, followed by Vaiṣṇavas in Madras 486
- Vaijayanṭi**, com. on *Satyāśadha-śrāutasūtra* 265n, 253n, 254; com. on *Viṣṇu-dharmaśūtra*
- Vaikhānasaśmārtasūtra** 112n, 223, 225, 227, 231, 240, 241, 304, 355, 474, 491n
- Vaikhānasa-śrāutasūtra** 57n, 191n, 233, 365n
- Vaiṣṇavāmṛta**, a work 187n
- Vaiṣṇavī ṛk** is Rg. I. 22. 17 (idam Viṣṇu-vi-cakrame), 466n

- Vaiṣṇavi yajus is Tai S. I. 1. 3.1 (Viṣṇo havyam rakṣasva), 466n
- Vājasaneyasambhitā 20, 37n, 38, 43-44, 46n, 48, 57, 69, 124n, 137, 138, 146, 155, 182, 197n, 209-211, 229, 240, 248-251, 296, 298n, 300n, 306, 317, 346, 348, 352, 357n, 384, 409n, 419, 426n, 427n, 429, 430, 432, 433, 435n, 439, 441, 442, 443n, 444, 447, 449, 450n, 452, 460, 464, 466n, 468, 472, 477n, 479, 480, 486, 497n, 498, 502, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 515, 522, 540, 543, 546, 554, 557, 559n, 606
- Vaiśvadeva 144
- Vaitarani, river in the nether world, full of foul smell and blood 163n
- Vajra, a prāyaścitta 149
- Vajrapañjara, a Durgāstotra in Kāśī-khaṇḍa 638
- Vākyabhedā, fault of 226
- Vāmadevyagāna 307
- Vāmadevya verses 307
- Vāmanapurāṇa 240, 296, 298n, 302n, 306, 317, 324n, 325, 535n, 556n, 560n, 564 (fine rūpaka about the soul being a river full of the water of control), 565n, 566n, 568, 625n, 626, 655n, 659, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 704n, 712; chapter 12 of, is called Karmawipāka 177
- Vanaparva 165, 166, 310, 371n, 559n, 561, 562, 565, 567, 582, 589n, 595, 598, 601, 603n, 606n, 608, 614, 629, 647, 649, 651, 653, 682, 685, 704, 707
- Vānaprastha (forest hermit), has to observe so āśauca on a relative's death (except bath) 298; no āśauca for relatives on death of 305; three daily baths prescribed for 311
- Vapana, see 'tonsure'
- Varāha (coin) was equal to five rūpakas 151
- Varāhapurāṇa, 160, 212, 348, 360, 371, 374, 385, 387, 388, 392, 396, 399, 401, 405, 409, 425, 445, 448, 456, 458, 460, 463, 473, 480, 482, 483, 484, 564n, 579, 582, 587, 589, 594n, 666n, 690, 691, 708, 711
- Varāhamihira (see Brhat-sambhitā) 168, 376n
- Vārāṇasī, see under Kāśī
- Varāṇikā (cowrie) 129
- Vārakahandī 354
- Vārtikas, on Pāṇinī 354n, 619, 687, 703, 707, 745
- Varuṇa, as lord of waters even in the R̥gveda 140; called king in the R̥gveda 193
- Varuṇakṛcchra, a prāyaścitta 140
- Varuṇapraghāsa, one of the cāturmās-yas 37-38; was a rite in which the sacrificer's wife had to confess directly or indirectly whether she had a lover 40
- Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra, 13, 14, 16, 18, 21, 22n, 23, 25, 32, 35, 40, 42, 44, 46n, 47, 48, 51, 54, 61, 62n, 68, 72, 73n, 74, 75, 77, 83, 88, 91, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 103-107, 110-112, 121, 122, 125, 128, 130, 135, 138, 142, 145, 150, 172n, 174, 175, 214, 218, 219, 223, 239, 258n, 281, 297n, 314n, 315, 316n, 317, 325, 327, 360, 365, 366, 368, 370, 392, 394n, 398, 401, 403, 410, 411n, 413, 423, 425, 435n, 440, 454, 464n, 467, 468, 524, 530n, 560, 606, 653
- Vasus, are eight 490
- Vāyupurāṇa, 181, 339, 343n, 344, 345n, 348, 349, 364, 368n, 372, 373n, 374, 378, 380, 383, 388n, 390, 392, 395n, 396n, 397, 399, 404, 405, 411, 412, 414-416, 417n, 418-420, 423, 446n, 449n, 458, 464, 479, 481, 484n, 519n, 539n, 541n, 545, 550n, 560, 563, 566n, 573, 579, 590n, 592n, 607n, 617, 620, 622, 644, 649-651, 653-656, 660, 661, 662, 668-676, 683, 688, 689, 704, 708n
- Vāyavya-kṛcchra, 150
- Vedāṅgas, six 386
- Vedāntasūtra, 20n, 53n, 66n, 67, 68, 100, 158, 161, 165, 186n, 188, 189, 265, 344, 481n, 613

- Vedānta texts, japa of, as purifier from sin 45-46
- Vedas, japa of the saṁhitās of all, as purifier from sin 45-46, 128; japa of single verses or prose passages of, efficacious to remove sins, acc. to some smṛtis 48; study of, consumes all guilt 47; views differ as to stopping of Veda study and performance of śrauta rites by relatives during days of impurity 240, 300
- Vedis, five, of Brahmā are Samantapañcaka (northern), Prayāga (middle), Gayāśiras (eastern), Virajā (southern) and Puṣkara (western) 682n
- Vendidad (Parsi scriptures) 192n, 231n
- Vidyapati, author of or helper of the author, queen Viśvāsadevī, of Gaṅgā-vākya-vālī 583n
- Vidyānīvāsa, author of Dvādaśayātrā-prayoga-pramāṇa 697n
- Vidyāsūta, 444
- Vijñāneśvara, author of Mitākṣarā 129, 368
- Vinasana, place where river Sarasvatī disappeared in the sands, was holy 682, 684
- Vināyaka-sānti 178
- Viraja or Virajā 574n
- Virajākṣetra, extends a little beyond Jajpur in Orissa 694n
- Virāsana, a posture 148
- Viśālā, is Ujjayani or Badarikā 574
- Viśamaśraddhas 263
- Viṣṇu 544, 574; explanation of the Rgveda verse stating that V. took three steps 645; repeating one thousand names of, as a means of driving away a disease 178; repeating one thousand names of Viṣṇu in the ear of one dying 185n
- Viṣṇudharmasūtra; the commentator states that it is the Kāṭhakiyaśraddhaprayoga that the sūtra sets out in chap. 73, 461n; some verses of, are the same as Bhagavad-gītā 236n; 9n, 15, 16, 19, 25, 27n, 30-32, 35, 40-42, 46n, 47, 48, 51, 53, 55, 66, 70, 72, 74, 75, 79n, 83, 84, 88, 96, 99, 101, 102, 104, 107, 110, 111, 116, 118, 119, 121n, 123, 126, 128, 130, 131, 133-143, 144n, 145, 147-151, 153, 154, 161, 162, 164, 166, 173, 174, 214, 218, 219n, 220, 227, 236, 238, 240, 241, 243, 244, 256, 257, 258n, 271, 278, 281, 287, 288, 290, 291, 292, 297n, 298, 300, 303, 306, 311, 312, 314-317, 321, 323-331, 339, 340, 348, 358, 360, 364, 365, 366, 372, 375, 378, 380, 386, 388, 390, 392, 401, 414, 416, 418, 420, 421, 423, 424, 447, 450n, 460, 463, 464n, 466-469, 470, 472, 477, 479, 482, 483, 497n, 512, 517, 519, 521, 523, 533, 539, 560n, 571, 646, 653
- Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa 47, 76n, 117, 131, 140, 141, 149, 150, 153, 164, 177, 265, 344, 349, 350, 378n, 397, 411, 418, 422n, 423, 441n, 447, 448, 452, 453, 458n, 459, 461, 463, 466, 480, 481, 482, 521, 528, 539n, 540n, 541n, 553n, 561n, 563, 576n, 578
- Viṣṇupada, hill of this name existed near Delhi at Meharauli 646n; occurs in the Nirukta and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 645, 653; south of river Vipāśā 647n
- Viṣṇupurāṇa, 41, 50, 51, 84n, 122, 153, 162, 163, 168, 170, 216, 234, 238n, 239n, 241, 256, 261, 296, 302, 349, 350, 353, 368, 372, 374, 380, 387, 392, 395, 396n, 403, 404, 405n, 409, 413n, 414, 415, 419, 423, 425, 440n, 445, 448, 460n, 473, 482, 516, 520, 521, 528, 534, 576, 587, 595, 622, 623, 641n, 659, 682n, 688, 689, 690, 691, 705
- Viśvajit, a vedic sacrifice, as prāyaścitta for brāhmaṇa murder 91, 92n
- Viśvāmitra, smṛti of 23, 75, 108
- Viśvarūpa, commentator of Yājñavalkya-smṛti, 10, 18, 19n, 23, 32, 33, 35, 66n, 75n, 90, 107n, 108n, 111n,

- 161n, 225n, 274n, 313n, 316n, 321, 324n, 330n, 336, 371n
- Viṭṭhalabhūṣaṇa of Gopālācārya 717-718
- Viṭṭhala-rū-maṇṭra-sāra-bhāṣya of Kāśinātha Upādhyāya 721
- Vivādaratnākara, 69, 109n
- Vivāgasūyam ( Vipāka-śrūtam ) 176
- Vivasvat, marriage of, with daughter of Tvastṛ 198; Yama and Yami are children of, 198
- Vrata, three ways of observing v. on Darsa-pūrṇamāsa *īṣṭi* 52
- Vratodyāpana, description of, at time of a man's death 183-184
- Vratya, is one whose *upanayana* has not been performed at proper time 111; *prāyascitta* for being a, 111-112
- Vratyastoma, a Vedic sacrifice 62; prescribed in the case of him whose *upanayana* was not performed at the proper time 62n; used for bringing into *āryan* fold persons not born into it 118
- Vṛddha-Atri 292n
- Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati 23n
- Vṛddha-Gautama 112n, 137, 174, 386, 389, 392
- Vṛddha-Hārita 15, 32, 36, 65n, 75, 123, 164, 216, 225, 226, 304, 575
- Vṛddha-or Vṛddhi-kṛcchra 150
- Vṛddha-Manu 222n, 285n, 371n, 390, 532
- Vṛddha-Parāśara 113, 503n
- Vṛddha-Sātātapa 441n
- Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha 263, 363, 372, 470, 529, 547
- Vṛddha-Viṣṇu 80
- Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya 114n, 210n, 302, 509n 525
- Vṛddhiśrāddha-see Nāndimukha-śrāddha; mātṛśrāddha is a part of it and if a sufficient number of brāhmanas is not available then women who have a son and whose husbands are alive may be invited for groups of mātṛs and mātāmahis 529
- Vulliamy, C. E., author of 'Immortal man' 180, 232n, 342n, 347n
- Vṛotsarga (letting loose a bull) 539-542; if a bull be not available on 11th day after death an effigy of a bull made of darbhas and flour or clay may be employed 541; great importance of, 541; none for a woman, but a cow together with its calf may be donated for her benefit 542; procedure of Viṣṇudharmottara closely follows that of Viṣṇudharmasūtra 541n; procedure of, according to Viṣṇudharmasūtra 539-541; qualities of the bull to be let loose for the benefit of pitṛs 539-540; underlying idea of this rite 542
- Vyāghra 59n, 75, 517, 520
- Vyāghrapāda 477n
- Vyābṛthoma, should be. of 28 or 108 oblations 121
- Vyābṛtis (mystic syllables 'bhūr, bhuvah, svaḥ') 121, 490
- Vyāsa 22, 28, 54, 80, 83n, 105n, 106, 187n, 369n, 469, 514, 520, 546
- Vyāsakṛcchra, same as Maitrakṛcchra 150
- Vyātīpāta, defined 171n; thirteen v. yogas in a year 383n
- Vyavahāracintāmaṇi 119n
- Vyavahāramayūkha 257n, 280, 535n, 538n, 569
- Vyavahāranirṇaya 280n
- Water, all deities are centred in waters 553; at a prapā or from a jar placed near a well or from a leather bag, should not ordinarily be drunk except in distress 325; difference of opinion as to the number of handfuls of water to be offered after cremation, viz. 10, 55 or 100, 218-219; duty of sapindaś and samānodakas to offer water to deceased 221; held to be a great purifier even so early as the Rgveda 321; hymns and verses in the Rgveda addressed to waters as divinities 321, 555; invoked for carrying off sin 7, 555;

- mixed with gold over which the Gāyatri verse had been recited employed as purification of cooked food 328; no pollution recognized in large reservoirs 324; number of handfuls of water to be offered to deceased depended upon the usage of the country or on caste 219; offered to a deceased person after cremation by any or all sapinda 218-220; of a flowing river, spring and deep tank is always pure 322-323; w. and mud on roads, though trodden by low castes, dogs and crows become pure by the wind and sun 323-324; person could, if he chose, offer water to his deceased married sister or daughter or to a friend, to father-in-law on their death 221; procedure of offering water to deceased 219; purification of 322-323; purification of, is brought about by the sun, moon and wind and by means of the urine and dung of cows 324; rain water deemed to be impure for ten days 324; symbolic dialogue between person offering water to deceased and that person's relatives or brother-in-law or with a king's officer, 221-222; should be sipped or touched when a man engaged in religious rites hears a mantra addressed to pītr̥s, scratches his body, looks at a low caste man, or allows wind to escape from his abdomen, laughs loudly or utters an untruth, touches a cat or a mouse, uses harsh words or has a fit of anger 321; what water is deemed to be pure 322-23
- Well, purification of static water in wells and small reservoirs is same 324; when a well or a reservoir with a dam is constructed by men of the lowest class no prāyascitta is prescribed for bathing or for drinking that water 3-4; when deemed to be extremely polluted 323
- Wife, see under pativrata; even a kṣatriya wife of a brāhmaṇa āhitaṅni, if she died before him, was to be cremated with his sacred fires, acc. to Viśvarūpa 226; husband had to observe a brief āśauca on the death of a wife who had left him or had intercourse with another of the same or higher varṇa, but had to observe no āśauca if she lived with one of lower varṇa 290; of āhitaṅni was cremated with his sacred fires and sacrificial implements if she died before him 225; of āhitaṅni dying after him was to be cremated with *nirmanthya* fire 226; of brāhmaṇa, even of the śūdra caste, was not to drink surā 22; of dvija was forbidden the drinking of surā 21; of deceased dvija was made to lie on the wooden pile in cremation ground and then made to get up, acc. to sūtras 207; of sacrificer in Varuṇapraghāsa had to confess whether she had a lover 37-38, 40; virtuous w. alone was cremated with śrauta or smārta fire 226; was given only two alternatives by Viṣṇudharma-sūtra and others on husband's death, viz. becoming a *satī* or leading a life of perfect celibacy 256; was authorised to perform funeral rites and yearly and other śrāddhas for her husband with Vedic mantras by some late works, though some purāṇas were against this 259
- Wilson translator of Viṣṇupurāṇa 726, 763
- Winternitz, Dr. M., author of 'History of Sanskrit Literature' 646n
- Witness, bearing false w. was like drinking surā 72; is promised heaven if he tells the truth but hell if he lies 161; w. telling a falsehood for saving a man from death penalty had to offer a rice oblation to Sarasvatī 44
- Woman, even a patita woman was to be given bare maintenance and was not to be cast on the street 105; how



to perform japa for removal of sins 49; Hindu w. succeeding as heir to her husband has a qualified ownership over inherited property, she could alienate validly a small part of her deceased husband's estate on pilgrimages to Gayā, Pandharpur and some other tīrthas 569; no expiation for killing a woman intentionally, acc. to Viśvarūpa 18; whatever a woman does relating to benefits to be derived by her after death without the permission of her husband or husband's father or her son becomes fruitless 569; who became patita and did not undergo expiation could be excommunicated by process called *Ghaṭasphoṭa* 105

Women, āśauca for married w. in the case of the death of parents or brother or in case they hear of it beyond ten days, within a year or after a year from death or of death of grandfather 278-279; in case of married w. if they were delivered or died at father's house then only the father has to observe āśauca for one or three days, but none otherwise, acc. to Viṣṇu 278; four classes of, that were to be altogether abandoned and not given even starving maintenance 105; guilty of offence liable to death sentence are to be punished with cutting off a limb 80; married w. had to observe āśauca for three days for death of parents or step-mother if ten days had not elapsed from death or for the remaining days out of ten 278; may perform prāṇāyāmas and give gifts as penances in secret 125; of dvija classes guilty of adultery with a śūdra could be purified by a penance if they do not give birth to a child of the intercourse 105; of all varṇas were allowed to drink pañcagavya as remover of sins 142; three acts specially condemned in women, viz. sexual intercourse with

a man of lower varṇa, causing abortion, killing husband 105; rules about uncleanness for women in monthly illness are older than Tai. S. 309; that have adopted heterodox views and practices, that are thieves of gold and the like, that attempt to kill husbands, that are unchaste, that drink liquor or attempt suicide should not be offered water on death and no āśauca should be observed for them 301; tonsure of entire head prescribed for all women at Prayāga by Raghunandana, though others did not agree 603; were regarded as unclean on child birth, the duration of impurity depending on the sex of the child 309

Worlds, of Indra, Prajāpati, Varuṇa, Vāyu and other gods promised in the Upaniṣads 165; three w. 165, 342, 343; three *lokas* of devas, pitṛs and of worms and creeping beings in the Upaniṣads 188

Yajña, was dharma par excellence in the Brāhmaṇa period 680

Yajñakṛcchra 148

Yajñapātras, cremation of sacrificer with, is *prāṇipatikarma* of the pātras, 208n; some were either donated or thrown into water on the death of the agnihotrin 208

Yajñasvāmin, 148n

Yājñavalkya-smṛti, 9, 10, 14n, 16, 18, 23, 25, 29 30, 33, 35, 42, 44, 48, 50, 59, 60n, 61, 63, 65, 66, 68, 71, 83, 84, 86n, 88, 99, 101, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108n, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 116, 118, 119, 121, 122n, 123, 126, 127n, 128, 133, 135, 143, 145, 152, 161n, 162, 163, 173, 178, 189, 190, 210n, 211, 214, 215, 217n, 218, 220, 223, 225n, 227, 228, 236, 240, 257, 258, 267, 268, 270, 271, 272, 274n, 275, 276n, 277, 280, 281, 282n, 283, 284, 285n, 287, 288n, 290, 292, 294, 302, 305n, 312, 313n, 314, 317, 321, 322, 323, 324n, 325, 331, 334, 335, 336, 339, 350, 359n, 360, 366, 367, 368,

- 370n, 371, 372, 374, 375, 377, 381, 385, 387, 392, 403, 407n, 408, 410, 411, 414n, 419, 420, 422n, 423, 435n, 439, 440, 446n, 447n, 448, 449n, 456, 457, 458, 460, 461, 463, 467, 469, 470, 471, 473n, 478, 480, 502, 506n, 512, 516, 519, 521, 523n, 524, 525, 527, 528, 537, 549, 574, 575, 604
- Yajñāyudhas** (implements of sacrifice) are ten 168n
- Yājñikadeva**, commentator of *Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra* 206n
- Yajñopavīta**, the *prācināvīta* mode of wearing 407
- Yajñopavitin**, explained 487n
- Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva** of Raghunādana 486, 504, 509n, 516
- Yājyā** (offering prayer), 543 (in *jīva-śrāddha*)
- Yama**, called king in *Rgveda* 193, 343; Citragupta, chief assistant of, 160; descriptions of the abode of Yama and his assistants in the *Purāṇas* 160; fierce servants of, drag sinners to various tormenting hells 167; gradually came to be looked upon as a dreadful punisher of men for evil deeds 160, 343; heaven as abode of, in *Rgveda* 156, 342; identified with *Mṛtyu* even in the *Rgveda* 159; Y. in the *Veda* 159-160; in *jīva-śrāddha* Y. and his servants are gratified 543, 544; is at least Indo-Iranian deity 159; is lord of men and drinks Soma with gods 159; is really a god of the middle region 342; is supposed to allow departed souls and *pitṛs* to visit the world of men at time of *śrāddha* 401; is styled king in the *Rgveda* and the gatherer of people 159, 342; is said to have been the first mortal and to have made a way to Heaven 159, 192n; mentioned as a god by himself in *Rg. X.* 135, 343; names of Yama 593, 594n; *pitṛs* are said to enjoy delight in the company of Y. in *Rgveda* 160; *pitṛs* called *Angīrasas* are particularly associated with him 341; son of *Vivasvat*, the sun and brother of *Yamī* 159, 192n, 198; soul of departed man was supposed in the *Rg.* to become associated with Yama and *pitṛs* 342; though Y. is a beneficent god in *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda*, there is still an element of fear 159; two dogs of, that are sons of *Saramā*, guard the way and mark the doings of men 159, 193
- Yama**, smṛti of, 19n, 40, 44, 64, 65n, 95, 108, 113, 119, 121, 124, 125n, 131, 133, 139, 140, 142, 147, 148n, 150, 164, 175, 216, 219, 227, 228, 240, 266n, 289n, 313, 324n, 350, 368, 377, 386, 400n, 401, 408, 444, 464, 477, 479, 518n, 525, 575, 590, 669
- Yamagāthās**, what are, 227n
- Yamasūkta**, *Rg. X.* 14
- Yamas**, meaning of 121, 124; to be observed while undergoing expiation 121
- Yāmī** verse is *Rg. X.* 14. 4
- Yāmya**, a *prāyaścitta* 149
- Yaudhājapa**, a *Sāman* 132-133
- Yava**, boiled and offered to *Varuṇa*, deemed to be destroyer of taint due to partaking of the food of guilds, harlots, *śūdras* and others and of other sins 144
- Yavamadhya**, variety of *Cāndrāyana* 135
- Yavanas**, 117
- Yavaka**, a *prāyaścitta* 149
- Yati** (ascetic) burial of, from ancient times to modern times 229-231; disposal of the bodies of four kinds of, 229; no cremation is done, nor water offered nor *āśauca* observed by sons and *sapinda*s on death of, 230, 305; on death of, his *sapinda*s have simply to undergo a bath and nothing more and a *yati* and *brahmacārin* have to observe no *āśauca* (except a bath) in all cases and at all times 281, 298; paraphernalia of, 229n; procedure of

- rites on death of, 229-230; procedure added by the Nirṇayasindhu and Dharmasindhu 230; reason why yatis were buried and not cremated 231
- Yaticāndrāyana 149
- Yatisāntapana 149
- Year, beginning of, in very ancient times 354
- Yima ( Yama ) in Parsi scriptures 192n
- Yogas, 27 in a month, 383n
- Yogasūtra, 22, 50, 176, 311, 352; *bhāṣya* on 352
- Yogayājñavalkya or Yogi-Yāj. 134n, 140n, 243n, 324, 473n
- Yogin, superior to 100 brāhmanas and so should be invited at a śrāddha for dinner 388, 398-399
- Yojana, extent of 92, 286, 590n, 628
- Yuga 164
- Yugādi *titihis*, what are 374, 636n
- Zoroastrianism, idea of hells in 165; regards burial of a human body in the earth as a grave sin 231n
- Zoroastrians, disposed of the dead by exposure of dead bodies to vultures and other birds 231n

## INDEX OF IMPORTANT WORDS

- Abhicāra 35  
 Abhidroha 5  
 Abhiśasta 13  
 Abhivānyā 426n  
 Abhyudayikaśrāddha 359n  
 Ācārya, 281n  
 Ādhāna 574n  
 Ādya (śrāddha) 518n  
 Āgas 5-6  
 Agha (sin) 6  
 Agha (śāuca) 267-268  
 Agniśvāta 195n, 343  
 Agradidhiṣu 11  
 Agredidhiṣu 11n, 394n  
 Āgrahāyaṇi 354  
 Āhava 503n  
 Akalkaka 562n  
 Ākṛtidabana 225  
 Aksayyodaka 508n  
 Āmantraṇa 408  
 Amātya 199n  
 Ambas 6  
 Ambati 7  
 Anādya 402n  
 Anāśaka 42  
 Anavasthā 61n  
 Anṛta 5, 7  
 Anugrāhaka 17  
 Anukalpa 387, 513  
 Anupātaka 15  
 Anustaraṇi 206  
 Apāṅkteya 391  
 Aparāhna 376  
 Aposāna 496n  
 Aprita 315n  
 Aratni 470n  
 Arghya 419, 435n  
 Aranyāni 561n  
 Ārūḍhapātita 114  
 Śāucasampāta or śāuca-sannipāta 292  
 Āśmā 238  
 Aṣṭakā 354n  
 Āśucikara 12, 14  
 Āsutrpa 193n  
 Ātatāyin 19  
 Ātivāhika 160n, 265  
 Atideśa 95  
 Atithi 396  
 Ātreya 13  
 Āturasannyāsa 185  
 Atyantopahata 315n  
 Audumbara 73n  
 Avakirṇin 112  
 Avibhaktadāya 365-366  
 Barhiṣad 343  
 Bijin 536n  
 Brahmabandhu 400n  
 Brahmanedha 228n, 254  
 Brāhmaṇabruva 270n  
 Brāhmaṇāgrya 400n  
 Brahmodya 464n  
 Bhrūna 11n  
 Caitryavṛkṣa 115, 332  
 Cāta 263  
 Cāndrāyana 134  
 Caturhotārah 230  
 Citi 115, 332  
 Citrikaraṇa 706n  
 Daṇḍakalita 145  
 Darbha 417n  
 Daubhitra 376n, 413n  
 Deśāntara 285  
 Dhruvaśrāddha 517  
 Didhiṣu or—sū 11n, 394n  
 Didhiṣūpati 11n  
 Dimbāhava 305n  
 Drugdha 5  
 Durbrāhmaṇa 399n  
 Durita 7  
 Duṣkṛta 7  
 Ekāha 295  
 Ekoddiṣṭa 380  
 Enas 5-6  
 Enasvin 13  
 Gajacchāyā 371n  
 Gavyūti 590n  
 Ghaṭasphoṭa 105

- Ghoṣaśānti 178  
 Goṣṭhīśrāddha 381-382  
 Gotraja 266n  
 Guru 24  
 Gurutalpaga 23  
 Hatyā 17  
 Haviṣya 149  
 Hiranyaprasāna 49n  
 Iṣṭāpūrta 193  
 Jarṭila 419n  
 Juṅgita 105n  
 Kāmya 60n, 369-370  
 Kāṇḍānusamaya 442n  
 Kāpālika 395  
 Karmavipāka 172-173, 176  
 Kārpāṭivesa 573n  
 Karṣṇasamanvita 473n  
 Kauravya 681n  
 Kṛcchra 145  
 Kriyā 261  
 Ksetrin 536n  
 Kumbhīpāka 163  
 Kūrca 491n  
 Kutapa 376-377, 413n  
 Lepabhāṣa 483  
 Loka 165  
 Loṣaciti 251  
 Madhūni, 45n  
 Madhyama (kriyā) 261  
 Māghyāvarṣa 360  
 Manṭha 426n  
 Manvādi 375  
 Mārjana 120, 133  
 Mātaraḥ 529  
 Maukha 27n  
 Mekṣaṇa 443n  
 Mūlakarma 35  
 Nagna 395  
 Nagnapracchādana 220  
 Naimittika 60n, 369  
 Nalada 202, 203n  
 Nāndi 528n  
 Nāndimukha 359n  
 Napāt 347n  
 Navamīśra 262-63, 517  
 Navasrāddha 262-63, 517  
 Nīlavṛṣa 540n  
 Nimantraṇa 408  
 Nimittin 18  
 Nirākṛti 394n  
 Nirgrantha 393  
 Nirhāra 289n  
 Nirmālya 418  
 Nirmanthya 226  
 Niṣāda 174  
 Niṣkaya 40n  
 Nitya 60n, 369  
 Niyama 121  
 Padārthānusamaya 442n  
 Pākayaḥ 112n  
 Pakṣiṇi 278n  
 Pañcajanāḥ 344n  
 Pañcāmṛtasnāna 364n  
 Pāpa 8  
 Parāvartana 118  
 Paridhi 199n  
 Paridhikarma 244  
 Parisamūhana 213  
 Paristarāṇa 213  
 Parivedana 33  
 Parivinna 11n, 12  
 Parivitta 11n  
 Parivividāna 11n, 12  
 Parsad 86  
 Pārvaṇa 380  
 Paryāhita 12  
 Paryuṣaṇa 213  
 Pāta 275  
 Pātaka 1, 10  
 Pataniya 10, 12  
 Pāṭheyasrāddha 219  
 Pāvamāni 45  
 Pavitra 440n  
 Pīṇḍanvāharayaka 362n  
 Pipilikāmadhya 135  
 Pitrmedha 228n, 254  
 Pitr̥tirtha 435n  
 Pitryajña 201  
 Prājāpatya 145  
 Pranapāt 347n  
 Prasāṅgika 15  
 Prasava 275  
 Prāśitrabarāna 207n  
 Prasṭityāvaka 143  
 Prasūti 275

- Pratipattikarma 208n, 334n  
 Pratyavasita 95, 113  
 Prāyascitta 57-60  
 Prāyascitti 57  
 Preta 523  
 Prasadājya 292, 205, 527n,  
 Pūṃ-śodāśi 673  
 Pulkasa 174  
 Pūraka-piṇḍa 262  
 Pūrva (kriyā) 261  
 Puroṇuvākya 543n  
 Puṣkaraka 255  
 Puṣṭiśrāddha 382  
 Putra 161  
 Ratni 417n  
 Rta 2  
 Rtvik 281n  
 Sadyaḥ-śauca 295-296  
 Sajyotiḥ 282n  
 Sakulya 366  
 Sallekhanā 612n  
 Samānodaka 260n  
 Sampradāna 460n  
 Samsrava 447n  
 Samsthājapa 494  
 Samyoh 194n  
 Sañcayana 240  
 Saṅgava 376  
 Sankalpavidhi 532  
 Sāntapana 225n  
 Satya 4, 5  
 Śāvāśauca 269  
 Sesas 196n  
 Smaśāna 205n, 247n,  
 Śodāśikarma 672  
 Śparśakāla 372  
 Spr̥ṣṭāspr̥ṣṭi 332  
 Śraddhā 352  
 Śrāddhika, śrāddhin 352, 410n  
 Śrat 352  
 Srauva 27n  
 Strāva 275  
 Śrottriya 384n  
 Steya 22, 23  
 Stotriya 202n  
 Striśodāśi 673  
 Śuddhāvati 48  
 Śuddhi 118, 267  
 Śumbala, 225n  
 Sūryābhiniṃrukta 11  
 Sūryābhyudita 11  
 Sūtaka 269  
 Suvarṇa 23  
 Svarga 169-170  
 Svasthānavivṛddhi 145  
 Svasurya 281n  
 Tantra 440n, 445n  
 Tantu 269  
 Tapas 42-43  
 Tata 347n  
 Tṛṣaka 115n  
 Tirtha 202n, 554  
 Trikadruka 194n  
 Triṇāciketah 384n  
 Trisuparnaḥ 384n  
 Tugvan 554  
 Turuṣkadāṇḍa 572n  
 Upasparśa 114n  
 Ūha 514n  
 Upavāsa 52-53  
 Upavasatba 54  
 Utkranti-dhenu 183  
 Utpavana 330n  
 Uttapanā ni 227n  
 Uttara (kr yā) 261  
 Vadha 17  
 Vādhriṇasa 355  
 Vaitaraṇī (cow) 183  
 Vapana 122  
 Vāpana 318n  
 Varnasaṅkara 288  
 Vardhrāṇasa or Vardhrīṇasa 422n  
 Veṇa 115, 174  
 Vibhaktadāyāda 366  
 Vikira 484, 500, 507n  
 Virahan 11, 155  
 Viśamaśraddha 263  
 Viṣṭara 440n  
 Vratatopa 112  
 Vratodyāpana 183  
 Vrātya 33, 111, 222  
 Vrātyatā 111

Vṛddhīśrāddha 359n  
 Vṛjina 6-7  
 Vṛsalī 104n, 394n  
 Vṛtra-saṅku 250n  
 Vyāma 205n  
 Vyatipāta 371n  
 Yājñā 543n

Yama 121  
 Yātaniya 160n, 266  
 Yauna 27n  
 Yavamadhya 135  
 Yāyāvara 571n  
 Yugādi 374

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